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THE

GEOGRAPHY OF HERODOTUS,

DEVELOPED, EXPLAINED, AND ILLUSTRATED
FROM MODERN RESEARCHES
AND DISCOVERIES.

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J. TALBOYS WHEELER, F.R.G.S.

WITH MAPS AND PLANS.

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PREFACE.

The object of the accompanying work is to present the student with a full development and explanation of the Geography of Herodotus; and at the same time to enable the general reader to survey the ancient world at one of the most important periods of its history. Accordingly, in the first place, all the geographical notices and allusions throughout Herodotus have been brought together and digested into one continuous system; and secondly, such descriptions and illustrations have been borrowed from modern geography, as would correct his errors, reconcile his contradictions, explain his obscurities, and enable us to identify ancient sites with existing localities.

The want of such a work has long been felt both by the Classical and the Biblical student. Herodotus tells of the glorious deeds of Hellas at Marathon and at Thermopylae, at Salamis and at Plataea; and at the same time he describes Babylon and the great Persian empire as they were in the days of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and Aegypt as she probably appeared in the primeval times of the patriarchs and Pharaohs. But he relates the story in his own way, and follows a far more natural but

intricate arrangement than would have been adopted by the modern historian. His geographical descriptions are scattered about in the form of digressions, and a vast body of information also exists in the shape of brief notices, allusions, or illustrations.[1] It was therefore impossible for the student to avail himself of Herodotus's stock of geographical knowledge, unless he had thoroughly mastered the entire history; whilst a real comprehension of its character, as compared with modern geography, was only to be attained by a labour similar to that which has been expended on the present volume.

It would be invidious for the author to mention the defects of his predecessors, but he must confess that from Rennell's Geography of Herodotus,[2] and from Niebuhr's two well-known Dissertations,[3] he has been unable to derive the assistance he had expected. Rennell omits the geography of European and Asiatic Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Aegypt, Aethiopia, and the isles of the Aegean, whilst much

[1] It may be remarked that the Herodotean geography of Greece mainly consists of these brief and scattered notices, for as Herodotus presumed that its various countries were familiar to his readers, he rarely alludes to them, excepting when he seeks to illustrate the geography of other regions.

[2] The Geographical System of Herodotus examined and illustrated, by Major James Rennell, F.R.S. Explained by eleven maps. 2 vols. 8vo, second edition, revised, London, 1830. Rennell's work is not a development of the Geography of Herodotus, but a series of disquisitions upon certain portions of it. It thus comprises dissertations upon the itinerary stade of the Greeks, the Scythian expedition of Darius Hystaspes, the site and remains of ancient Babylon, the captivity of the ten tribes, the floods, alluvions, and mouths of the Nile, etc. The most valuable are those on Scythia, the twenty satrapies of Darius, the Libyan tribes, and the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phoenicians.

[3] Dissertation on the Geography of Herodotus, with a map; and Researches into the History of the Scythians, Getae, and Sarmatians. Translated from the German of B. G. Niebuhr, 8vo, Oxford, 1830.

of his information concerning other regions is either imperfect or obsolete. Niebuhr's Dissertations are more valuable, but exceedingly meagre; and it will also be seen that his theory concerning the supposed course of the Ister and the Scythian square, is no more to be reconciled with the description of Herodotus than with the actual geography of the country. The "Geographie des Herodot," by Hermann Bobrik,[1] is a far more important contribution to this branch of science, but unfortunately so limited in its design as to be of little use to the English student. It consists of an admirable arrangement of Herodotus's geographical notices, but borrows no illustration from any other ancient or modern author. It also omits the mythology, manners, and peculiar institutions of the Aegyptians, and numerous other particulars which it has been thought advisable to include in the present volume. Indeed the one object of Hermann Bobrik has been to develope the Herodotean ideas, without attempting to reconcile them with modern geography; and thus far the present author has derived much advantage from comparing and verifying his own digestion of Herodotus's geographical notices, with the labours of Bobrik. Other small works have likewise been consulted, but with much less advantage. Of these may be specified the "Geographia et Uranologia Herodoti," by Bredow; the "Commentatio de Geographia Herodoti," by Dönniges; a little "Geography of Herodotus, with Maps," published at Cambridge;

[1] Geographie des Herodot, vorzugsweise aus dem Schriftsteller selbst dargestellt von Hermann Bobrik, 8vo. Nebst einem Atlasse von zehn karten. Königsberg, 1838.

and the "Maps and Plans illustrative of Herodotus," published at Oxford.

In preparing the present Geography, the author has thus found it necessary to proceed independently of the labours of any of his predecessors. In the first place, he was obliged to make for himself a complete geographical index of Herodotus, arranged according to subjects; for though this task had been already executed by Bobrik, yet the latter had laboured for a different object, and had therefore excluded from his work many topics which belonged to the present design. When this mass of material had been sufficiently digested and classified, the whole had to be explained and illustrated by the light of modern geography. Accordingly general surveys and descriptions of each country have been introduced as prefaces to the accounts of Herodotus, and explanatory matter has been incorporated wherever it was deemed necessary; but in order to prevent confusion in the mind of the reader, those portions which were derived from Herodotus have been generally separated from the results of modern researches. The references at the foot of each page will in most cases indicate the authorities which have been consulted; but a large body of information has been long regarded as the common property of all geographers, and it is impossible to give the original authority for every statement. The following works however may be generally specified as those to which the writer has been chiefly indebted. The several commentaries upon Herodotus, especially those of Baehr and Larcher; the geographies of Macculloch, Murray, Malte Brun, and Ritter;

the researches of Rennell, Niebuhr, Leake, Cramer, Kiepert, Thirlwall, Grote, Müller, Chesney, Ainsworth, Hamilton, Rich, Porter, Heeren, Rawlinson, Cooley, Wilkinson, Vyse and Perring, Kenrick, Long, Hoskins, and Belzoni; the classical and geographical dictionaries edited by Dr. W. Smith, the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, and some valuable articles in the different Cyclopaedias, and the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews. The works of other authors might likewise be named as having been referred to; but the student who wishes to go over the ground by the aid of original authorities, will find the above amply sufficient for his purpose.[1]

The author's larger maps of Greece and the Ancient World, are intended, like his letter-press, to illustrate Herodotus by the light of modern discovery. The outlines have been drawn in accordance with actual geography, and every reasonable effort has been made to fix approximate positions for the nations which Herodotus has described. In addition to these, a novelty has been introduced in the shape of historical map diagrams. In various parts of the present work the author has employed straight lines, such as could be produced by the printer's brass rule, as the easiest method for giving a general idea of continents and regions, and for placing the several countries within arbitrary, but

[1] A valuable manual of modern geography has been recently published by Mr. William Hughes, (London: Longman and Co.,) and is the only one which contains all the more important results of recent geographical researches within a moderate compass. The author has much pleasure in stating this fact, as he has derived much benefit from Mr. Hughes's experience in preparing the maps of Greece and of the World, in illustration of Herodotus, which are included in the present volume.

sharply defined, boundaries. In these diagrams it has of course been necessary to sacrifice strict correctness of detail, for the sake of a clear and bold mapping out of races and peoples; and it is hoped that they will not only assist the reader in retaining in his memory the relative positions of the more confusing localities, but also enable him to refer to the larger maps with greater ease and interest. Indeed, whatever objections may be made to their rough simplicity, the author feels satisfied that they will generally convey his meaning with far greater precision than the most elaborate description. For instance, every scholar has experienced the difficulty of comprehending and of explaining the relative position of the Peloponnesian races, both before and after the Dorian invasion; and yet by a reference to the diagrams on pages 35—37, the reader will find them plainly mapped out in a way which requires no study, and scarcely any explanation.

It may possibly be regarded as an omission, that whilst the author has pointed out in the letter-press all the geographical mistakes of Herodotus, he has not thought proper to represent those errors by means of a distorted map. It is true that previous geographers, including Ukert, Niebuhr, Bobrik, and almost every writer on Herodotean geography, have endeavoured, with more or less success, to construct maps according to the imperfect data supplied by Herodotus himself. Bobrik especially has drawn an entire series of maps, in strict accordance with Herodotus's apparent views and measurements, omitting all reference to later geographical researches, and adopting the Greek orthography and characters

in the writing of the proper names. So far there can be no doubt but that Bobrik has been more successful than Niebuhr, or any other of his predecessors, in representing Herodotus's peculiar notions; and a small map of the World, embodying his results, will be found in a section of the larger map of the World in the present volume. But at the same time it must be remarked that all such efforts are necessarily incomplete and unsatisfactory. The hydrographer may represent in a sharply defined map all the loose observations of Herodotus concerning the bearings of different places, all the historian's incorrect measurements, and all the errors of his copyists; but no geographer can map out with any certainty those immense regions, and long coast lines, with which Herodotus was undoubtedly acquainted, but of which he furnishes us with no measurements or available descriptions. In Bobrik's Atlas, Greece is strangely distorted, because Herodotus apparently supposed that Megara was farther to the west than Delphi.[1] The river Araxes is drawn in the most extraordinary manner in order to reconcile all Herodotus's statements, which however evidently apply to different streams bearing a generic name. The neck of Asia Minor is painfully throttled, because Herodotus happened to say that a well-girt man could walk across it in five days; and yet will any geographer assert that Herodotus was ignorant of the real

[1] Herodotus merely observes that Megara was the farthest point towards the west which was ever reached by the Persians, (ix. 14,) whilst in another place he mentions the expedition against Delphi, (viii. 35—37,) which is still farther to the west; but it is evident that Herodotus is not alluding to the relative positions of Delphi and Megara, but to the general course of the Persian invaders.

breadth of that portion of the peninsula? Western Europe and Southern Africa are mere fanciful sketches, which indeed they must be, for Herodotus could know nothing of the coast, and in fact was not at all sure that there was a coast to Southern Africa at all.

But in truth Herodotus was more of an historian than a geographer. His world was not a mere chart of coast-lines and land-marks, but a vast picture crowded with living men. Hellas, her countless cities and her thousand isles. Young Athens with her restless fleets; haughty Sparta with her soldier citizens; luxurious Corinth with her crowded marts; fair Ionia with her blue skies and impassioned bards. Long processions to national temples. Young men with gleaming arms; noble maidens laden with flowers; rich sacrifices, pious hymns, and choral dances. Immense gatherings to national festivals. Horse and chariot races; contests of poets, musicians, and athletae; olive crowns, and Pindaric songs. The holy mysteries of the venerable Eleusinia; the extravagant orgies of the boisterous and drunken Dionysia. The spacious theatre open to the sky. The stately tragedy, and the satirical comedy; the trained chorus, and the crowded audience. These were the mere centre of his world. Far away to the beaming sunrise he saw the vast empire of the Great King, a hundred nations swayed by a single sceptre. Shushan, the throne of Xerxes and Ahasuerus. Nineveh, with her winged bulls, her painted palaces, and her sculptured halls. Babylon, with her lofty towers, her stupendous walls, her gorgeous temples, and her brazen gates. Regions

of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. Far away to the setting sun he could see in his mind's eye the fabled Pillars of Heracles, the exhaustless riches of Tartessus, the mysterious Gades, and the dim Cassiterides. Behind him were the wild Thracians of the Balkan, with their tattooed bodies and bloody suttees. The nomade Scythians of the Russian steppes, maddened with strong wine or intoxicating smoke; drinking from human skulls, scalping captives, or sacrificing living men to remorseless deities. Still farther on to the distant interior, merchant caravans reached the verge of the homes of griffins, but returned laden with barbaric gold. Before him, to the hot south, the ancient valley of the Nile stretched on like a panorama. The land of hoary Aegypt, and the shadowy realms of Aethiopia and Meroe. Massy pyramids and colossal temples; antique writings and splendid festivals; adoration of animals, and profound mysteries touching death and the soul, and the under-world; solemn prayers to everlasting and unapproachable deities. Haughty priests, contemptuous as princes, but covetous of gold and offerings. A people strange and mysterious as the gloom of midnight, yet loving wine and feasting, wild mirth and lawless jesting. The black Aethiopians of the burning zone; the fountain of the sun and the crystal sepulchres. From thence he caught faint glimpses of mighty Atlas and bright Hesperides, of fair Cyrene and jealous Carthage, of desert hordes and verdant oases. Such are a few of the scenes which that bold artist must depict, who seeks to represent the ancient world, ad mentem Herodoti.

Here the author would willingly conclude his preface, but whilst the present work has been passing through the press, a new attempt has been made to assail the credibility of Herodotus, and to detract from his renown as a traveller and historian. The genius of the great father of history has preserved his writings nearly intact for twenty-three centuries; whilst his character for integrity has outlived the attacks of every discontented critic from Plutarch to Voltaire. His present assailant, Mr. Blakesley, is a scholar of a very different stamp from his predecessors.[1] Actuated by no mean jealousy, and yielding to the influence of no scornful wit, he has been led by a profound love for abstract truth to pronounce somewhat too harshly against the straightforward narrative of the old Ionian. That much of Herodotus's information is only to be received as secondary evidence, will be readily admitted by all; but Mr. Blakesley would regard him as a mere pleasing compiler, like Oliver Goldsmith; prevented from travelling by the exigencies of the time, and differing but very little, if at all, from the logographers who preceded him either in critical sagacity, diligent investigation, or historical fidelity; blending together in one mass the yarns of merchant skippers, the tales current in caravanserais, the legends of the exegetae of temples, and the long details of veteran sailors and septuagenarian hoplites; exercising but little discrimination in the selection of his facts, careless in stating his authorities,

[1] Herodotus, with a Commentary, by J. W. Blakesley, B.D., 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1854. It is to the Introduction in this work that the reader is more particularly referred.

laying claim to more experience and personal research than he was entitled, and, in fact, belonging to the same school as Charon, Hellanicus, Xanthus, Hecataeus, and others, from whom he largely copied without acknowledgment, and only exhibited perhaps a doubtful superiority in the style and treatment of his materials.

Mr. Blakesley's reasons for these inferences are by no means satisfactory. They are three in number. First, he asserts that the horror of the Greeks at originality, and their attachment to the social, political, and religious institutions in which they had been brought up, would have prevented even an intelligent and sagacious author, like Herodotus, from exercising the same kind of discrimination which we should look for in a modern historian. Secondly, he quotes doubtful passages from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, from Strabo, and from Thucydides, to prove that the successors of Herodotus only regarded him as a logographer, like his contemporaries and immediate predecessors. Thirdly, he rakes up the old accusation of Porphyry, that Herodotus has taken his descriptions of the crocodile, hippopotamus, and phoenix picture almost literally from the Periegesis of Hecataeus, and yet leaves his readers to infer that he had himself seen those objects, and was describing them as an eye-witness. These three reasons must be reviewed in detail.

First, as regards the Greek abhorrence of originality, and their attachment to their traditions, social, political, and religious. Herodotus flourished about B. C. 450. As far as concerns literature and the arts, the previous age had been marked by striking changes.

The real glory of the ancient epic had passed away with the hereditary monarchies. The poet no longer sung, in solemn and majestic hexameters, the heroic deeds of the ancestors of reigning princes. He sprung into new and independent life. He came before the people as a man with thoughts and objects of his own, and expressed himself in new and livelier metres. Hence arose the feeling elegy, the satirical iambus, the fable and the parody, and last of all the impassioned and impetuous lyric. Music had undergone similar changes. Terpander had added three strings to the harp; Olympus had taught fresh tunes for the flute. Choral singing and dancing had become more finished, more elaborate, and more significant. Sculpture had likewise reached its culminating point in the sublime and mighty works of Phidias; the archaic had everywhere given way to the ideal. Painting was also fully developed by Polygnotus, and established as an independent art. Last of all, in the generation immediately preceding the birth of Herodotus, two still more important changes had taken place;—the ancient epic had ripened into prose history; the iambic, lyric, and chorus were transformed into the mighty drama. The social customs of the people had undergone similar variations. The manners and usages of the heroic age were essentially different from those in the historic times. At Athens the men had left off wearing armour, and had become luxurious; and again, shortly before the Peloponnesian War, the elders had discarded their linen tunics and golden grasshoppers.[1] The female fashions were no doubt as

[1] Thucyd. i. 6.

changeable at Corinth and Ephesus as they now are at Paris; and it is certain that the more correct ladies of Athens wore first of all the Dorian chiton clasped to the shoulder, then, during the Persian war, the long and sleeved Ionian chiton,[1] and lastly, in the age of Pericles, returned once more to the Dorian costume.[2] In politics, the Greeks in the time of Herodotus seem to have only exhibited their attachment to their political traditions, by a succession of political revolutions. Oligarchies, tyrannies, and democracies were by turns adopted in every city; and Herodotus himself having assisted in overthrowing the tyranny in Halicarnassus, fled from his ungrateful countrymen to seek for calm retirement at the distant settlement of Thurium. The religion of the Greeks had likewise passed through considerable modifications. The religious conceptions of Hesiod are far higher than those of Homer, whilst those of Aeschylus are still more lofty and spiritual. In Herodotus himself, who was undoubtedly a very religious man, we find a decided tendency to interpret the ancient mythes on rationalistic principles. In fact, free-thinking was already exercising considerable influence. The philosophers of Ionia, where Herodotus passed his youth, and of southern Italy, where he spent his declining years, were all, more or less, rejecting the popular notions of religion, and striking into new paths of speculation on sacred things. In short, a far greater degree of originality than that supposed by modern criticism to be evinced by Herodotus, was exhibited

[1] Herod. v. 87, 88.

[2] See the Excursus on Dress, in Becker's *Charicles*.

in almost every direction; and it may be easily inferred that the Ionian Greeks generally, like the Athenians in the days of St. Paul, spent a large proportion of their leisure time either in hearing or in telling of some new thing.

Secondly, the passages quoted by Mr. Blakesley to prove that Herodotus was not more faithful or industrious than his contemporaries and immediate predecessors, really prove nothing at all. The description of the ancient Greek historians by Dionysius of Halicarnassus points entirely, as Mr. Blakesley himself observes, "to the superior artistical skill which Herodotus displays in the choice of his subject, and the manner of treating it." The quotation from Strabo only proves that that geographer, like many later critics, was not disposed to put much faith in the stories of Herodotus. The passage in Thucydides requires a moment's notice. Thucydides, in comparing his own work with those of previous historians who sought for attractive language rather than truth,[1] is supposed by Mr. Blakesley to refer most undoubtedly to Herodotus. Thucydides however, in another passage,[2] seems to have the same historians in his eye when he complains of the mistake made in supposing that Hipparchus, and not Hippias, had succeeded Pisistratus in the tyranny; a mistake which was certainly not made by Herodotus.[3] Indeed there is no reason for believing that Thucydides had ever read the history of Herodotus at all; he neither mentions his name in any part of his work, nor gives the slightest indication of being acquainted with either his life or labours.

[1] Thucyd. i. 21. [2] Thucyd. vi. 54. [3] Herod. v. 55.

In short, the genius of Herodotus may be compared to that of Hume; and judging from extant fragments, his predecessors bore many points of resemblance to the old chroniclers, whilst his contemporaries were not much better than so many Tobias Smolletts. It was left for Grote and Macaulay, the Herodotus and Thucydides of modern times, to exhibit to the world a still happier treatment of a better selected and more thoroughly digested stock of sifted materials.

Thirdly comes Herodotus's supposed piracy from Hecataeus. In the first place, Herodotus was certainly as likely to have seen the crocodile, the hippopotamus, and the phoenix picture as Hecataeus; and it is far more possible that some editor or transcriber interpolated his copy of Hecataeus with the descriptions from Herodotus, than that the latter should have borrowed such information concerning a country where he had evidently passed a considerable time, and from a writer whose geographical theories he held in contempt. But even taking it for granted that Herodotus did borrow from Hecataeus, it certainly does not prove that he had not seen the objects in question. He may have heard from some hoaxing priest that the crocodile had tusks, and that the hippopotamus was cloven-footed and had the hoofs of an ox; and he may have found this story confirmed by Hecataeus, and accordingly adopted the account without attempting to confirm it by approaching the jaws of a crocodile, or the heavy toes of the hippopotamus. But even in this case he cannot be charged with dishonesty for omitting to mention the name of Hecataeus, for it was not at all

the custom for an ancient author to check the flow of his style by introducing the names of authorities.

Last of all comes the ungracious question of whether Herodotus really did undertake those extensive travels which have been generally ascribed to him. Mr. Blakesley's observations upon this subject are not so valuable as might have been expected, for he has chiefly laboured to prove that Herodotus never went to Carthage, a city which very few critics could have ever supposed him to have visited. He however states, upon the authority of Polybius, that until the time of Alexander the seas swarmed with pirates; thus totally ignoring the fact, that during the years when Herodotus must have performed his travels, namely, between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars, the fleets of the Greek allies, under the supremacy of Athens, had cleared the Aegean of pirate and Persian, from Attica to Asia Minor, and from the shores of Thrace to the mouths of the Nile. He also quotes the statements of Andocides, that the seas were covered with war-galleys and pirates; but this was the state of things at the latter end of the Peloponnesian war, and not during the time when Herodotus was undertaking his voyages. One thing is certain, that Herodotus must have sailed from Halicarnassus to Samos, from Samos to Athens, and from Athens to Thurium. Mr. Blakesley will also admit that he might have visited Aegypt. Beside these countries the present author believes, from reasons which he has specified in the course of the present volume, that Herodotus sailed through the Hellespont, and across the Euxine, as far as the Greek port of Olbia,

and that he travelled along the great highway between Sardis and Susa; and it was most probably during this or the return journey that he sailed down the Euphrates, and reached the great city of Babylon.[1] One fact has been missed, not only by Mr. Blakesley, but by every commentator on the Geography of Herodotus whom the present author has consulted, namely, that the political relations of Halicarnassus with Persia were especially favourable to any well-accredited native of that city, who desired to visit the Persian capital. Halicarnassus was excluded from the Dorian confederacy, worshipping at Triopium, and at the time of the battle of Salamis, was united with the neighbouring islands of Cos, Calydna, and Nysirus, under the dependent sceptre of the celebrated Artemisia; and the Carian queen gained so much upon the esteem of Xerxes, that after the defeat, he placed several of his natural sons under her care to be conveyed to Ephesus. Herodotus himself openly expresses his admiration of Artemisia, though she fought on the side of the Persians; and the little kingdom continued faithful to her and her family, even whilst Cimon the Athenian was frightening the whole Asiatic coast by his exploits. Herodotus no doubt belonged to a family of some consideration at Halicarnassus. At forty years of age he assisted in the popular revolution, which deprived the grandson of Artemisia of the tyranny. We may easily infer that he saw the so-called Indian ants preserved in the royal palace at Susa;[2] and it is impossible to account for his acquaint-

[1] See also Appendix I., "Travels of Herodotus," at the end of the present volume.

[2] iii. 102.

ance with the Persian muster-rolls of the army and navy of Xerxes, unless this journey to Susa be admitted by the modern critic.

Thus far the present writer has endeavoured to do justice to the integrity and practical experience of Herodotus, without, as he hopes, doing injustice to the valuable and much-esteemed labours of Mr. Blakesley. If the theory which has been discussed had pertained to philology, the writer would have left it for abler critics to decide. If it had referred only to the history of Herodotus, he would have passed it over as not belonging to his subject. But it directly applied to the value of that geographical information which has been embodied and illustrated in the present volume, and therefore he has been compelled to investigate the question, and record and defend his opinions against so learned and eminent a commentator.

Here then the writer concludes his present labours. Years have passed away since he commenced his task, and much of it has been accomplished under circumstances but little favourable to literary composition; but however it may be received by the scholar, he can never regret a toil which has filled his mind's eye with vivid pictures of the ancient world, painted by the hand of the Homer of history. These pictures he hopes to reproduce in a more popular volume, which is already in preparation, and which he expects will shortly be submitted to the indulgence of the public.

London, August 28th, 1854.

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ERRATA.

Page 27, line 33, *for* east *read* west.
45, 1, *insert* Helice.
103, 17, *for* former *read* agora.
109, 32, *for* of *read* to.
130, 1, *for* Augites *read* Angites.
132, 10, *for* Hellespont *read* Propontis.
233, 23, *for* natural *read* national.
244, 27, *for* south *read* north.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

Map of THE ANCIENT WORLD to illustrate Herodotus, to face title-page.

Map of GREECE, MACEDONIA, THRACE, etc., to illustrate Herodotus, to be inserted between pages 26, 27.

Plan of THE BATTLE OF PLATAEA, to face page 70.

Plan of THERMOPYLAE, to face page 81.

Plan of THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS, to face page 109.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE AND EDUCATION OF HERODOTUS.

Birth of Herodotus (B. C. 484). — Contemporary state of Greece.—Period of his travels.—Halicarnassus, its history.—Herodotus removes to Thurium.—Extent of his travels.—His general information.—Previous state of geographical science.—Homer, his notions of the universe (B. C. 900).—Extent of his geographical knowledge.—Hesiod (B. C. 750).—Aeschylus (B. C. 500).—Pindar.—Scylax of Caryanda.—Hecataeus of Miletus.—Conjectures of philosophers passed over by Herodotus.—Review of his old age.

Birth of Herodotus, B. C. 484.

Contemporary state of Greece.

HERODOTUS was born B. C. 484, at Halicarnassus, a Dorian colony on the south-western coast of Asia Minor.

The half century prior to his birth had been the era of vast changes, political and social. The conquests of the early Persian kings had brought the whole world of civilization, with the solitary exception of European Greece, under the unity of a single sceptre. Hitherto the nations of the earth had been as jealous as China, as inhospitable as Japan. But now the feet of merchants were unfettered; and philosophic travellers obeyed their exploring instincts, and carried the light of truth into the regions of fable. Next came the invasions of Greece. Six years before the birth of Herodotus the generals of Darius were beaten back from Marathon. In the fifth year of his infancy, the river-draining millions of Xerxes entered Europe with sword and brand to massacre and to destroy. Then came the fearful conflict, the struggle for lives and homes, lands and deities; but disciplined heroism and desperate valour scattered the overwhelming armaments of Asia,

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and Thermopylae and Salamis became immortal names.

Period of his travels.

The swell from that great storm was yet angry, Hellas was yet smarting from her scars, but exulting in her victories, when Herodotus wandered forth to see, to touch, and to explore. The story of the great contest was still ringing in his ears, still rife in men's mouths; but the exact date is uncertain.[1] The circumstances of his father and the character of his mother are totally unknown; and such faint glimmerings of light as can be thrown upon his life and education must be derived from general history and doubtful tradition.[2]

Halicarnassus, its history.

Halicarnassus was a small Asiatic state, originally belonging to the Hexapolis, or confederacy of six Dorian colonies, on the coast of Caria and the neighbouring islands.[3] It never attained historical eminence, and shortly before the birth of Herodotus had forfeited its privilege as a member of the Hexapolis, for having set the common laws of the confederacy at defiance.[4] Subsequently the government of Halicarnassus was united with that of the neighbouring islands of Cos, Calydna, and Nysirus, under the dependent sceptre of the celebrated Artemisia, who so faithfully served the cause of Xerxes, and attracted the open admiration of the historian.[5] Whilst the Greeks were following up their brilliant successes by admitting the islands of the Aegean into their confederacy, the little Carian

[1] One fact has been brought forward by Dr. Dahlmann, to throw some light upon the period of Herodotus's travels. Herodotus saw in Aegypt the skulls of those who were slain by Inarus the Libyan (iii. 12). The war in which Inarus was engaged lasted six years, viz. from B. C. 462 to 456. Now Herodotus was not likely to have entered Aegypt during this bloody period, and especially could not have reached Memphis, where the war raged for a considerable time. At the conclusion of the contest he must have been about twenty-eight, and we may therefore suppose him to be in Aegypt in his thirtieth year. *Life of Herod.* ch. ii. § 2.

[2] For a more detailed account of the times of Herodotus, see Dahlmann, *Life of Herod.* chap. i. § 3; also an excellent article on the Philosophy of Herodotus, in Blackwood's Mag. Jan. 1842.

[3] The Halicarnassians were colonists from the city of Troezene in Argolis (vii. 99).

[4] i. 144. [5] vii. 99.

kingdom still adhered to Artemisia and her family, and would not desert her son and successor, Pisindelis, even when Cimon the Athenian was frightening the whole coast of Asia Minor by his exploits.

Herodotus removes to Thurium in Italy.

Under this peaceful dependence on existing institutions, the boy grew into a young man; but having some time afterwards attracted the angry suspicions of Lygdamis, the son and successor of Pisindelis, he escaped to the island of Samos. Here, according to Suidas, he became acquainted with the Ionic dialect and wrote his history, but the latter fact has been ably disproved by Dahlmann. "Subsequently," says Suidas, "he returned to Halicarnassus and drove out the tyrant Lygdamis; but afterwards, seeing that he was disliked by his fellow-citizens, he accompanied the Athenians, who were going out as settlers to Thurium, as a volunteer. Here also he died, and lies buried in the market-place." [1]

Extent of his travels.

Herodotus was born about B. C. 484, as already mentioned. He sailed to Thurium about B. C. 443, when about forty years of age; and he must have lived some time after B. C. 408,[2] and perhaps have died about the age of eighty. His travels therefore

[1] Suidas also adds, that some say Herodotus died at Pella in Macedonia. A disquisition on this point however would be quite out of place in the present work. With respect to Lucian's statement, that Herodotus when a young man recited his nine books before the assembled multitude at Olympia, the whole has been so triumphantly refuted by Dahlmann that we may consider the matter as finally settled. The statement indeed would probably never have been received as authentic, were it not so graceful and attractive, and above all so grateful to the feelings of every writer whether of poetry or prose. Few authors would not glow at the thought of being heard and appreciated by so vast an audience.

[2] These three dates are thus obtained. First, Pamphila, a female writer, who in the time of the emperor Nero composed an historical work abounding in valuable information, mentions that Herodotus was exactly fifty-three years old at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war (B. C. 431): hence the date of his birth, B. C. 484. Secondly, the colony sailed to Thurium twelve years before this war, i. e. B. C. 443. Thirdly, Herodotus himself says, (i. 130,) "The Medes, whom Cyrus made subject to the Persians, subsequently engaged in a rebellion, and withdrew themselves from allegiance to Darius, but were conquered and again brought into subjection." This Darius was Darius Nothus, and this re-subjugation occurred, according to Xenophon, in the four and twentieth year of the Peloponnesian war: that is, in B. C. 408.

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were most probably undertaken in the first half of his life, and his history written in his old age. The places which he visited may be nearly all distinguished from those which he merely knew by hearsay. Greece, her cities and her islands, and especially the scenes of her glorious victories over the Persian, were all explored by the ardent geographer. Xerxes' line of march from the Hellespont to Athens, together with the maritime regions of Thrace and Scythia as far as the mouth of the Dnieper, (or Borysthenes,) were all duly noted. He passed through Asia Minor, Phoenicia, and Syria, and reached the cities of Babylon and Susa; he also spent considerable time in Aegypt, and travelled southwards to Elephantine, and probably as far to the west as Cyrene. But no personal adventures are mentioned. His presence at this or that place is only incidentally alluded to by way of testimony, and though we may catalogue the places he visited,[1] yet it is impossible to follow in the order of his movements.

His general information.

It is difficult to ascertain the extent of geographical knowledge possessed by the Greeks when Herodotus commenced his researches, but it is evident that he himself was but little acquainted with the discoveries of others. His knowledge of the universe was the result not of extensive reading, but of personal experience; and indeed the scarcity of books prevented contemporary authors generally from taking advantage of each other's labours. According to the standard of the age, however, Herodotus was a highly educated man. He was thoroughly acquainted with the poems of Homer,[2] and also cites the works of Hesiod,[3] Aristeas,[4] Archilochus,[5] Alcaeus,[6] Sappho,[7] Solon,[8] Aesop,[9] Simonides,[10] Pindar,[11] Phrynicus,[12] and Aeschylus.[13] But Hecataeus[14] is the only prose writer whom he quotes by name, and the most searching investigation can

[1] See Appendix I., on the Travels of Herodotus.
[2] Cf. Mure, *Lang. and Lit. of Greece*, Book iv. ch. iv. § 7.
[3] ii. 53, 117; iv. 32. [4] iv. 14. [5] i. 12. [6] v. 95. [7] ii. 135.
[8] v. 113. [9] ii. 134. [10] v. 102; vii. 228. [11] iii. 38. [12] vi. 21.
[13] ii. 156. [14] ii. 143; vi. 137.

find no certain traces of a familiarity with the works of other logographers. If Herodotus had really studied those of Hellanicus, we should have had some further notices of the Heracum between Mycenae and Argos, and of the Carnea at Sparta. If he had read those of Xanthus, he surely would have made some reference to that writer's theory concerning the earth's surface in Asia Minor, and the Lydian volcanoes. Of Charon and Dionysius of Miletus nothing can be said; for there is as much reason for believing that he had never seen their works, as there is for believing that he had studied them or borrowed from them.[1] The voyage of Hanno along the western coast of Africa was totally unknown to him;[2] and indeed of the Phoenician geographers generally he makes no mention whatever.[3]

Previous state of geographical science.

It may perhaps prove interesting and desirable to take a brief glance at the ancient notions of the universe, and at the state of geographical knowledge prior to the time of Herodotus.

Homer, his notions of the universe. B. C. 900.

In the Homeric cosmography the earth is represented under the form of an immense disc or circular plain, surrounded on all sides by the river "Ocean." The solid vault of the firmament was composed of metal, and rested upon the circumference of this disc; and beneath the disc was the corresponding vault of Tartarus; whilst at the extremity of the ocean lay the Elysian plain, "where, under a serene sky, the favourites of Zeus, exempt from the common

[1] Dahlmann, ch. vi.; Müller, *Lit. of Greece*, ch. xviii.; Mure, vol. iv.

[2] See Appendix IV.

[3] An important question relative to the geographical knowledge possessed by the Phœnicians has been mooted by the late Dr. Brehmer of Lubeck. That able scholar maintained that the geographical work of Ptolemy, together with the accompanying charts usually attributed to a certain Agathodaemon, who is said to have lived at Alexandria in the fifth century, were in reality derived from Phoenician or Tyrian sources. In other words, that Ptolemy, or, more properly speaking, his predecessor, Marinus of Tyre, who lived but a short time before him, and whose work he only corrected, must have founded his geographical descriptions and maps on an ancient Tyrian atlas, representing in several plates or tables the whole world as known to the Tyrians. The chief arguments of Dr. Brehmer may be found in Appendix XII., "On the sources of Ptolemy's Geography," in Heeren's Asiat. Nations, vol. ii. Professor Heeren has to some extent replied to them, though not always conclusively.

lot of mortals, enjoyed eternal felicity." Under the vault of the firmament rolled the sun and stars in chariots borne by the clouds: down in the vault of Tartarus were the abodes of the dead, or caverns of Hades, and the residence of the Titans, the enemies of the gods, all alike impenetrable to the breath of the gale, or the light of heaven. One great difficulty was in after-times overcome by an extravagant invention. The sun appeared to rise from the eastern ocean, and after performing his journey through the firmament seemed to sink in the western waves. Accordingly it was supposed that, on descending in the west, he was received in a vessel of gold, fabricated by Hephaestus, which conveyed him rapidly by the north towards the east in time to re-commence his daily journey. The sea divided the terrestrial disc into two portions. The northern continent was afterwards named Europe; the southern was called Asia, but subsequently divided into Asia and Libya. The Greeks probably considered Greece as situated near the centre of the disc; but Homer has not disclosed to us whether he himself believed this theory.

Extent of his geographical knowledge.

The real geographical knowledge of the Greeks in the time of Homer may be fairly stated as not extending beyond Greece, Aegypt, Asia Minor, and the islands.[1] The regions east and south of these limits were clouded by legend; those on the north and west were the pure creations of fancy. We may regard those regions as legendary which were known by the dim light of old traditions, handed down

[1] In Greece the poet knew the names of all the various states, and of Crete, Cyprus, and the isles of the Aegean. He was partially acquainted with Macedonia, and had some knowledge of Thrace, including the nations of the Mysi and Cicones. We even read of a Scythian nation, the Hippomolgi, who lived on milk and were the most just of mankind. In Asia Minor he knew the Trojans, Maeones, and Carians, on the western coast; the Lycians and Solymi on the south; the Phrygians in the interior; the Caucones, Enetae, and Paphlagonians, on the north; and the Halizonians, Amazones, and Arimi or Arimaei, on the east. He also knew Phoenicia, with the Sidonians and their chief town Sidon, and Aegypt as far as Thebes. The Nile he calls the river Aegyptus, and makes Pharos one day's sail from its mouth; but he neither knew that the Mediterranean and Red Seas were separated by the isthmus of Suez, nor that the Nile fell into the sea through seven channels.

from father to son, of the ancient migrations of the Hellenic race from the lands of the rising sun. Whether the Hellenes really came from the Punjab and Himalayas to the shores of the Red Sea, and thence through Aethiopia and Aegypt to the territories of the Pelasgi, is a question which cannot be discussed here. Homer however was certainly aware of the existence of black men, at the eastern extremity of the earth, for he says, Neptune visited the Aethiopians, "the farthest of men, who are divided into two, some under the rising and some under the setting sun." He also mentions the Erembi, or Arabs, and the Lotophagi, or lotus-eaters, and Pygmaei, or dwarfs, of Libya. The regions to the westward stood in a very different relation. Greece was nearly on the western verge of the world as it was known to Homer, and the stream of mankind was constantly flowing in a westerly direction. Therefore the weak reflux of positive information from that quarter exhibited little more than the impulses of hope and superstition, and the straits which separate Italy and Sicily are the portals which conducted Homer to the realms of fancy.[1]

Hesiod, like Homer, represents the river Ocean as surrounding the earth. He describes Atlas as supporting the vault of heaven, and alludes to the Elysian plain as the islands of the blessed. His ac-

Hesiod. B. C. 750.

[1] Of Sicily, or Thrinacia, as he calls it, Homer had some faint knowledge; the names of the Sicani and Siculi had reached him, and the account of the Cyclops is too true a picture of savage life to allow us to suppose it a mere sketch of fancy. From Sicily, Ulysses proceeded to the isles of Aeolus, where he obtained a bag containing the winds, but on the tenth day afterwards, when Ithaca was already in sight, his companions cut the bag, and a hurricane drove the ship back to the isles of Aeolus. Ulysses next reached the country of the Laestrygones, a race of cannibals; and it is historically important to observe that Homer places these fairly in the region of the miraculous. He next arrives at Aeaea, the island of Circe, from which he appears to lose sight altogether of the land of certainty. The hero, receiving the instructions of Circe, crosses the ocean to the shores of Proserpine. Sailing the whole day, he comes at last to the ends of the ocean, where the Cimmerians dwell, wrapped in profound gloom. Having here visited the infernal regions, he re-embarks, quits the ocean, and reaches the isle of Circe; and in his voyage homewards, he passes the Planetae or wandering rocks, escapes the Sirens with the dangers of Scylla and Charybdis, and thus returns once more within the circle of probability.

INTROD. CHAP. I.

quaintance with the west was more extended; and in particular he mentions the Ligurians, who at that time probably occupied the whole southern coasts of Europe beyond Italy and as far as Spain. He notices the island Erythcia at the influx of the ocean into the Mediterranean, and gives to the Nile, which Homer calls the Aegyptus, its proper designation.

Aeschylus. B. C. 500.

In the succeeding age are to be found the same general views. The circumfluent ocean appears in Aeschylus. In the south we find a black nation, and a river called the Aethiops, which may perhaps answer to the Niger. Northward we get as far as the Cimmerians of the Crimea; and far above them, the Arimaspi, the Griffins, and the Gorgons fill up

Pindar.

the back-ground of the picture. Pindar about the same time shows us that Sicily and the neighbouring coasts of Italy were known and civilized. He represents Aetna as a volcano, and names the Pillars of Heracles at the entrance to the Mediterranean, and the Hyperboreans in the distant north.

Scylax of Caryanda.

The works of these authors, as we have already seen, were known to Herodotus. He was also acquainted with the survey of the river Indus conducted by Scylax of Caryanda at the command of Darius;[1] together with the works of a few minor writers, of which nothing has been preserved beyond a few fragments.

Hecataeus of Miletus.

The most celebrated geographer, however, who preceded Herodotus was Hecataeus of Miletus. Our author frequently corrects his statements, and by so doing recognises him as the most important of his predecessors. Hecataeus wrote "Travels round the Earth," by which a description of the Mediterranean Sea, and of southern Asia as far as India, was understood. He also improved and completed the map of the earth sketched by Anaximander;[2] and it was

[1] iv. 44. See also the account of the river Indus in the body of the present volume.

[2] Anaximander was also a native of Miletus, and wrote his little work, "upon nature," in B. C. 547, when he was 64 years old, which may be said to be the earliest philosophical work in the Greek language. He possessed a gnomon, or sun dial, which he had doubtless obtained from

probably this map which Aristagoras carried to Sparta before the Ionian revolt, and upon which he showed king Cleomenes the countries, rivers, and royal stations along the great highway between Sardis and Susa.[1] The various points in which the geography of Hecataeus[2] comes in contact with that of Herodotus will be found further discussed in the body of the work.[3]

Conjectures of philosophers passed over by Herodotus.

Such then was the state of geographical knowledge prior to the time of Herodotus. The theories and conjectures of philosophers were but scarcely noticed by a traveller who based all his notions and opinions upon personal experience and observation. Herodotus wrote for the great body of the people, and not for the schools, and it is this fact, probably,

Babylon, and made observations at Sparta, by which he determined exactly the solstices and equinoxes, and calculated the obliquity of the ecliptic. According to Eratosthenes, he was the first who attempted to draw a map, in which his object probably was rather to make a mathematical division of the whole earth, than to lay down the forms of the different countries composing it. Müller, *Lit. of Greece.*

[1] v. 49.

[2] A map of the extent of the geographical knowledge possessed by Hecataeus is inserted by Klausen in his edition of the fragments of Hecataeus, and copied with some modifications by Mure in the 4th vol. of his Lan. and Lit. of Ancient Greece. It however contains exceedingly few historical names, and scarcely anything that will illustrate the geography of Herodotus.

[3] Herodotus frequently shows himself inclined to quarrel with Hecataeus. He sneers at his genealogy of sixteen ancestors, of which the sixteenth was a god (ii. 143); at his describing the earth "round as if from a turner's lathe" (iv. 36); at his making the Nile to flow from the river Ocean (ii. 23), and the latter to flow round the earth (iv. 36); and also quaintly jests with his predecessor's account of the Hyperboreans (Ibid.), and of the man who carried an arrow round the earth, without eating. On the other hand, Herodotus represents the political character of Hecataeus in a very favourable light, as a sagacious councillor, an honest patriot, and a man of action, especially free from the superstitions of the age. In the council convened by Aristagoras to concert measures for the Ionian revolt, Hecataeus alone discountenanced the project on the very simple ground of the overwhelming power of the Persian empire (v. 36). Finding his remonstrances useless, he proposed to seize the treasures in the temple of Apollo at Branchidae as the best means of replenishing the military chest. This proposal was also rejected. Subsequently he advised Aristagoras to fortify the isle of Leros as a central military and naval station, but this also was overruled. An inscription however has been recently discovered in the island, by which Hecataeus, whether the historian or some of his descendants, is specially honoured as a founder or benefactor by the Lerians. Cf. Mure, *Lan. and Lit. of Anc. Greece*, Book iv. ch. iii. § 2.

INTROD. CHAP. I.

which gave rise to the story of his reciting his history at Olympia. Unlike Thales and his successors, he made no effort to discover the origin and principle of the universe, and even his inquiries respecting the causes and varieties of climate are characterized by the most childlike simplicity, which must even have appeared ridiculous in the eyes of his more scientific contemporaries. In short, he evidently indulged in no such experiments or laborious investigations into the inner secrets of nature, as we may suppose to have been carried out by the Chaldees of Babylon, or Rabbinical sages of the Jewish schools, but contented himself with the most superficial glances at the external world around him. These however belong to the next chapter.

Review of his old age.

At last we contemplate Herodotus in fulness of years and all his labours completed, settled in calm retirement in Thurium on the Gulf of Tarentum. He was doubtless held in the highest respect by all the citizens, as one of the fathers of the colony. Here he had worked up his collected materials, and some of the illustrations of his descriptions are borrowed from the neighbouring localities.[1] His life extended considerably into the Peloponnesian war, and the old man must have seen his father-land exhausting itself in internal quarrels. But the records of these find no place in his history. The glorious events of his early youth, and the marvellous results of his travels, filled his capacious memory, and alone occupied his attention. His eye could follow the sun in its daily course from the far east to the legendary west, and even in its supposed winter progress over the arid sands of Aethiopia. At the same time the mysterious and distant nations upon which it shone,—the steppes of Scythia, the table-lands of Asia, the oases of Africa, the Caspian and Euxine Seas, and all the vast territories between the Nile and the Tanais, the Indus and the Pillars of Heracles,—all passed before his mental vision like a map of wonders, a map of old memories and youthful

[1] iv. 15, 99.

enterprise. Here then we might pause for a moment, and imagine ourselves sitting at the feet of the lively traveller and impressive moralist; and in this happy mood will we endeavour to appreciate, as far as in us lies, the immortal encyclopædia of the wise old Thurian.

CHAPTER II.

THE WORLD AND ITS DIVISIONS.

The winds considered as fundamental powers of nature.—Regarded as peculiar properties of the soil.—Heat and cold at different periods of the day referred to the sun.—General simplicity of Herodotus's ideas.—Early attempts to describe the earth's circumference.—Opinions of Herodotus upon the subject.—Extent of his knowledge.—Divisions of the earth.—Separation of Europe and Asia.—Separation of Asia and Libya.—Seas bounding the earth's extremities.—Mediterranean.—Atlantic.—Erythraean.—Voyages of Sesostris and Sataspes.

INTROD. CHAP. II.

The winds considered as fundamental powers of nature.

HERODOTUS considered the fundamental powers of nature to lie in the winds, which blow from different quarters. The earth and the heaven above it fall into two divisions, which are ruled by two great counter-forces, heat and cold, the fierce Boreas and the voluptuous Notos.[1] It was not any distance from the sun, but the north and easterly winds, which radiated cold and frost. On the other hand, it was the south wind from Aethiopia, and not at all the sun, which radiated heat. The north winds were the most important and powerful. In the winter they were called the Borean, in the summer the Etesian.[2] They decided the ecliptic. During the summer the sun stood in the centre of the heavens. As winter approached it was driven into the south by the blasts of Boreas; and there it remained until the mild Etesian winds of returning summer again permitted it to resume its central position. The southern half of the world was thus especially favoured, for the sun was never driven into the northern or upper division. During the mild season of summer, and whilst the sun occupied the centre of the heavens, it drew up the water from the various rivers, and bore it away in its wintry journey into the south. Here

[1] ii. 26. Cf. 24, 25.

[2] vi. 140; vii. 168.

the winds caught up the water and scattered it in mist; hence the south and south-west winds brought the most rain. Herodotus brings forward this attractive power of the sun, as an explanation of the phenomenon of the swelling of the Nile; and he thinks that the Ister (or Danube) would overflow its banks in a similar manner if the sun ever ascended into the northern division.[1]

Regarded as peculiar properties of countries.

It must be here remarked, that whilst Herodotus considered severity or mildness of climate to be dependent upon the winds, he also regarded them as peculiar properties of countries, in the same way as fertility or barrenness of soil. He had observed the very different temperatures of countries under the same latitude, and therefore said that Scythia was cold, because cold winds prevailed there which engendered frost and snow, and this because the northern blasts of Boreas invariably brought frost into Greece, whilst the south wind dissolved it.[2] He also says that Greece was supremely blessed because of the happy temperature of her climate, a fortunate mingling of the cold blasts of Boreas with the warm breath of the too voluptuous Notos.[3]

Heat and cold at different periods of the day referred to the sun.

But notwithstanding this theory, Herodotus was shrewd enough to ascribe the warmth or coldness of different times of the day to the direct heat of the sun. Amongst the Indians in the far east the morning was the hottest, because they dwelt the nearest to the place where the sun rose. Accordingly at sunrise they were obliged to stand in water on account of the excessive heat, but as the orb of day moved towards the west, the heat gradually diminished, until at length the night approached with a corresponding coldness.[4] It is here curious to observe how our author has evidently built his notions upon some vague accounts which may have reached him of the manners and habits of the nations beyond the Indus,[5] the morning lustrations in

[1] ii. 24—27. Comp. chapter on Aegypt.
[2] iv. 28. [3] iii. 106. Cf. Bobrik, *Geographie des Herodot.* [4] iii. 104.
[5] These accounts were probably the result of the expedition to survey the Indus undertaken by Scylax of Caryanda (iv. 44).

the rivers, and the custom of travelling by night, mingled possibly with some genuine information received from the inhabitants of the coast, where the heat is most intense from sunrise in the morning until the forenoon, when the sea-breezes set in.

General simplicity of Herodotus's ideas.

Indeed the origin of our author's scientific opinions would generally be sooner discovered and understood by a child, for they lie on the very surface of things. They were the results of the first popular effort to trace the simple operations of nature to a natural cause, rather than to the direct interposition of different deities.[1] And we may close these remarks by observing, that whilst Herodotus mentions solar eclipses,[2] he carefully avoids attempting any explanation, partly perhaps from a total want of scientific data, and partly from a disinclination to follow the vulgar and superstitious ideas which must have been generally prevalent down to a much later period.[3]

Early attempts to describe the earth's circumference.

With respect to the circumference and figure of the earth, we have already seen that long before the time of Herodotus many Greeks had endeavoured to determine both within a very moderate compass. As knowledge advanced these limits gave way, and Herodotus amuses himself at the folly of those who still professed to assign a definite circumference, without any knowledge whatever of the frontiers. "I must laugh," he says, "when I see how many persons have drawn the entire circle of the earth, without either sense or understanding. They describe the Ocean as flowing round the earth, which is made circular as if by a turner's lathe, and they represent Asia as equal with Europe."[4] . . . . "The Greeks on the Pontus say that the river Ocean begins at the place where the sun rises, and that it flows round the whole earth, but they do not prove it."[5] . . . . "The person (Hecataeus) who speaks

[1] vii. 129, 191. [2] vii. 37; ix. 10.

[3] It is almost unnecessary to draw the reader's attention to the lunar eclipse which frightened Nicias in Sicily. Thucyd. vii. 50.

[4] iv. 36. [5] iv. 8. Comp. ii. 21.

about the Ocean, since he has referred his account to some obscure fable, produces no conviction. I know of no such river at all. Homer, perhaps, or some of the earlier poets, finding the name, introduced it into poetry."[1]

Opinions of Herodotus on the subject.

Herodotus doubtless considered the earth as a plane, and we shall find as we proceed to develope his stock of geographical knowledge, that he knew enough of the form of the south at least to understand that its outline presented no segment of a circle towards the vast continent of waters which he calls the Erythraean Sea. But though he rails at the ignorance of those who endeavoured to describe the earth's external boundaries, yet we may regard his objections merely as so many sarcasms against his predecessor Hecataeus; and probably also at the popular notion of drawing the earth as round as a chariot-wheel, and in no other way. Niebuhr, however, deduces from his railing, and from his ignorance of any sea towards the north,[2] that he considered the earth as a boundless plain. But it must be remembered that, in another place,[3] Herodotus relates, without any remark whatever, that when Aristogoras proceeded to Sparta for assistance in carrying out the Ionian revolt, he took with him a brazen tablet upon which was engraved a map of the "entire circuit of the world," with all its seas and rivers. Herodotus also adopted the obscure popular belief that the earth was bounded by the ether of Zeus;[4] though this last remark may be understood as a mere expression of the Persian ideas upon the subject.

Extent of his knowledge.

The limits of the world of Herodotus may be thus briefly stated. The Erythraean[5] formed the southern boundary, and the Atlantic the western.[6] Of north and north-western Europe, beginning at the Pillars of Heracles, (or Gibraltar,) he knew nothing: he did not admit that a river called Eridanus discharged

[1] ii. 23. [2] iv. 45. Niebuhr, *Diss. on the Geog. of Herod.*
[3] v. 49. [4] vii. 8.
[5] The Erythraean included the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, Arabian Gulf or Red Sea, and probably the Atlantic. [6] i. 202.

itself into a northern sea,[1] though he may have supposed a northern shore to be washed by the mysterious billows of an unknown ocean, for he says on the authority of Aristeas, that the Hyperboreans reached to the sea;[2] subsequently, however, he almost denies their existence.[3] On the north-east the impassable mountains of the Altai range,[4] and the gold-guarding griffins, prevented his obtaining more than fabled accounts of the cold and dreary regions of Siberia; and lower down along the eastern frontier, the great sandy desert[5] of Gobi or Shamo, in Chinese Tartary, and the desert east of the Indus, stretching from Moultan to Guzerat, baffled all further investigation. Thus the world of Herodotus was bounded on three sides by sea and on the fourth by desert.

Divisions of the earth.

The divisions of the earth seem also to have attracted the attention of philosophers at a very early period. The Persians, in the true oriental spirit of uninquiring indolence,[6] looked upon Africa as a part of the body of Asia which belonged to them, and upon Europe as a portion intended for them, but in which the Greeks were pleased to play the master.[7] The Greeks, on the other hand, divided the earth into three portions, called after the names of three females, viz. 1. EUROPE, from Europa of Tyre. 2. ASIA, from Asia the wife of Prometheus. 3. LIBYA, from a native woman of that name. This division appears very capricious to Herodotus. "He cannot reconcile it with the natural oneness of the earth; he cannot see why some should have assigned the Aegyptian river Nile as a line of separation between Asia and Libya, and the Colchian river Phasis, (or Rhion,) or, as some said,[8] the Tanais, (or Don,) and the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as a line of separation between Europe and Asia. He also

[1] iii. 115. [2] iv. 13. [3] iv. 32. [4] iv. 25. [5] iii. 98, 102.
[6] Dahlmann, Life of Herod. ch. v. § 1. [7] i. 4; vii. 8.
[8] Asia is divided from Europe by the Tanais, says Strabo, Pliny, and Diodorus. Africa is contained between the Nile and the Pillars of Heracles; Asia between the Nile and Tanais, says Polybius. See Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12; Diod. lib. i. c. 4; Polyb. lib. iii. c. 4, quoted by Rennell.

cavils at the arbitrary names of these three continents. He says that, according to the Lydians, Asia was called after Asius; hence a tribe in Sardis was called the Asian tribe. Also that Europa of Tyre never entered Europe at all, but only passed from Phoenicia to Crete and Lycia. He would indeed have been better pleased with the twofold division, after the Persian fashion, into Europe and Asia; but he contented himself with bringing forward these objections, and then following the common usage of the Greeks by adopting the three names of Europe, Asia, and Libya.[1]

Separation of Europe and Asia.

The line of separation, however, between the three continents occasioned another difficulty. The Greeks, as we have already mentioned, were divided in opinion as to whether the Phasis, (or Rhion,) or the Tanais, (or Don,) was the proper separation between Europe and Asia. Herodotus extended Europe eastward to the utmost bounds of his knowledge, and therefore made the river Phasis, (or Rhion,)[2] which runs between the Euxine and the Caspian, the line of division, and probably continued it by an imaginary line, eastward of the Caspian, along the river Araxes,[3] thus placing Asia on the south instead of on the east of Europe. In the geographical arrangement of the present day, the boundary line between the two continents is formed by the range of Mount Caucasus, which may be regarded as almost the same as the course of the Phasis, but then, instead of going eastward, the line runs towards the north along the Ural mountains and course of the river Ural.[4] The Europe of Hero-

[1] iv. 45; Dahlmann, *Life of Herod.* v. 1. [2] iv. 37, 38.

[3] iv. 40. This was the eastern Araxes, or the Jaxartes, the modern Sirr-deria. The difficulty respecting this river is explained in another place. See Index, *Araxes.*

[4] Believing themselves to be permanently separated by the sea, the European naturally included in his Europe, and the Asiatic in his Asia, the discoveries made by each along the northern and southern shore of the Euxine; till in their progress, they met on the banks of the Phasis and Araxes, which thence became the first arbitrarily assumed line of demarcation. Even in the time of Herodotus, however, this division was growing uncertain, and a line formed by the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the Palus Maeotis, and the Tanais was superseding it. This line was sub-

dotus therefore included the whole of Russia in Asia and a large portion of Independent Tartary or Turkestan.

Separation of Asia and Libya.

In dividing Asia from the continent of Libya,[1] the great difficulty lay in the fact that the Greeks were ignorant of the real size and extent of the Arabian Gulf, which we call the Red Sea. Herodotus himself was apparently only acquainted with the western arm, which we call the Gulf of Suez, and therefore supposed that the whole sea was equally narrow, and only half a day's sail across. Of the outlet into the Persian Gulf through the Straits of Babel-mandeb he could have had but the vaguest notion, and he regarded the eastern coast of Africa, between the Nile valley and the Red Sea, as belonging to Arabia. Accordingly the Greeks took the river Nile as the line of separation, and generally agreed in dividing Aegypt into two parts, of which the eastern belonged to the Asiatic continent, and the western to the Libyan. The Ionian geographers however entertained the opinion that the Delta alone comprised Aegypt Proper, and that all south of Cercasorus where the Nile divides, belonged partly to Arabia and partly to Libya. But Herodotus rejected this division, and considered that the frontier of Aegypt formed the boundary between the two continents, though he does not say whether he meant that on the eastern or that on the western side.[2] At the same time he jested at the theory of the Ionians, who assigned to a people as ancient as the Aegyptians, a country with an alluvial soil, which could only have

sequently universally adopted as the eastern limit of Europe. Little or nothing was known of this region during the middle ages, and when the arms of Russia laid it open to observation, the winding course of the Don, (or Tanais,) with which the ancients were imperfectly acquainted, betrayed the geographers of the last century into an inextricable labyrinth of contradictions and absurdities. At length the academy of St. Petersburg fixed the present boundary. Comp. MacCulloch, *Geog. Dictionary*.

[1] Libya was a name sometimes applied by Herodotus to western Africa, and sometimes to the entire continent. See *Libya*.

[2] See also the introduction to the geography of Libya.

been brought into existence within a comparatively recent period.[1]

Herodotus thus, after many demurs, adopted the threefold division of the earth, viz. 1. Europe, divided from Asia by the river Phasis (or Rhion). 2. Asia, separated from Libya by the frontier of Aegypt. 3. Libya. He thus makes Europe as large, if not larger, than all that was known to him of Asia and Libya put together.[2]

Seas bounding the earth's extremities.

The various seas navigated by the Greeks Herodotus describes as far as he is able;[3] but of those vast waters which washed the west and southern coasts of the ancient world, he could know nothing beyond wild traditions, which he cared not to repeat. He passes over with a dignified silence worthy of the historic muse, the fabled isles of Aeolus or of Circe, the Elysian plain, or ever-receding Hesperides, and he contents himself with the barest possible mention of names. The Mediterranean he frequently mentions as "this sea"—ἥδε ἡ θάλασσα,[4] but gives no further account of it whatever; for the ancient Phoenician merchants, and others, who must have explored the whole length of the sea in their voyages to Gades and Tartessus, were induced by commercial jealousy to conceal their discoveries. The Atlantic he also mentions as being the same sea as the Erythraean, or at any rate connected with it. Under the name of the Erythraean or Red Sea, he comprises the whole expanse of waters between Arabia and Africa on the west, and India on the east, including the two great gulfs of Arabia and Persia.[5] The rocks of porphyry on the Aegyptian side of the Arabian Gulf supplied a natural cause for this appellation, throwing out their red colour far into the sea; and the Persians to this day retain the antithesis by calling the Mediterranean the White Sea. There may also be some connexion between the name of Erythraean and that of Edom, which signifies

Mediterranean.

Atlantic.

Erythraean

[1] ii. 17; iv. 41. [2] Comp. iv. 42. [3] See Europe, chap. i. [4] iv. 41. [5] i. 202.

"red," and was applied by the Jews to the country bordering on the north of the Arabian Gulf. "And Solomon made a navy of ships . . . on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom." [1]

Voyages of Sesostris and Sataspes.

In conclusion we may just mention, that, according to the Aegyptian priests, Sesostris was the first who set out with a naval armament from the Arabian Gulf, and conquered the nations on the coast of the Erythraean; but he is said to have been subsequently stopped by shallows and obliged to return.[2] The Carthaginians also relate that Sataspes, being ordered by Xerxes, as a punishment, to circumnavigate Libya, sailed through the Pillars of Heracles, and doubled the Libyan cape Soloeis, but his ship was also stopped and he was compelled to return.[3]

[1] 1 Kings ix. 26, quoted by Major Rennell. [2] ii. 102. [3] iv. 43.

EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY.

Extent of Herodotus's knowledge.—Western Europe.—Region north of the upper course of the Ister.—Region north of the lower course of the Ister.—Caravan route over the Ural.—Nations on the frontier towards Asia.—Nations south of the lower course of the Ister.—Seas of Europe.—Pontus Euxinus.—Palus Maeotis (Maeetis).—Propontis.—Caspian.—Adriatic.—Ionian.

Extent of Herodotus's knowledge.

THE geography of that vast territory which Herodotus included under the name of Europe, is only partially described or briefly noticed in his history. The Alpine mountains, which encompass Italy and the Adriatic in a semicircular bulwark, were unknown to him, as were also the Apennines, which run off through the entire length of the Italian peninsula. At the eastern extremity of the Alps, however, commences the Balkan chain, which extends eastward from the head of the Adriatic to the shore of the Euxine, and is clearly alluded to under the names of Haemus and Rhodope.[1] Towards the south the Balkan fills part of Thrace, and also Macedonia and Greece, with its numerous ramifications. Northwards of the Balkan Herodotus describes the Ister or Danube, as traversing nearly all Europe from west to east, and separating Thrace from Scythia; whilst still farther to the north and east are the rivers of Scythia and mountains of the Ural and Altai, which all find a place in the geography of our author.

[1] iv. 49.

The mapping out of this continent into tracts or countries is a task which properly belongs to the following chapters, but for the sake of clearness it will be advisable to take here a general survey of the whole.

Western Europe.

Of western Europe it is apparent that our author's knowledge was exceedingly limited, and the region is only mentioned in one or two passing observations. In the extreme west, on the coasts of Portugal, were the Cynetae. Along the northern coasts of Spain and France were the Celtae;[1] and along the southern coasts were the Iberians.[2] The rocks of Gibraltar and Ceuta were called the Pillars of Heracles. Westward of them was the rich port of Tartessus at the mouth of the Guadalquiver, and also the islands of Erythcia and Gadeira.[3] Along the southern coasts of France and Sardinia were the Elisyci[4] and the Ligyes,[5] and the Italian peninsula was occupied by the Ombrici and Messapians.

Region north of the upper course of the Ister.

From the Celtae rose the river Ister or Danube, which flowed along in an easterly course to the Euxine,[6] and thus cut Europe into two divisions. Northward of its upper course, the country was unknown, and a single nation only is mentioned, namely, the chariot-driving Sigynnes, who declared themselves to be a Medic colony.[7] From the river Eridanus Herodotus had heard that amber was imported, but he says that the very name of this river is Greek, and not barbarian, and it must therefore be the invention of some poet.[8] Of the sea-coast beyond he could learn nothing from eye-witnesses, but only from poetry and hearsay.[9] Of the islands called Cassiterides,[10] (British Isles,) from whence the Greeks

[1] ii. 33. [2] i. 163. [3] iv. 8, 152. [4] v. 9.
[5] vii. 165. [6] ii. 33. [7] v. 9.

[8] The name of Eridanus was subsequently applied by the Greeks to the river Po, but Herodotus had evidently heard of some river of Northern Europe. It is idle to attempt to identify this Eridanus of our author. Amber is now found in the greatest quantity at the mouths of the Oder and Vistula.

[9] iv. 13.

[10] The tin country here alluded to was evidently Cornwall. Had the Phoenicians, who carried on the trade, been more communicative, we

obtained their tin, he candidly assures us he knew nothing at all.[1]

Region north of the lower course of the Ister.

Northward of the lower course of the Ister was Scythia, and the bordering nations of the Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlaeni, Sauromatae, Budini, and Geloni, all of which together occupied the region eastward of the Theiss, and stretched beyond the Tanais or Don. In the centre of the Scythian sea-coast, at the mouth of the river Borysthenes, or Dnieper, was the Greek port of Olbia, near the site of the modern Cherson.[2] From Olbia a caravan route led northward into the interior, and then eastward, over the Ural chain to the feet of the Altai mountains. The nations traversed by this route are described by Herodotus, who apparently obtained his information from travellers who had performed the journey. Beyond these regions were the gold-finding griffins, the one-eyed Arimaspi, the men with goat's feet, and those who slept for six months at a time, of whom Herodotus had heard some traditions, or rather caravan stories, which seem to the modern geographer to refer to Tartary and Siberia.

Caravan route over the Ural.

Nations on the frontier towards Asia.

The frontiers of Europe in this direction were formed by the river Araxes or Jaxartes, (now named the Sirr-deria,) the Caspian Sea, the river Phasis or Rhion, and the Euxine; accordingly the continent included the Massagetae of the Khirgis steppe and the nations of Mount Caucasus.

Nations south of the lower course of the Ister.

Returning to the Ister and crossing to the southern bank, we find the nations of Thrace, Illyria, Macedonia, and Greece. This is the most important region in the historical geography of Europe. Thrace is cut in two by the Haemus, or Balkan range, which runs from east to west. From the centre of this range a large branch runs towards the south under the name of Pindus, and throws out arms on every side, until at length it loses itself among the ramifi-

should doubtless have had some peculiarly interesting account of the ancient inhabitants of our island.

[1] iii. 115.

[2] For further account with references, see Europe, chap. viii.

cations of Greece. The stem of Pindus thus cut off the Illyrian tribes on the west from Thrace and Macedonia on the east, whilst the two latter nations were separated from each other by an arm which Herodotus calls Mount Dysorum. Lower down a second arm of Pindus, known as the Cambunian range, but called Mount Olympus by Herodotus, formed the northern barrier of Greece; and beyond this point minor arms spread through the Greek peninsula, separating it into the various nations, which we shall find necessary to survey at considerable length in a separate chapter.

Seas of Europe.

Of the seas which Herodotus considered as belonging to Europe, he describes the Pontus Euxinus, the Palus Maeotis, the Propontis, (with the Bosphorus and Hellespont,) the Caspian, the Adriatic, and the Ionian; and of these he himself measured the extent of the Pontus, the Propontis, the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont.

Pontus Euxinus.

The Pontus Euxinus (or Black Sea) is a sea worthy to behold, and of all seas the most wonderfully formed. Its extreme length, from its mouth at the Bosphorus to the river Phasis, (or Rhion,) is 11,100 stadia; and its breadth, in the widest part, from Sindica to Themiscyra on the river Thermodon, is 3300 stadia. The former is a sail of nine days and eight nights; and the latter a sail of three days and two nights. A day's sail is reckoned at 70,000 orgyae, and the night's sail at 60,000 orgyae.[1]

Palus Maeotis.

The Palus Maeotis (or Sea of Azoff) flows into the Euxine, and is sometimes called the mother of the Pontus Euxinus. Herodotus names it Maeetis, and erroneously supposed it to be not much smaller than the Pontus,[2] but he does not appear to have explored its waters, nor does he give any measurements of its extent.

Propontis.

The Propontis (or Sea of Marmora) is joined to the Pontus Euxinus by the Bosphorus, and flows into the Aegean through the Hellespont (or modern Dar-

[1] iv. 85, 86. Comp. Appendix II. on the Measurements of Length used by Herodotus.

[2] iv. 86.

danelles). Herodotus calculated the Bosphorus to be 120 stadia long and 4 stadia wide; the Propontis to be 1400 stadia long and 500 stadia wide; and the Hellespont to be 400 stadia long and 7 stadia wide.[1]

Caspian. The Caspian is unconnected with any other sea, and lies to the east of Mount Caucasus. Herodotus calculated its length to be a 15 days' voyage in a boat with oars, and its breadth to be an 8 days' voyage.[2] Niebuhr reckons the one day's voyage with oars as equal to the one day's journey by land, or 200 stadia.[3] According to this calculation, the Caspian would be 3000 stadia long and 1600 stadia broad.[4]

Adriatic. The Gulf of Adria (or Adriatic Sea) is mentioned several times by Herodotus,[5] and evidently referred to the long narrow arm of the Mediterranean, which runs up to the eastward of the Italian peninsula.

Ionian. Also the Ionian Sea or Gulf,[6] by which was intended the sea between Greece and Sicily.

[1] iv. 85, 86. [2] i. 202, 203. [3] iv. 101.

[4] Reducing these stadia to English miles, the result would be that Herodotus supposed the Caspian to be 375 miles long and 200 miles broad. Herodotus was not much mistaken in its average breadth, but the length of the Caspian from north to south is upwards of 650 miles. See Appendix II., on Measurements used by Herodotus.

[5] i. 163; iv. 33. [6] vi. 127; vii. 20.

CHAPTER II.

GREECE, OR HELLAS.

Hellas of Herodotus, its wide signification.—European Greece, general description. — Pindus range running southward from the Balkan. — Eastern arms, Olympus and Othrys.—Western arm to the Ceraunian mountains.—Ossa and Pelion.—Northern limits.—Mount Oeta.—Thermopylae. — Parnassus. — Cithaeron. — Parnes. — Oenean mountains.—Mountains of the Peloponnesus.—General face of the country.—Herodotus's account of Hellas: its central position.—Fertilized by rain.—Subject to storms and earthquakes.—Lions.—Sillikyprion.—Character of the people.—Temples.—Markets.—Trade.—Miscellaneous notices.—Art of writing.—Obscurities in the history of the people.—Herodotus's account.—Hellas anciently called Pelasgia, and peopled by Pelasgians and other tribes.—Character of the Pelasgians.—Mythical origin of the Hellenes.—Dorian wanderings.—Invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Heracleids.—Achaeans unknown: Aeolians and Ionians considered as Pelasgians.—In historical times inhabitants all called Hellenes.

Hellas of Herodotus, its wide signification.

THE name of Hellas in the history of Herodotus, bears a very different signification from the Greece of later times. It included every territory or district inhabited by Hellenes, or containing an Hellenic city, whether in Europe, Asia, or Libya, or on the islands of the Mediterranean or Aegean. Thus Amasis is said to have dedicated offerings in Hellas, for he sent presents to Cyrene on the coast of Libya, to Lindus in Rhodes, and to the island of Samos.[1] Again, Herodotus tells us that the physicians of Crotona in Italy were the best in all Hellas, and those of Cyrene were the second.[2] In the present division of our work, however, we purpose confining ourselves to a consideration of Greece proper, or that part of the Hellas of Herodotus which was included in the European continent; and we shall treat of all the islands in a separate chapter, and leave the Greek

[1] ii. 182.

[2] iii. 131. Compare also vii. 157, where Gelon is said to possess no small part of Hellas, since he was master of Syracuse.

SOUTHERN THRACE
Propontis
MYSIA
GREECE,
MACEDONIA, THRACE, &c.
TO ILLUSTRATE HERODOTUS.
By J.T. Wheeler.

colonies to fall into the more natural continental arrangement.

European Greece. General description.

European Greece is surrounded on three sides by the sea—west by the Ionian, south by the Mediterranean, and east by the Aegean. On the north its limits were never precisely defined, but an imaginary boundary line may be drawn after a glance at the mountains which form the skeleton of the country.

Pindus range running southwards from the Balkan.

Far beyond the Greek territory, from the head of the Adriatic to the coast of the Euxine, runs a vast mountain belt, alluded to by Herodotus as Mount Haemus,[1] but bearing the modern name of the Balkan. From this belt a branch under the name of Pindus descends in a southerly direction, and after separating Thessaly from Epirus, terminates at the rugged pile of Mount Oeta. From Pindus two huge arms stretch towards the eastern sea, and enclose the vale of Thessaly. On the north the Cambunian hills terminate in the loftier heights of Olympus; whilst on the south the chain of Othrys sinks gently towards the coast. A western arm of smaller elevation connects Pindus and the Cambunian chain with the Ceraunian mountains, and runs out into the Ionian Sea at the Acroceraunian promontory. On the eastern coast of Thessaly runs a fourth range, parallel to Pindus, and including the celebrated heights of Ossa and Pelion.

Eastern arms, Olympus and Othrys.

Western arm to the Ceraunian mountains.

Ossa and Pelion.

Northern limits.

The two northern arms of Pindus, namely, the eastern or Cambunian range, and the western, or range connected with the Ceraunian mountains, would therefore form the natural boundaries of European Greece on the north. But the country west east of Mount Pindus, bearing the general name of Epirus, or "the main-land," cannot be regarded as being strictly Grecian in the time of Herodotus. The Thesprotians, Molossians, and other barbarous half-brethren of the Greeks who dwelt there, had become thoroughly incorporated with the rude Illyrian tribes who forced a way amongst them, and they collectively appear as rough sons of the moun-

[1] iv. 49.

tains, whose disposition presented features little more attractive than their own rugged rocks and precipices.

Contenting ourselves with this protest, we have thought it advisable to include Epirus in the geography of Greece; Herodotus himself mentions Thesprotia as part of Hellas,[1] and Dodona must be regarded as one of the principal seats of the oldest national worship.

Mount Oeta. To return to the mountain survey. The rugged mass of Oeta, which forms the continuation of Pindus, separates into two branches. One stretches Thermopylae. eastward to the sea at Thermopylae, and runs along the coast till it sinks into the vale of the Boeotian Parnassus. Asopus. The other takes a more southerly direction through Phocis, and includes the lofty summits of Parnassus; and then, after skirting the Corinthian Cithaeron. Gulf, it forms a huge knot at Cithaeron on the frontiers of Attica. Two ridges run off from Cithaeron, Parnes. viz. Mount Parnes, which stretches eastward to the Oenean mountains. sea; and the Oenean mountains, which take a south-westerly direction through Megaris, and at length terminate at the isthmus.

Mountains of the Peloponnesus. From this point the peninsula of the Peloponnesus spreads out into the Mediterranean like an outstretched palm.[2] Its centre consists of an elevated table-land, encircled by mountains, and intersected by some lower secondary chains of hills. From the outer circle all the ridges diverge which form the many headlands and points on the coast; and on the south two ranges detach themselves from the central highlands, and project into the sea at the two promontories of Malea and Taenarum.

General face of the country. Such is the general configuration of Greece. The rivers are very small, and only important from their place in history. The mountains, like those of the

[1] ii. 56. Thirlwall remarks, that it must have been the recollection of the ancient fame of Thesprotia as the primitive abode of the Hellenes, rather than the condition of its tribes after the Persian war, that induced Herodotus to speak of it as included in Hellas.

[2] The ancients compared its shape to the leaf of the plane tree, and it derives its modern name of Morea from its similar resemblance to the leaf of the mulberry.

Balkan, are torn by transverse fractures, and divide the whole territory into a multitude of small secluded and isolated regions, favouring the production of numerous and separate states. The valleys are mostly caldron-shaped hollows, and seem to be the basins of ancient lakes, which have been emptied by some upheaving of the general surface. The volcanic belt passes through Greece, and often occasions earthquakes; and the valleys contain many large masses of stone, which are different from that of the surrounding mountains. The northern half of the country appears broad and unbroken, whilst the southern is narrow, irregular, and perforated by bays and inlets; and here the mountains not only stretch far out into the sea in projecting headlands, but also reappear in the numerous islands and rocks which stud the deeply indented coast.

Herodotus's account of Hellas—its central position.

Greece was considered by Herodotus to be situated near the centre of the earth, for he describes Hellas as enjoying the most happy mixture of seasons.[1] According to him, it was not fertilized by the inundation of the rivers, but by the refreshing showers of Zeus; upon which the Aegyptians affirmed, that if it ever ceased to rain the land would miserably suffer.[2] Notwithstanding, however, its beautiful climate, Greece was subject to violent storms and earthquakes. Thus a heavy rain fell throughout the night which succeeded the first day's conflict at Artemisium, hail-storms descended from Mount Pelion, and mighty floods rushed into the sea;[3] and at sunrise on the morning of the battle at Salamis an earthquake was felt on sea and land.[4] When also a division of the Persian army was sent out to plunder Delphi, the sacrilegists were overtaken by a storm of thunder and lightning, and two crags, which had probably been broken from Parnassus by the violence of the tempest, fell upon them with a murderous crash.[5] Of wild beasts Herodotus tells us that lions were to be found, but only between the rivers Archelous and the Macedonian

Fertilized by rain.

Subject to storms and earthquakes.

Lions.

[1] iii. 106. [2] ii. 13. [3] viii. 12. [4] viii. 64. [5] viii. 37.

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Nestus.[1] He also specially mentions that the Sillikyprion, which was cultivated in Aegypt in order to extract the oil, grew spontaneously and in a wild state on the banks of the lakes and rivers of Hellas.[2]

Sillikyprion

Character of the people.

The inhabitants of Hellas seem to have attracted the admiration of the Persians, though the very existence of the nation exasperated their Asiatic pride and aroused their fiercest enmity. Atossa expressed to Darius a wish to engage Lacedaemonian, Argive, Corinthian, and Athenian women as attendant maidens;[3] and when Tritantaechmes heard that the Hellenes contended at the Olympic games for a simple crown of olive, he exclaimed, "Heavens, Mardonius, against what kind of men have you brought us to fight, who contend not for wealth, but for glory?"[4] "Hellas," says Demaratus to Xerxes, "has always had poverty as foster-sister, but has acquired virtue by the aid of wisdom and firm laws, and with it she restrains poverty and tyranny."[5]

Temples.

The Hellenes were the only people except the Aegyptians who abstained from all intercourse with women in sacred precincts, and who never entered the temples without a previous purification.[6] They

Markets.

possessed market-places in their several cities, for which Cyrus taunted them as having set apart a place for the purpose of cheating each other.[7] They

Trade.

carried on a considerable trade by sea, especially with Aegypt,[8] and the expression of Herodotus that Samos had appeared to them to be as far off as the Pillars of Heracles,[9] is either only a pettish remark at the delay and hesitation of the Greek fleet in crossing the Aegean to Asia Minor, or else a figure of speech to illustrate the complete cessation of all communication between European and Asiatic Greece during the Persian war.

Miscellaneous customs.

The Hellenes in their calculation of time inserted an intercalary month every third year.[10] Religion and science they appear to have imported from foreign countries. Many of their customs had been

[1] vii. 126. [2] ii. 94. [3] iii. 134. [4] viii. 26. [5] vii. 102.
[6] ii. 64. [7] i. 153. [8] ii. 5. [9] viii. 132. [10] ii. 4.

borrowed from Aegypt, together with the names of the twelve gods, the oracle of Dodona, and art of divination by victims.[1] The dress and aegis of the statues of Athene were imitated from those of the Libyan women; and the custom of harnessing four chariot-horses abreast was borrowed from the Libyan men.[2] Geometry was brought from Aegypt, where Herodotus believes it originated at the division of the land by Sesostris.[3] The sun-dial and division of the day into twelve parts was learnt from the Babylonians.[4] The shield and helmet again were brought from Aegypt.[5]

Art of writing.

The Hellenes wrote from left to right, which distinguished them from the Aegyptians.[6] The art of writing was brought to Hellas by Cadmus and the Phoenicians, and was first learnt by the Ionians, who adopted the letters with some slight alterations, and called them Phoenician or Cadmean. The Ionians also called their books, parchments, because in ancient times, when papyrus was scarce, they wrote on the skins of goats and sheep.[7]

These then are all the facts that can be found in Herodotus bearing upon the general geography of Hellas; it now only remains for us to develope his views respecting the origin of the people who inhabited it.

Obscurities in the history of the people. Herodotus's account.

The general history of the races who occupied Hellas in the time of Herodotus is involved in a cloud of legend, and will but little illustrate or explain the apparently contradictory statements which are to be found in our author.

Hellas anciently called Pelasgia, and peopled by Pelasgians and other tribes.

Hellas, he says, was anciently called Pelasgia,[8] and it is evident that he considered the Pelasgians to have formed its principal inhabitants in primeval times. In addition to these, we find mention of the Leleges, afterwards called Carians,[9] the Caucones,[10] the Minyans of the Boeotian Orchomenus,[11] the Minyans of Elis,[12] the Dryopes,[13] and some foreign

[1] ii. 4, 54—57. [2] iv. 189, 190. [3] ii. 109. [4] *Ib.*
[5] iv. 180. [6] ii. 36. [7] v. 58, 59. [8] ii. 56. [9] i. 171.
[10] iv. 148. [11] i. 146. [12] iv. 145—148.
[13] viii. 73; i. 146; i. 56; viii. 31.

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settlers, under Cadmus the Phoenician,[1] Danaus the Aegyptian,[2] and Pelops the Phrygian.[3]

The settlements of these smaller races will be mentioned in the geography of the several states;[4] the Pelasgians require more immediate attention.

Character of the Pelasgians.

These people were considered by Herodotus to have originally been a race who never migrated. Their language was barbarous,[5] their deities nameless.[6] Subsequently they appear to have been wandering hordes. Some came from the island of Samothrace to Athens, where they constructed the Pelasgic citadel, and taught several mysteries; but being expelled from thence, they went to Lemnos.[7] Such are the few particulars we can collect.

Mythical origin of the Hellenes.

A new and conquering class next appears upon the stage of Greek history, namely, the warlike Dorians. According to the myth frequently alluded to by Herodotus, Hellen, the son of Deucalion, had three sons—Aeolus, Dorus, and Xuthus. He was the ancestor of the Hellenic race. From Aeolus and Dorus descended the Aeolians and Dorians, and from Achaeus and Ion, the sons of Xuthus, and therefore grandsons of Hellen, descended the Achaeans and Ionians.[8] The original seats of the Hellenes (or at any rate of the Dorians) were in Thessaly.

Dorian wanderings.

[1] v. 57—62. [2] vii. 94. [3] vii. 8, 11.

[4] The Carians or Leleges occupied the islands off the western coast of Asia Minor, but were expelled by the Dorians. The Caucones were in southern Elis, but subsequently were driven out by the Minyans from Lemnos. The Minyans of Orchomenus accompanied the great Ionian migration from Attica. The Minyans of Lemnos were driven out by some Pelasgians, and after a sojourn in Laconica, migrated to southern Elis and drove out the Caucones. The references to these particulars are already given above.

[5] i. e. distinct from the Hellenic, i. 57. [6] ii. 51, 52.

[7] vi. 137—140.

[8] Modern scholars have indulged in some ingenious speculations on the origin of these names. According to them, the Hellenes means "the warriors" (compare the name of their god, Ἀπόλλων); the Dorians, (Δωριεῖς) are "Highlanders," from δα and ὄρος; the Aeolians (Αἰολεῖς) are "the mixed men," a name which arose when the Dorians first descended from their mountains in the north of Thessaly, and incorporated themselves with the Pelasgi of the Thessalian plains. So, again, the Ionians (Ἴωνες) are the "men of the coast," (Ἰωνία,) called, also, Αἰγιαλεῖς, "Beach-men," and the Ἀχαιοί are "Sea-men." Compare Kenrick, *Phil. Mus.* ii. 367; Müller, *Dor.* ii. 6, 6; Donaldson, *G. G.* p. 2.

from thence the Dorians removed to the southern territory of Doris, and at length passed over to the Peloponnesus under the guidance of the Heracleids, or descendants of Heracles.[1] This celebrated invasion forms the great epoch in the early history of Greece; the settlements they effected will be described in the chapter on the Peloponnesus.

Invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Heracleids.

The history of the three other Hellenic races, the Aeolians, Achaeans, and Ionians, is more intricate and contradictory. Herodotus describes the Aeolians and Ionians as Pelasgians;[2] and the Achaeans are not described at all excepting as conquerors of the Ionian Pelasgians.[3] It is impossible to reconcile these statements with the mythical account of the relationship of the four races.

Achaeans unknown. Aeolians and Ionians considered as Pelasgians.

In the time of Herodotus nearly all the inhabitants of Hellas were called Hellenes, and all were considered to be bound together by the ties of blood, of language, and of religion.[4] Whilst the Pelasgians, who spoke a different language, were fast disappearing from the scene,[5] the Hellenes from a small beginning increased to a multitude of nations, chiefly by a union with other tribes; and they appear to have retained the language they used when they first became a people.[6]

In historical times, inhabitants all called Hellenes.

Thus then, having briefly reviewed the general geography of Greece, and history of its inhabitants, we shall proceed to treat of the various states under the two great divisions of Southern Greece, or the Peloponnesus, and Northern Greece up to the Cambunian range.

[1] i. 56, 57. [2] vii. 95. Comp. also the sect. in chap. iv. on Attica.
[3] vii. 94. [4] viii. 144; ix. 7. [5] i. 57. [6] i. 58.

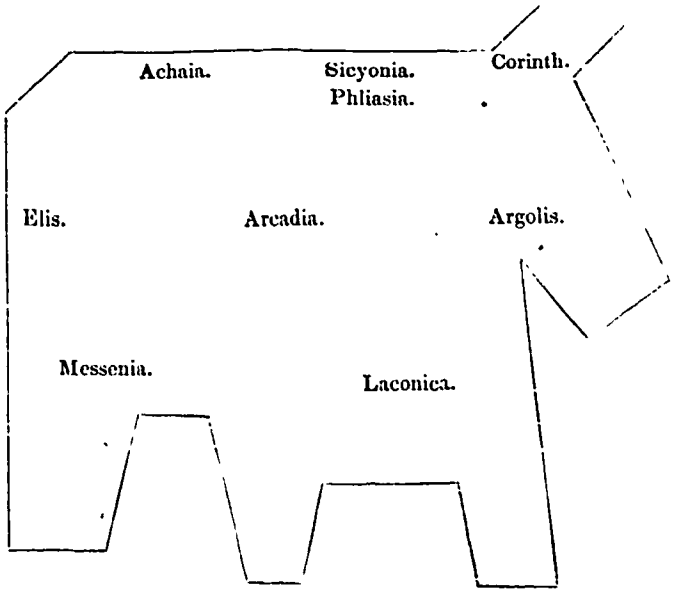
CHAPTER III.

SOUTHERN GREECE, OR PELOPONNESUS.

Division of the Peloponnesus into nine districts.—Herodotus's account of the Peloponnesian races.—Settlements of the races prior to the Dorian invasion.—Settlements in the time of Herodotus.—I. ARCADIA, general description.—Herodotus's account.—Topography: Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenus, Phigalea, Trapezus, Paeos, Dipaea, Nonacris, Mount Parthenion, Stymphalian lake.—II. ARGOLIS, general description.—Herodotus's account.—Topography: Argos, Epidaurus, Hermione, Troezene, Pogon, Mycenae, Tiryns, Nauplia, Orneae, River Erasinus, Grove of Argos.—III. CORINTHIA, general description.—Origin of its commercial importance.—Herodotus's account.—City of Corinth.—Petra.—The isthmus.—IV. SICYONIA, general description.—Herodotus's account: her enmity against Argos.—Expulsion of the Argive hero Adrastus.—Changes in the name of the Sicyonian tribes.—V. PHLIASIA.—Phlius.—VI. ACHAIA, general description.—Herodotus's account.—Topography: Pellene, Aegira, Aegae, Crathis, Bura, Aegium, Rhypes, Patrae, Pharae, Olenus, Dyma, Tritaea.—VII. ELIS, general description.—Herodotus's account.—Aetolians, Caucones, Minyae.—Elean seers.—No mules bred in Elis.—Topography: Elis, Pisa, Olympia.—Minyan cities: Phrixae, Nudium, Epium, Macistus, Lepreum, Pyrgus.—VIII. MESSENIA, general description.—History.—Herodotus's account.—Topography: Pylus, Asine, Stenyclerus, Ithome.—IX. LACONICA, general description.—History.—Herodotus's account.—Description of the Laconians.—Rights and privileges of their kings, in war; in peace; at public sacrifices, feasts, and games; right of appointing the proxeni and pythii; daily allowance of food; keepers of the oracles; commissioners of the highways; entitled to a seat in the council of twenty-eight.—Manners and customs of the people: burial of kings; hereditary professions; miscellaneous.—Topography: Sparta, Therapne, Pitane, Cardamyle, the Aegeidae, Mount Thornax, Mount Taygetus, Cape Taenarum, Cape Malea.

Division of the Peloponnesus into nine districts.

THE PELOPONNESUS is usually divided into nine districts, viz. Arcadia in the centre; Argolis, Corinthia, Sicyonia, and Phliasia on the east; Achaia on the north; Elis on the west; and Messenia and Laconica on the south; but the Messenians having been conquered by the Laconians, the two latter districts were generally considered to be included in the same territory. The relative position of these nine districts on the map was as follows:



Herodotus's account of the Peloponnesian races.

According to our author, "the country of Pelops the Phrygian," as he calls it, was in his time occupied by seven different races, namely, Arcadians, Cynurians, Achaeans, Dorians, Aetolians, Dryopes, and Lemnians. Of these the Arcadians and Cynurians were aborigines who still occupied their ancient territory; the Achaeans had also never removed from the Peloponnesus, but had passed from one territory to another. The remaining four were foreigners.[1]

The history of these races appears to have been as follows.

Settlement of the races prior to the Dorian invasion.

Prior to the Dorian invasion, the centre was occupied by the Arcadians, and the south-eastern promontory by the Cynurians, and both these nations were Pelasgians. The east and south were held by the Achaeans. The west and north were originally peopled by races not mentioned here because subsequently driven out; viz. the Ionians, called also

[1] viii. 73.

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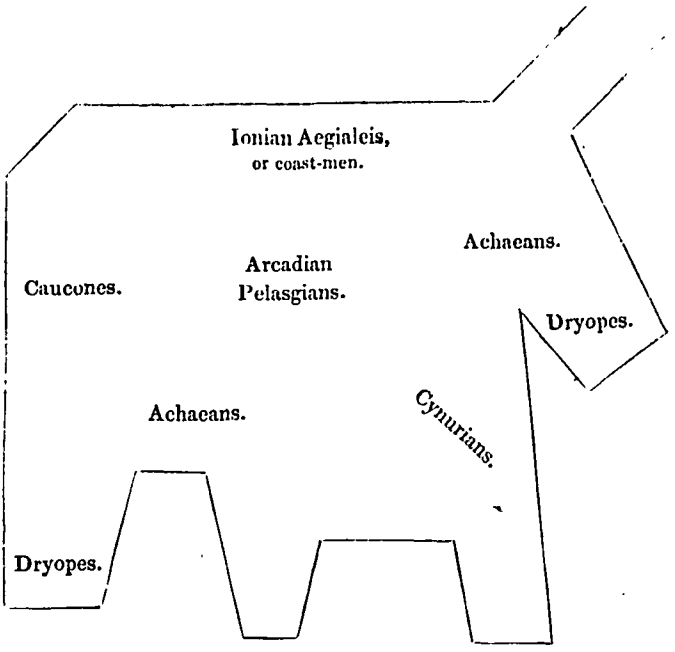
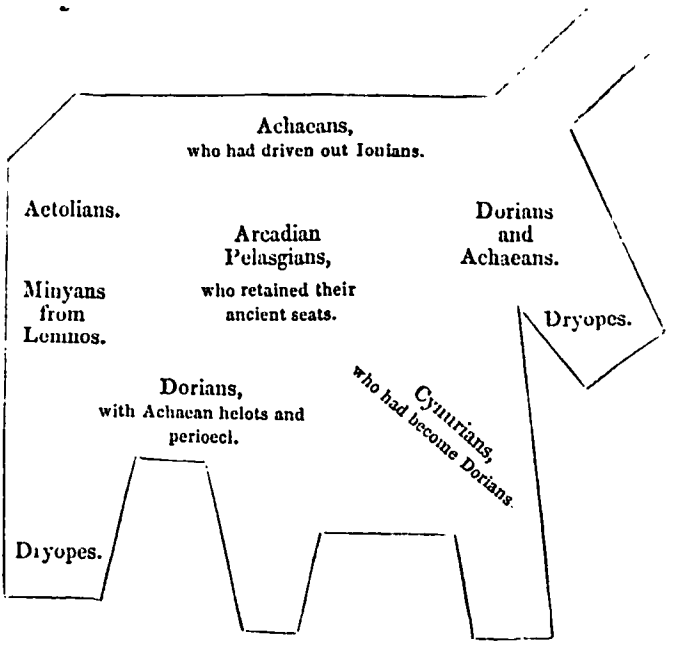
Aegialeis, or "coast-men," on the north,[1] and the Caucones on the west.[2] The Dryopes from Doris had also formed settlements in Messenia and Argolis.[3] These races seem therefore to have anciently occupied the following positions.



Settlements in the time of Herodotus.

Subsequently the Dorians and Aetolians invaded the Peloponnesus. The Aetolians seized the western territory, whilst the Dorians turned out the Achaeans and occupied the south and east. The Achaeans mostly proceeded to the north, and drove out the Ionian Aegialeis and occupied their territory,[4] but a few remained behind. The Ionians proceeded to Athens. Subsequently the Minyans from Lemnos, called also Lemnians,[5] drove out the Caucones and obtained their country. The inhabitants of the Peloponnesus therefore in the time of Herodotus seem to have been situated as follows:

[1] i. 145; vii. 94. [2] iv. 148. [3] viii. 73.
[4] vii. 94. [5] iv. 148.



The Dorians possessed many considerable cities; the Aetolians only Elis; the Dryopes had Hermione, (in the south-east of Argolis,) and Asine, (in the southern promontory of Messenia,) near the Laconian Cardamyle; the Lemnians had all the Paroreatae, and were descended from the Minyans. The Cynurians, though aborigines, were thought by some to be Ionians, (Pelasgians,) but became Dorians like the Orneatae and their neighbours from the lapse of time, and from living under the dominion of the Argives.[1]

We now turn to the geography of the nine districts.

I. ARCADIA. General description.

I. ARCADIA was the central, and next to Laconica the largest, country in the Peloponnesus. It was surrounded on all sides by a ring of mountains, forming a kind of natural wall, and may be regarded

[1] viii. 73.

as the Switzerland of Greece, though its mountains are of a much less elevation.[1]

Herodotus's account.

Arcadia was inhabited by the Pelasgians, who from the beginning, and likewise during the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus, remained in this country, and alone preserved the sacred rites of the Thesmophoria.[2] Some, however, joined the great Ionian migration to Asia Minor,[3] and others perhaps migrated to Cyprus, where at least an Arcadian race is named.[4] In an oracle the Pythia says, "There are many acorn-eating men in Arcadia;"[5] by which we may conclude that they were a rude, uncultivated people, simple in their habits, and moderate in their desires.

Topography Tegea.

Of the Arcadian towns several are mentioned, but without any detailed description. Tegea was situated in a fair plain, and contained the coffin, seven cubits long, enclosing the bones of Orestes, which Liches the Laconian discovered, and carried to Sparta.[6] In the temple of Athena Alea, in the same city, were suspended the fetters which the Laconians, in their arrogance, carried with them in their expedition against the Tegeans. There also was the brazen manger which was taken from the tent of Mardonius, after the battle of Plataea.[7] The Tegeans sent 500 men to Thermopylae,[8] and at the battle of Plataea furnished 1500 hoplites, who disputed the post of honour with the Athenians.[9]

Mantinea.

The city of Mantinea was anciently celebrated for the wisdom of its political institutions. The wise Demonax was fetched from thence to remodel the government of Cyrene.[10] The Mantineans sent 500 men to Thermopylae,[11] who arrived too late to fight at Plataea, and on their return home banished their

[1] The Arcadians, like the Swiss, frequently served as mercenaries. With the exception of the Mantineans and Tegeans, they took no decided part in the Persian or Peloponnesian wars. The poverty and populousness of their country had made them mere soldiers of fortune, and Thucydides affirms, (vii. 57,) that in the expedition against Sicily, Arcadians were to be found in the ranks of both armies.

[2] ii. 171. [3] i. 146. [4] vii. 90. [5] i. 66.
[6] i. 66—68. [7] ix. 70. [8] vii. 202. [9] ix. 26, 61.
[10] iv. 161. [11] vii. 202.

commanders.[1] Orchomenus sent 120 men to Thermopylae,[2] and 600 hoplites to Plataea.[3] Phigalea is barely alluded to as the birth-place of the prophet Cleander.[4] From Trapezus came Amiantus, one of the suitors for the daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon.[5] Paeos, or Pagos, was situated in the district of the Azanes,[6] whence came Laphanes, who was also a suitor.[7] At or near Dipaea, all the Arcadians, except the Mantineans, were defeated by the Laconians.[8] At Nonacris, near Pheneum, a small quantity of water, said by the Arcadians to be the water of the Styx, dropped from a rock into a hollow surrounded by a fence of masonry.[9]

Orchomenus. Phigalea. Trapezus. Paeos. Dipaea. Nonacris.

Above Tegea was Mount Parthenion, where a little before the battle of Marathon the deity Pan appeared to the messenger sent from Athens to Sparta.[10] The Stymphalian lake is also noticed as an unimportant piece of water, which was said to disappear through an unseen chasm, and to reappear in Argos, where it became the river Erasinus.[11]

Mount Parthenion. Stymphalian lake.

II. ARGOLIS lay on the east of the Peloponnesus, and included the whole acte or peninsula between the Saronic and Argolic Gulfs. Prior to the Dorian invasion, the Argives were Achaeans, who had supplanted the original Pelasgian population, and many of the Achaeans remained after the Dorian conquest. Argos then became the great seat of Dorian power in the Peloponnesus, whilst Sparta was her inferior. At an early period war broke out between the two powers for the border district of Thyrea. Here the celebrated battle was fought between 300 Argives and 300 Spartans.[12] The war was terminated in the reign of Cleomenes, by the total defeat of the Argives.[13]

II. ARGOLIS. General description.

Argolis properly embraced all the country westward, as far as the southern promontory of Malea,

Herodotus's account.

[1] ix. 77. [2] vii. 102. [3] ix. 28. [4] vi. 83. [5] vi. 127.
[6] According to Steph. Byzantinus, the Arcadians were distributed into three geographical divisions, viz. Azanes, Parrhasii, and Trapezuntii. Steph. B. *s. v.* Ἀζῆνες.
[7] vi. 127. [8] ix. 35. [9] vi. 74. [10] vi. 105. [11] vi. 76.
[12] i. 82. [13] vi. 78.

and included Cythera, and "the other islands;"[1] by which last expression we may perhaps understand, the small islands near Cythera, or the islands in the Argolic Gulf. In the time of Darius, the Argives ranked as the first musicians amongst the Hellenes.[2] Their women wore the Dorian costume, and very large clasps, from the following circumstance.[3] An Athenian force having been cut to pieces in the island of Aegina, by the Argives and Aeginetans, one survivor only escaped to Athens, upon which the Athenian women killed him with their clasps. Henceforth the Athenians obliged their women to leave off the Dorian costume, and adopt the linen dress without clasps; whilst the women of Aegina and Argos ever afterwards wore their clasps half as large again as before, and consecrated them in their temples.[4] The Argives were mostly Dorians: the Hermionians in the south-east were Dryopes, and the Orneates in the north were Ionian Cynurians.[5]

Topography Argos.

Of the towns of Argolis the most celebrated was Argos, which at the time when the Phoenicians carried off Io, was also the most important in all Hellas.[6] It is, however, scarcely noticed by Herodotus, probably because it took no part in the Persian war,[7] whilst other towns of Argolis were actively engaged in the contest.

Epidaurus.

Epidaurus was situated on the Saronic Gulf, and contributed to the foundation of several Dorian cities in Asia Minor,[8] sent eight ships to Artemisium,[9] ten ships to Salamis,[10] and 800 hoplites to Plataea.[11]

Hermione.

Hermione sent three ships to Salamis,[12] and 300 hoplites to Plataea.[13] This city was founded by the Dryopes, a Pelasgian tribe, whom Heracles and the Melians had expelled from the banks of the river Spercheius and the valleys of

[1] i. 82; vi. 92. [2] iii. 131. [3] Comp. Geog. of Attica.
[4] v. 87, 88. [5] viii. 43, 73. [6] i. 1.
[7] It was generally reported that the Argives had been bribed by Xerxes. Their non-interference was probably occasioned by the rebellion of their slaves, (vi. 83,) and their jealousy of Lacedaemon.
[8] i. 146; vii. 99. [9] viii. 1. [10] viii. 43. [11] ix. 102.
[12] viii. 43. [13] ix. 28.

Octa.[1] It was the birth-place of Lasus the poet and musician.[2] The city of Troezene colonized Halicarnassus in Asia Minor.[3] Before the battle of Salamis, the Troezenians received most of the Athenian families who were forced to abandon their city.[4] They also sent five ships to Artemisium and Salamis,[5] and 1000 hoplites to Plataea;[6] and are named amongst the confederates at Mycale.[7] At its port called Pogon, the Hellenic fleet assembled previous to the battle of Salamis.[8] Mycenae sent 80 men to Thermopylae.[9] It contained a celebrated temple to Hera.[10] Beside these were the city of Tiryns, which included the place called Sepia, where Cleomenes defeated the Argives;[11] Nauplia, which was the port of Argos;[12] and Orneae, whose inhabitants, named the Orneatae, were originally independent of Argos; but in process of time, having been conquered by their more powerful neighbours, from Ionians they became Dorians.[13]

Troezene. Pogon. Mycenae. Tiryns. Nauplia. Orneae.

Our author also mentions the river Erasinus, which flowed from the Stymphalian lake, and after discharging itself through a subterranean hollow, reappeared in Argos.[14] Also the grove of Argos, where the Argives fled for refuge, and which was burnt down by Cleomenes.[15]

River Erasinus. Grove of Argos.

III. CORINTHIA embraced most of the isthmus which joined the Peloponnesus to the main-land, and included the adjacent region on the Peloponnesian side. It was not fertile, and the only arable land it possessed to any extent, was a plain along the coast between Corinth and Sicyon. The barrenness of the soil, and the mountain barriers on the north and south, naturally led the inhabitants to try their fortune on the sea; and Corinth, its capital, at length became an emporium of trade. This city was seated on the isthmus between the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs. It had two harbours; Cenchreae towards Asia Minor, and Lechaeum towards Italy.

III. CORINTHIA. General description. Origin of its commercial importance.

[1] viii. 43. [2] vii. 6. [3] vii. 99. [4] viii. 41. [5] viii. 1; ix. 43. [6] ix. 28. [7] ix. 102. [8] viii. 42. [9] vii. 202. [10] vi. 81. [11] vi. 77. [12] vii. 137. [13] viii. 73. [14] vi. 76. [15] vi. 80.

In those early times when all navigation was performed in coasting vessels, Corinth stood in the most direct line between Europe and Asia; as merchants greatly preferred carrying their goods over the narrow isthmus by land, to undertaking the difficult and dangerous voyage round the Peloponnesian coast.[1]

Herodotus's account.

The Corinthians held artisans in more esteem than any of the other Greeks, who indeed deemed those to be the most noble who were devoted to the profession of arms.[2]

City of Corinth.

Corinth, the capital, sent 400 men to Thermopylae,[3] 40 ships to Artemisium,[4] and the same number to Salamis;[5] 5000 hoplites were also present at Plataea,[6] and it is especially noticed that the Corinthians distinguished themselves at Mycale, next to the Athenians.[7] The city contained Stoae, or Porticoes, where Periander found his son Lycophron, filthy and starved;[8] also a temple of Hera, where Periander obliged all the Corinthian women to undress, and then burnt their clothes on account of his deceased wife, Melissa.[9]

Petra.

The demos Petra, in the neighbourhood of Corinth, was celebrated as the birth-place of Cypselus.

The isthmus.

At the isthmus stood an altar to Poseidon, where the Greek generals met, after the battle of Salamis, to award the prize of valour.[10] Here also the Greeks dedicated a brazen statue of Poseidon, seven cubits high, from a tithe of the booty taken at Plataea,[11] and a Phoenician trireme captured at the victory of Salamis.[12] A wall was built across the isthmus, after the fall of Leonidas at Thermopylae, to which breastworks were added previous to the battle of Plataea.[13]

IV. SICYONIA. General description.

IV. SICYONIA was a small territory lying between Corinth and Achaia, along the coast of the Corinth-

[1] The Corinthians before the Dorian invasion may be regarded as Ionians, though Thucydides calls them Aeolians (Thucy. iv. 42); for Ionians were in possession of the coasts on both sides of the isthmus, which indeed was itself the most revered seat of Poseidon, the chief deity of the Ionian race.

[2] ii. 167. [3] vii. 202. [4] viii. 1. [5] viii. 43. [6] ix. 28. [7] ix. 105. [8] iii. 52. [9] v. 92. [10] Ibid. [11] viii. 123. [12] ix. 81. [13] viii. 121. [14] viii. 71; ix. 7.

ian Gulf. Sicyon was originally included among the towns of the Argive confederacy. Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, and his predecessors, appear to have endeavoured to weaken the coherence of this confederacy; and the Argives, in trying to revive it, placed themselves in a state of war with Cleisthenes, and induced him to violently break the connexion between Sicyon and Argos. His measures are described by our author.

Herodotus's account: her enmity against Argos.

Cleisthenes was engaged in a war with Argos, against whom he entertained the utmost enmity. He stopped the contests of the rhapsodists, or reciters of Homer's poetry, because Homer celebrates Argos and the Argives in almost every part.

Expulsion of the Argive hero, Adrastus.

He wished to remove the shrine of the Argive hero, Adrastus, from the Agora or market-place of Sicyon, but was reproved by the Pythia. He then sent for the shrine of Melanippus, the greatest enemy of Adrastus, from the city of Thebes in Boeotia, and placed it in the very prytaneum, or town hall, and transferred to Melanippus the honours which had been previously paid to Adrastus. Moreover all the dances and tragic choruses, (i. e. dithyrambs of a sad and plaintive character,) which had been previously performed in honour of Adrastus, he transferred to the worship of Dionysus, and the remainder of the Adrastean ceremonies, he gave to Melanippus.

Change in the names of the Sicyonian tribes.

Above all, he changed the names of the Dorian tribes[1] in Sicyon, which were the same as those in Argos. The citizens of Sicyon were divided into four tribes, namely, the three Dorian tribes of Hylleans, Dymanes, and Pamphylians, and a fourth or non-Doric tribe, to which Cleisthenes himself belonged. He now called his own tribe by the name of Archelai or rulers; and the three Dorian tribes by the insulting names of Hyatae, Oneatae, and Choereatae, from the three Greek words signifying a boar, an ass, and a little pig. Sixty years after the death

[1] All the Dorian communities were usually divided into three tribes, viz. the Hylleans, Dymanes, and Pamphylians, who were so called from Hyllus the son of Heracles, and Dymas and Pamphylus the two sons of the Dorian king Aegimius.

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of Cleisthenes, the names of the Dorian tribes were restored, and the fourth tribe was called Aegialeans, after Aegialeus the son of Adrastus,[1] but more probably after the Ionian Aegialeis, or coast-men, who originally occupied the district.[2]

The inhabitants of Sicyon sent twelve ships to Artemisium,[3] and fifteen to Salamis.[4] The river Asopus flows through the district, and is called the father of Thebe, and Aegina.[5]

V. PHLIASIA.

V. PHLIASIA was a small territory in the north-east of Peloponnesus, enclosed between Sicyonia, Corinthia, Arcadia, and Argolis. Phlius was the chief town. Herodotus merely mentions that Phlius sent 200 men to Thermopylae,[6] and 1000 hoplites to Plataea.[7]

Phlius.

VI. ACHAIA General description.

VI. ACHAIA was a narrow tract of land along the coast of the Corinthian Gulf, lying upon the slope of the northern mountain range of Arcadia. It was originally called Aegialus, either from a hero of that name, or, more probably, from the maritime situation of the district.

Herodotus's account.

The original inhabitants of Achaia were Pelasgians, and were called Aegialeis, or "coast-men."[8] Subsequently the Ionians settled in the territory, and it was called Ionia, and the inhabitants Aegialian Ionians. These Ionians remained in possession of the country till the invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians, when the Achaeans (who had been driven out of Argos and Lacedaemon by the invaders) expelled them from the district and settled in it themselves. The Achaeans thus became masters, and the country was henceforth called Achaia, after them; but they still retained the ancient division of twelve cities which had been followed by their predecessors the Aegialian Ionians.[10]

Topography

Herodotus gives a list of the twelve Achaean cities in the following order. Pellene, which is the first city from Sicyon. Aegira, Aegae, where flows the river Crathis, which is never dry, and from which

Pellene. Aegira. Aegae. River Crathis.

[1] v. 68. [2] vii. 94; i. 145. [3] viii. 1. [4] viii. 45. [5] v. 80. [6] vii. 202. [7] ix. 28. [8] vii. 94. [9] Strabo, viii. p. 383. [10] i. 145.

the river in Italy derived its name. Bura. To these two last places the Ionians fled when defeated by the Achaeans. Aegium, Rhypes, Patrae, Pharae, Olenus, by which flows the great river Peirus. Dyma, Tritaea. These two last towns are the only ones which lie in the interior.[1]

Bura. Aegium. Rhypes. Patrae. Pharae. Olenus. Dyma. Tritaea.

VII. Elis in the time of Herodotus applied to the whole western portion of the Peloponnesus between Arcadia and the sea, and having Achaia on the north and Messenia on the south. This western side is the lowest slope of the Peloponnesus, and has the most gradual inclination to the sea. It includes the largest extent of champaign country in the peninsula. It is divided into three districts. (1.) Northern or hollow Elis, anciently peopled by the Epeans, who were probably Pelasgians, and were mingled with some Aetolian tribes. (2.) Central Elis, or Pisatis, the ancient seat of the kingdom of Pelops the Phrygian, who gave his name to the entire peninsula. (3.) Southern Elis, or Triphylia, which seems to have included the ancient kingdom of the Neleid princes of Pylos.[2] Some of the Aetolians migrated to Northern Greece, and from thence accompanied the Dorians in the invasion of the Peloponnesus, and received Elis as their share of the conquest. The Eleans were present in all the engagements fought against the Persians.

VII. Elis. General description.

The northern district of Elis round the capital was inhabited by the Aetolians.[3] The southern district (or Triphylia) was peopled originally by the Pelasgian Caucones.[4] The Minyae, also called Lemnians, who migrated from Laconia, drove out the Caucones and retained their name of Paroreatae, or "dwellers on the side of a mountain."[5]

Herodotus's account. Aetolians.

Caucones. Minyæ.

[1] i. 145.

[2] Three towns of this name disputed the title of being the capital of Nestor's dominions; viz. Pylos of Messenia; Pylos close by the town of Elis; and the above-mentioned Pylos in Triphylia.

[3] viii. 73.

[4] Strabo says that, according to some authors, the whole of Elis once bore the name of Cauconia. Strabo, viii. p. 345.

[5] iv. 148.

Elean seers.

Numerous seers were to be found amongst the Eleans, and some from the families of the Iamidae,[1] Telliadae,[2] and Clytiadae[3] are especially mentioned.

No mules bred in Elis.

Herodotus was surprised that no mules could be bred in the whole territory of Elis, for the climate was not cold, nor could he discover any other cause. The Eleans themselves maintained that it was in consequence of a curse, and therefore bred their mules in a neighbouring country.[4]

Topography Elis.

The following towns in Elis are mentioned by Herodotus. Elis, the only city in the Peloponnesus

Pisa.

occupied by the Aetolians.[5] Pisa, which appears to lie near Olympia, for Herodotus says: From Athens to Pisa and the temple of the Olympian Zeus is 1485 stadia.[6] [It was the ancient capital of the

Olympia.

kingdom of Pelops the Phrygian.] Olympia, with the above-mentioned temple to Zeus, and numerous statues dedicated there by the Rhegian Micythus during his exile at Tegea.[7] Also a brazen Zeus ten cubits high, made from a tenth of the spoil taken at Plataea.[8] The oracle here was consulted by victims the same as the one at Thebes.[9]

Minyan cities. Phrixae. Nudium. Epium. Macistus. Lepreum. Pyrgus.

The Minyae who settled in Elis distributed themselves into six divisions, and founded the following cities: Phrixae, Nudium, Epium, Macistus, Lepreum, Pyrgus; but most of these were already destroyed by the Eleans in the time of Herodotus.[10] Lepreum sent 200 hoplites to Plataea.[11]

VIII. MESSENIA. General description.

VIII. MESSENIA included the south-western quarter of the Peloponnesus. It was bounded by Elis and Arcadia on the north, and by Laconia on the east. Pausanias describes it as the most fertile country in the Peloponnesus. The western part was mountainous, but the country generally was less rugged and more productive than the neighbouring country of Laconia, with which Euripides happily contrasts it.[12] It contained two important plains. On the

[1] v. 44. [2] ix. 37. [3] ix. 33. [4] iv. 30. [5] viii. 73.
[6] ii. 7. [7] vii. 170. [8] ix. 81. [9] viii. 134.
[10] iv. 148. [11] ix. 28. [12] See sect. Laconica.

north, near Arcadia, lay the plain of Stenyclerus, surrounded by a hilly barrier. On the south, along the banks of the river Pamisus, down to the Messenian bay, ran a large and beautiful valley called Macaria, or "The Happy."

History.

When the Dorians invaded the Peloponnesus accompanied by the Actolians, they appear to have first assisted the Actolians in conquering Elis, and then to have passed on in two detachments. One of these settled at Sparta and the other at Stenyclerus, or, to use the words of Grote, "One of these bodies ripened into the stately, stubborn, and victorious Spartans; the other into the short-lived, trampled, and struggling Messenians." The Spartans coveted the more fertile territory of their brother Dorians. After many disputes between the two nations, war at last broke out. The first Messenian war continued for twenty years, B. C. 743—723. It ended with the capture of Ithome and the Messenians agreeing to become the subjects of Sparta. The second Messenian war commenced 38 years afterwards and lasted 17 years, B. C. 685—668. It terminated with the complete subjugation of the country. Most of the Messenians left the Peloponnesus, and those who remained behind were reduced to the condition of helots or serfs. Two centuries afterwards, and between the Persian and Peloponnesian contests, the third Messenian war broke out. It lasted ten years, B. C. 464—455, and ended by the Messenians surrendering Ithome to the Spartans on condition of being allowed a free departure from the Peloponnesus. They accordingly migrated to Naupactus.

Herodotus's account.

Messenia is very little mentioned by our author. In his time, as we have already seen, the territory was occupied by a mingled population of perioeci and helots, and entirely subject to Sparta. Aristagoras, when he wished to induce the Spartan king Cleomenes to assist in the Ionian revolt, and conquer Asia, said to him: "Here you must carry on war with the Messenians, who are your equals in

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valour, and with the Arcadians and Argives, who have nothing that approaches gold or silver.[1] Herodotus also mentions a victory gained by the Spartans over the Messenians near Ithome.[2]

Topography

Pylus.

Asine.

Stenyclerus

The following are the only towns noticed by Herodotus. Pylus, from whence the Pisistratidae originally came.[3] Asine, near Cardamyle in Laconia, inhabited by Dryopians.[4] Stenyclerus, where Aïmnestus with 300 Spartans engaged with the Messenians, but was killed with all his forces.[5]

Ithome.

Ithome, where the Spartans, assisted by Tisamenus an Elean diviner, defeated the Messenians.[6]

IX. LACONICA. General description.

IX. LACONICA was formed by two mountain chains running immediately from Arcadia and enclosing the river Eurotas. The town of Sparta was seated on the right bank of this river, about twenty miles from the sea. Above and below the town, rocks and hills aproached the banks on both sides, and enclosed a plain upon which the city stood. This enclosed plain is without a doubt the "hollow Lacedaemon" of Homer. The mountain slopes were fertile, but the soil of the plain was poor. The country was most fortunately situated for purposes of defence. The interior of Laconica was only accessible from Arcadia, Argolis, and Messenia by narrow passes and mountain roads. The want of harbours likewise contributed to its natural isolation. Euripides has successfully seized the peculiar character of the country, and contrasted it with the more favoured territory of Messenia.[7]

[1] v. 49. [2] ix. 35. [3] v. 65. [4] viii. 73. [5] ix. 64. [6] ix. 35.

[7] The following poetical translation of the description of Euripides I have extracted from the English edition of Müller's History of the Dorians.

"Far spreads Laconia's ample bound,
With high heaped rocks encompassed round,
The invader's threat despising;
But ill its bare and rugged soil
Rewards the ploughman's painful toil;
Scant harvests there are rising.

"While o'er Messenia's beauteous land
Wide watering streams their arms expand,
Of nature's gifts profuse;

History.

The most ancient inhabitants of Laconica are said to have been Cynurians and Leleges. Herodotus considered the Cynurians to be autochthonous, but calls them Ionians.[1] These were expelled or conquered by the Achaeans. Argos then became the principal city in the Peloponnesus, and Sparta is represented as subject to it. At the Dorian invasion Laconica fell to the share of Eurysthenes and Procles, the two sons of Aristodemus, the Heracleid. Three distinct classes now existed at Sparta. (1.) The Dorian conquerors, who resided in the capital, and were called Spartiatae or Spartans. (2.) The perioeci or old Achaean inhabitants, who became tributary to the Spartans, and possessed no political rights. (3.) The helots, who were also a portion of the old Achaeans, but were reduced to slavery. The helots were rustic serfs, as distinguished from the perioeci, who dwelt in the towns. The Messenians were subsequently included amongst the helots.

Herodotus's account.

The Lacedaemonians were the chief of the Dorians, and were descended from the Hellenes.[2] They affirmed, in opposition to all the poets, that Aristodemus himself, and not his two sons, brought them to Laconica. Two kings subsequently reigned at Sparta. One line descended from Eurysthenes: the other line descended from Procles.[3] Lycurgus the legislator belonged to this line of Procles . . . . . The celebrated constitution which lasted about six hundred years, was a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, and may be thus summed up. Two kings;. a senate of twenty-eight nobles; five yearly-elected Ephori; assemblies of the people, com-

Bright plenty crowns her smiling plain;
The fruitful tree, the full-eared grain,
Their richest stores produce.

Large herds her spacious valleys fill;
On many a soft, descending hill
Her flocks unnumbered stray;
No fierce extreme her climate knows,
Nor chilling frost, nor wintry snows,
Nor dog-star's scorching ray."

[1] viii. 73. [2] i. 56. [3] v. 52.

posed however only of the citizens of Sparta; equal division of land among 39,000 families; no trade; iron money; public and equal education; no walls; no fleets; common tables; all luxury forbidden; no theatre; enslaved helots, who alone attended to agriculture and trade.

Description of the Laconians.

The Laconians were a numerous people, and dwelt in many cities. They paid an especial attention to religious observances,[1] and were remarkable for studying an extreme brevity of speech,[2] but at the same time they often said one thing whilst they meant another.[3] The Spartans themselves were the most valiant men amongst the Greeks, and were all equal to those who fought at Thermopylae; the other Laconians were also valiant, but rather inferior.[4] Demaratus thus briefly sketched their character to Xerxes. "In single combat, the Laconians are inferior to none, and when combined they are the bravest of mankind. Few indeed they are, and yet not absolutely few; for they have a master—THE LAW: whom they fear, far more than your slaves fear you. Whatever that master commands they will do; and it inflexibly forbids them to fly from battle before any number of enemies, and enjoins them to remain in their ranks, and to conquer or die. It is utterly impossible that they should listen to your proposals for enslaving Hellas. They would oppose you for ever, even if all the rest of the Greeks went over to you; and you need not ask their number, for whether a thousand men or more or less should march out, they would certainly give you battle."[5]

Rights and privileges of their kings.

The Spartans gave to their kings two priesthoods; that of the Lacedaemonian, and that of the Uranian Zeus. Also the following privileges, which may be divided into those during war, and those during peace.[6]

In war.

The Spartan kings might levy war against any

[1] ix. 7. Comp. v. 63; vi. 106; vii. 206.
[2] iii. 46.
[3] ix. 54. Comp. v. 92; vi. 108; viii. 142.
[4] viii. 209, 234.
[5] vii. 102, 104.
[6] vi. 56, 57.

country they pleased, and any Spartan who opposed them fell under a curse. They were always the first in an advance, and the last in a retreat. A hundred chosen men formed their body-guard in the field of battle. During the expeditions they sacrificed as many cattle as they pleased, and took as their own share the skins and chines of all the victims.[1]

In peace.

In times of peace the Spartan kings enjoyed the following honours. At public sacrifices they were the first to sit down to the feasts; they were served first; and they each received a double portion. They had the right of offering the first libations, and were entitled to the skins of the cattle that were sacrificed. At every new moon, and on the seventh day of the month, the state presented each of them with a perfect animal fit for sacrifice, in the temple of Apollo; together with a medimnus of barley flour and a Laconian quart of wine. At all public games, they had particular seats appointed. They also had the right of selecting the proxeni, or officers to receive and entertain foreign ambassadors; and of appointing the pythii, or persons sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, who dined publicly with the kings. If the kings were absent from the daily public meal, two choenices of flour, and one cotyle of flour were sent to each of their houses. When they were present, a double portion of everything was given to them; and they received the same honour at every private banquet amongst the citizens. They also preserved the oracles with the privity of the pythii, and were the sole judges in deciding upon the husband for a virgin heiress, who had not been betrothed by her father; and in determining respecting the public high-ways. If any one desired to adopt a son, it was also necessary to do it in the presence of the kings. Finally, the kings sat in the council of twenty-eight, where they each had two votes; and if prevented from attending the sittings,

At public sacrifices, feasts, and games.

Right of appointing the proxeni, and pythii.

Daily allowance of food.

Keepers the oracles.

Guardians of heiresses.

Commissioners of the high-ways, etc.

Entitled to a seat in the council of twenty-eight.

[1] vi. 56.

they were represented by their nearest relations amongst the senators.[1]

Manners and customs of the people. Burial of kings.

Our author mentions the following particulars respecting the manners and customs of the Laconians. After the death of a king, horsemen announced the event throughout the whole country; in the town however it was made known by an old woman, who paraded through the streets, beating a kettle. As soon as this had taken place, two freed persons, a man and a woman from each house, were forced, under the penalty of heavy fines, to disfigure themselves as mourners. The Laconians also had the same custom as the Asiatic barbarians, for besides the citizens of Sparta, a certain number of their subjects throughout the country were obliged to join in the lament. Accordingly many thousand helots, perioeci, and Spartans, men and women, all assembled together in one place, and struck their foreheads, and gave themselves up to unbounded lamentations, affirming that the last king had been the best. If however one of the kings fell in war, they made his effigy, and exposed it on a richly ornamented couch. After the interment, all public business was supended for ten days; no assembly was held, and no elections for public officials, but the whole interval was spent in mourning.[2] The people had a custom similar to the Persians, for a new king remits all debts due from any Spartan to the deceased king, or to the state.[3]

Hereditary professions.

They also resembled the Aegyptians, inasmuch as the sons of heralds, flute-players, and cooks followed the same profession which their father had exercised.[4] At the same time, handicraftsmen were the least respected, and those were esteemed the most noble who devoted themselves to war.[5]

Miscellaneous customs.

Executions were never carried into effect in the day-time, but only at night.[6] The Laconians dressed their heads, when about to hazard their lives in combat.[7] To the man dishonoured by cowardice, a Spartan would neither speak nor give any fire.[8] When they wished to per-

[1] vi. 57. [2] vi. 58. [3] vi. 59. [4] vi. 60. [5] ii. 167. [6] iv. 146. [7] vii. 209. [8] vii. 231.

suade a man to take a good draught, they said, "Pour out like a Scythian;" an expression which they had adopted from the time of Cleomenes, who contracted from the Scythians a habit of drinking unmixed wine, and at last died insane.[1]

Topography

Herodotus mentions a few towns and other localities in Laconica. The most celebrated of all was Sparta, the noblest city and kingdom in Greece,[2] and contained 8000 men.[3] Near the palace gates was a shrine to the hero Astrabacus.[4] The city contained a temple of Talthybius, the herald of Agamemnon, whose descendants were called Talthybiadae, and as a privilege, were intrusted with all embassies from Sparta.[5] There was likewise a temple of Apollo,[6] together with temples of the celestial Zeus, and of the Lacedaemonian Zeus, of which the two kings of Sparta held the two priesthoods.[7] Mention is also made of the Aegidae as being a principal tribe in Sparta.[8] They seem to have been a priest family of the Cadmeians, like the Gephyraeans at Athens.[9] Herodotus likewise mentions the Carneian,[10] Hyacinthian,[11] and Gymnopaedian festivals.[12] At the town of Therapne stood a temple of Helena, situated above stood a temple of Phoebus.[13] The town of Pitane sent a lochus of troops to Plataea.[14] Cardamyle is alluded to as being situated near Asine.[15] Oresteum was on the borders of Arcadia.[16]

Sparta.

The Aegidae.

Therapne.

Pitane.

Cardamyle.

Oresteum.

On Mount Thornax stood a golden statue of Apollo: the Laconians wished to buy this gold of Croesus, but he gave it them as a present.[17] Mount Taygetus was once the seat of the Minyans, who from thence migrated partly to Elis, and partly to the island of Thera.[18] Cape Taenarum is the place

Mount Thornax.

Mount Taygetus.

Cape Taenarum.

[1] v. 84. [2] vii. 209. [3] vii. 234. [4] vi. 69.
[5] vii. 134. [6] vi. 57. [7] vi. 56. [8] iv. 149.
[9] The Aegidae probably became incorporated with the three general tribes, which are to be found in every Dorian community. There does not appear to have been much distinction between the tribes at Sparta, as by the constitution of Lycurgus, all the freemen were placed on a footing of equality.
[10] vii. 206. [11] ix. 7, 11. [12] vi. 67. [13] vi. 61. [14] ix. 53.
[15] viii. 73. [16] ix. 11. [17] i. 69. [18] iv. 145, 149.

Cape Malea.

where Arion is said to have been carried by a dolphin, and where there was a small brazen statue representing the story.[1] To Cape Malea the Argolic territory had extended in ancient times.[2]

The Laconians sent ten ships to Artemisium,[3] and sixteen to Salamis.[4] The description of this people concludes the geography of the Peloponnesus.

[1] i. 23, 24. [2] i. 82. [3] viii. 1. [4] viii. 43.

CHAPTER IV.

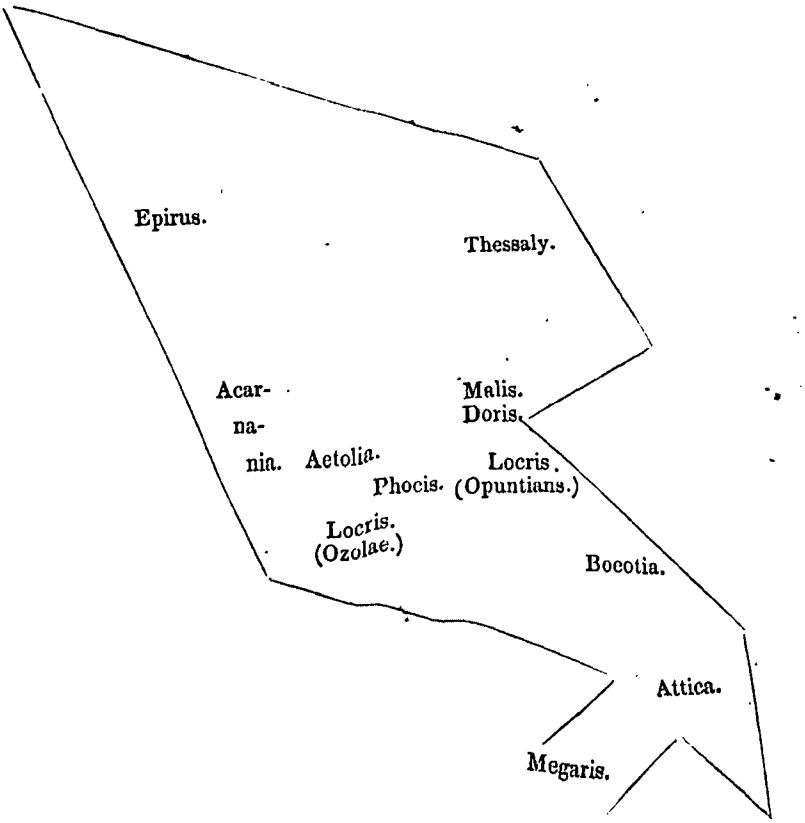
NORTHERN GREECE.

Division into ten districts.—I. MEGARIS, general description.—Herodotus's account.—Erroneously supposed to be the most westerly point in Greece.—Topography: Megara, Nisaea, Scironian Way.—II. ATTICA, general description.—Ancient history: kings, archons.—Herodotus's account: origin of the Athenians.—Ionians enter Attica.—Ionian migration.—Athenians regarded as Ionian Pelasgians.—Manners, customs, etc.—Herodotus's description of Attica and Athens.—Four ancient divisions of the Athenians.—Re-classification into ten tribes.—Each tribe formed ten demi.—Three factions.—Public buildings, etc.: temple of Aeacus, sepulchre of Cimon, grotto of Pan, temple of Boreas, Enneacrunos, Barathron, temple of Heracles, Areiopagus, harbours of Phalerum, Munychia, and Piraeus.—The Acropolis, general description.—Herodotus's account: sanctuary of Aglaurus, ancient wooden hedge, Pelasgic wall, temple of Erectheus, the Serpent, the salt Spring, the sacred Olive, trophies in the Propylaea.—Topography: Eleusis, Marathon, Lipsydrium, Alopecae, Oenoe, Hysiae, Brauron, Decelea, Thoricus, Anaphlystus, Oropus, Pallene, Anagyrus, Aphidnae, Sphendale, Thriasian plain, Cape Sunium, Mount Laurium, Cape Colias, Zoster, Paeonia, Mount Hymettus, Mount Aegaleos, Mount Cithaeron, river Ilissus.—III. BOEOTIA, general description: History.—Herodotus's account: Cadmeans.—Topography: Thebes, with the temple of Amphiaraus, the oracle, and the gifts of Croesus; Delium, Thespia, Eleon, Tanagra, river Thermodon, Coronaea, Lebadeia, Scolus, Acraephia, Orchomenus, Erythrae, Plataea.—General description of the Plataean territory.—View of the scene of the battle.—Plan of the battle: 1st position; 2nd position; 3rd position.—Sepulchres of the slain.—IV. PHOCIS, general description.—General description of Delphi: Castalian spring, temple of Athene Pronaea, temple of Apollo, the oracle.—Herodotus's account of the temple, and its treasures: throne of Midas; silver offerings and golden bowls of Gyges; silver bowl and iron saucer of Alyattes.—Gifts of Croesus: 117 golden demi-plinths, golden lion, gold and silver mixing vessels, and other offerings.—Miscellaneous gifts from the Lacedaemonians, Euelthon, Phocians, Pausanias, and from the Greeks after the battle of Salamis.—Herodotus's description of Mount Parnassus.—Topography: route of the army of Xerxes.—V. LOCRIS, general description.—Eastern or Opuntian Locrians.—Western, or Locri Ozolae.—Herodotus's account of the Ozolae: Amphissa.—The Opuntian Locrians.—Thermopylae as described by Herodotus and including Malis:—enclosed by the Trachinian rocks; Anticyra; river Spercheius; river Dyras; river Melas; Trachis—the widest part; ravine of the river Asopus; river Phoenix; narrowest part; Thermopylae; Anthela; temple of Demeter; seats of Amphictyons; hot springs; Phocian wall and gates; stone lion to Leonidas; Alpenus; the encampments; pass of Anopaea; inscriptions

at Thermopylae.—VI. DORIS, mother country of the Dorians.—Topography: Pindus, Erineus.—VII. AETOLIA; scattered notices.—VIII. ACARNANIA; river Achelous, Echinades islands, Anactorium, and Teloboae.—IX. THESSALY, general description.—Thessaly Proper, viz. Histiaeotis, Pelasgiotis, Phthiotis, and Thessaliotis.—Two other districts, Magnesia and Malis.—Herodotus's account: Thessaly anciently a lake enclosed by Pelion and Ossa, Olympus, Pindus, and Othrys; formed by the rivers Peneus, Apidanus, Onochonus, Enipeus, Pamisus, and Lake Boebeis.—Outlet at Tempe formed by an earthquake.—Tribes of Thessaly.—Pass of Tempe.—Pass of Gonnus.—Topography: Iolcus, Gonnus, Meliboea, Alos, Larissa, Casthanaea, Gulf of Magnesia.—X. EPIRUS, scattered notices in Herodotus.—Thesprotians, Molossians, Epidamnus, Ambraciots, and Apollonia.—Oracle at Dodona: Aegyptian tradition of its origin; Greek traditions; opinion of Herodotus.

Division into ten districts.

NORTHERN GREECE may be divided into ten districts, viz. Megaris, Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, (including Malis,) Doris, Aetolia, Acarnania, Thessaly, and Epirus. These included the whole territory from the isthmus to the Cambunian and Ceraunian mountains. Their relative position on the map was as follows.



I. MEGARIS was a small mountainous district on the isthmus beyond Corinth, between the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs. Its only plain was the one on which the city of Megara was situated.

I. MEGARIS. General description.

Megaris was conquered by the Athenians[1] under Pisistratus. Herodotus says it was the most westerly point of Europe reached by the Persians.[2] This statement is incorrect, as the expedition against Delphi[3] proceeded much farther towards the west. The general course of the invaders, however, was from east to west; and Herodotus speaks of the farthest point of this course as if it were in fact the farthest point westward. The Megarians sent 20 ships to Artemisium[4] and the same number to Salamis,[5] and 3000 of their soldiers fought well at Platæa.[6]

Herodotus's account. Erroneously supposed it to be the most westerly point in Greece.

Herodotus mentions the following places in Megaris. Megara, the capital, and native place of Eupalinus, who constructed the great aqueduct at Samos;[7] Nisæa, which was taken by Pisistratus;[8] [and was the port of Megara, and about 2 miles from the city;] and the Scironian Way, which was blocked up by the Peloponnesians during the Persian war.[9]

Topography. Megara. Nisæa. Scironian Way.

II. ATTICA is a triangular peninsula, having two of its sides washed by the sea, whilst a third is protected by mountains. On the eastern side is the Aegean Sea; on the western is the Saronic Gulf. The base on the north is formed by the following mountains. The range which descends from Northern Greece forms a knot at the huge mass of Cithaeron, from which two chief branches run off. First, the Oenean mountains in a south-westerly direction through Megaris to the Scironian rocks on the Saronic Gulf. Secondly, Mount Parnes, in an easterly direction to the sea-coast. These two branches, with the central mass of Cithaeron, completely protect the Attic peninsula from the remainder of Greece. Through the range of Cithaeron and Parnes were three principal passes into Boeotia. The western was called the Three Heads by the Boeotians, and the Oak's

II. ATTICA. General description.

[1] i. 59. [2] ix. 14. [3] viii. 35—37. [4] viii. 1. [5] viii. 45. [6] ix. 21, 28. [7] iii. 60. [8] i. 59. [9] viii. 71.

Heads by the Athenians. The central was called Phyle. The eastern was called Decelcia. The west and eastern passes are both mentioned in Herodotus. Other ranges descend into the interior under the names of Aegaleos, Hymettus, Laurium, etc. The whole territory of Attica is distributed into five natural divisions. (1.) The Eleusinian or Thriasian plain. (2.) The Athenian plain. (3.) The Diacria, or Highlands, including the plain of Marathon. (4.) The Mesogea, or midland district. (5.) The Paralia, or sea-coast district.

Ancient history.

At a very ancient period we find Attica governed by a line of kings apparently commencing with Cecrops and ending with Codrus. Cecrops lived a little before Deucalion: Codrus reigned for some time after the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus. This monarchical period therefore extended from about B. C. 1550 to B. C. 1050. The most important princes of this mythical line were the following.

Kings.

CECROPS, the first king, called an autochthon, or earth-born. The Athenians called themselves autochthonous or aborigines. Cecrops civilized the Athenians, instituted marriage, divided Attica into twelve communities, and introduced a new mode of worship, inasmuch as he abolished bloody sacrifices to Zeus and substituted cakes.

CRANAUS, who reigned at the time of the flood of Deucalion.

AMPHICTYON, who married the daughter of Cranaus.

ERECTHEUS.

ION (?)—the fabulous ancestor of the Ionians. Traditions say that the Athenians, in their war with the Eleusinians, called in the assistance of Ion, who accordingly became their king between the reigns of Erectheus and Codrus.

THESEUS, who united the twelve communities established by Cecrops into one state, and made Athens the capital.

CODRUS, the last king.

Archons.

After the death of Codrus the monarchy was abol-

ished, and the supreme executive power was vested in an archon. The office at first was hereditary and for life, and the succession of these perpetual and hereditary archons lasted from about B. C. 1050 to B. C. 680, commencing with Medon and terminating with Alcmaeon. After the death of Alcmaeon it was decreed that the archonship should be held for ten years only. Six archons followed in succession. Finally another change was effected. The archonship was declared to be a yearly office, and its duties were distributed amongst nine archons instead of one. The facts recorded of this period down to the legislation of Solon, B. C. 594, are few and uncertain. Draco, B. C. 621, was the author of the first written code of laws at Athens. He affixed the penalty of death to nearly every crime. Solon, B. C. 594, established another and a better system of legislation. The government as altered by him may be thus described: 1. Division of the people into four classes, according to property. 2. Offices of state filled only by citizens of the first three classes. 3. Nine annual archons at the head of affairs. 4. Council of four hundred chosen annually by lot to debate upon all matters previously to their being submitted to the people. 5. The right of confirming the laws, electing magistrates, and debating all matters decided upon by the council of four hundred, was given to the people. 6. The council of the Areiopagus was restored and renovated. The Pisistratidae subsequently obtained the tyranny of Athens, but were expelled prior to the Persian war.

Herodotus's account. Origin of the Athenians.

The Athenians were a Pelasgian race, who had settled in Attica from a very ancient period.[1] First of all they were called Cranai;[2] next under Cecrops they were called Cecropidae; and then under Erectheus they were called Athenians.[3] Their name and

[1] i. 56; vii. 161.

[2] Cranaus, as we have seen, was posterior to Cecrops. Herodotus therefore either followed a peculiar chronology, or else the name of Cranai was derived from the rough and rugged nature of the soil.

[3] viii. 44.

language however, and perhaps their very race, were all changed by the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus. The Ionian Aegialeis, driven from their Peloponnesian settlements by the Achaeans, entered Attica.[1] The traditionary account of this migration is preserved in the story of Ion, son of Xuthus and grandson of Hellen.[2] The Ionians would therefore appear to be Hellenes. They either conquered Attica, or became amalgamated with the old Pelasgian inhabitants. Ion is mentioned as the leader of the Attic armies;[3] and the Athenians were subsequently divided into four tribes after his four sons.[4]

Ionians enter Attica.

Ionian migration.

This addition to the Attic population led to what is called the great Ionian migration to the coast and islands of Asia Minor. The emigrants chiefly consisted of Ionians, together with natives of Attica, and a motley band from other parts of Hellas.[5] A doubtful population remained behind; apparently a mixture of Ionians and Pelasgians. A story is told of some Pelasgians from the island of Samothrace who became neighbours of the Athenians,[6] but were subsequently expelled from Attica.[7] In the time of Herodotus the Athenian people boasted of their Pelasgian descent, but were regarded as Ionians, though they considered the latter name as a reproach.[8] Their language, which was originally Pelasgic, and distinct from the Hellenic, was changed.[9] They had in fact become Hellenes, and they undoubtedly considered themselves as Hellenes, and to be bound to all the other nations of Hellas by the ties of blood, of language, and of religion.[10] The great difficulty in Herodotus is his apparent confusion between the Pelasgians and the Ionians. Sometimes he regards them as the same race, for in one important passage he contrasts the Dorians as an Hellenic race with the Ionians as a Pelasgic;[11] and he certainly considered some of the Ionians to be as much the aboriginal inhabitants of

Athenians regarded as Ionian Pelasgians.

[1] i. 145, 146; vii. 94. [2] viii. 44. [3] *Ibid.* [4] v. 66.
[5] i. 146. [6] ii. 51. [7] vi. 137. [8] i. 143; comp. v. 69.
[9] i. 57. [10] viii. 144; ix. 7. [11] i. 56.

Hellas as the Pelasgians.[1] The best way of getting over the difficulty appears to be, to suppose that the Ionians and Pelasgians were identical, and that Herodotus followed the result of his own researches in opposition to the prevalent belief that the Ionians were Hellenes.[2]

Manners, customs, etc.

The Athenians were the first people in Hellas who made the images of Hermes fascino erecto, a custom which they learnt not from the Aegyptians, but from those Pelasgians who came from Samothrace and settled for a while at Athens.[3] Their women originally wore the Dorian costume, which nearly resembled the Corinthian. [It consisted of a woollen chiton without sleeves, which was fastened over both shoulders by clasps or buckles.] When the single Athenian survivor returned from the fatal attack on Aegina, the women pierced him to death with their clasps, each asking him what had become of her husband. The Athenians then compelled their wives to change their Dorian for the Ionian chiton, which had no clasps or buckles, [but was a long and loose linen garment, reaching to the feet, and having wide sleeves.] This Ionian costume came originally from Caria.[4]

Herodotus's description of Attica and Athens.

Attica was a country but ill adapted for cavalry, and so protected by the line of mountains on the north, that the only way by which an invading army could retreat into Boeotia was through the narrow passes of Mount Cithaeron.[5] It is said that in ancient times it was the only country in the world that produced olive trees.[6] ATHENS was the chief town, and appears in the time of Aristagoras to have had a population of 30,000 men,[7] including the Gephyraeans, who were descended from the Cadmeian Phoenicians. These Gephyraeans were however excluded from certain privileges of citizenship, which are not worth mentioning,[8] and they possessed sanctuaries of their own, in which the other Atheni-

[1] viii. 73.
[2] Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, chaps. ii. and iv. Comp. Grote, Part ii. chap. 2.
[3] ii. 51. [4] v. 87, 88. [5] ix. 13. [6] v. 82. [7] v. 97. [8] v. 57.

ans could take no share. Their temple and mysteries of the Achaean Demeter[1] were the most celebrated. The Athenians as a body were originally divided into four classes, which were named after the four sons of Ion—Geleon, Aegicores, Argades, and Hoples.

Four ancient divisions of the Athenians.

Re-classification into ten tribes.

Cleisthenes, the Alcmaeonid, and grandson of the tyrant of Sicyon, abolished this classification, and divided the people into ten tribes, or phylae, and named them all but one after heroes who belonged to the land, [viz. Erectheis, Aegeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Oeneis, Cecropis, Hippothoontis, Aeantis, Antiochis,] in order that the Athenians might not have the same tribes as the Ionians. The exception was the tribe of Aeantis, named after Ajax, who, though a stranger, was added because he was a near neighbour and ally. Each of these tribes, or phylae, contained ten demi.[2] We also find the inhabitants of Attica divided into three parties or factions, viz. the pediaei, or lowlanders; the parali, or inhabitants of the coast; and the diacrii, or highlanders.[3]

Each tribe formed ten demi.

Three factions.

Public buildings, etc.

Temple of Aeacus.

Beside the sanctuaries of the Gephyraeans already mentioned, Herodotus mentions many other public buildings in Athens. In the Agora was a temple to Aeacus, which had been erected and dedicated at the time of the Aeginetan war.[4] In the front of the city, and beyond the road through Coela, was the sepulchre of Cimon the father of Miltiades, and opposite were buried the mares with which he three times obtained the victory in the Olympiades.[5] Below the Acropolis was the sanctuary [grotto] of Pan, who was yearly propitiated by the Athenians with sacrifices and a torch-race, in consequence of a personal remonstrance on the part of the deity.[6] By the river Ilissus was a temple to Boreas, which the Athenians erected in gratitude for the storm which destroyed 400 Persian ships off Magnesia.[7] Herodotus also mentions the spring called Enneacrunos;[8]

Sepulchre of Cimon.

Grotto of Pan.

Temple of Boreas.

Enneacrunos.

[1] v. 61. [2] v. 66, 69. [3] i. 59. [4] v. 89. [5] vi. 103. [6] vi. 105. [7] vii. 189. [8] vi. 137.

the barathron,[1] into which the Athenians threw the ambassadors of Darius when they[2] came to demand earth and water; and the temple of Heracles at Cynosarges,[3] near which was the tomb of Auchimolius at Alopecae.[4] Opposite the Acropolis was the hill Areiopagus, from whence the Persians besieged Athens.[5] The city had three harbours, namely, Phalerum,[6] Munychia,[7] and Piraeus.[8] In the time of the Persian war Phalerum was the real port.[9]

Barathron. Temple of Heracles. Areiopagus. Harbours of Phalerum, Munychia, and Piraeus.

The Acropolis was a square craggy rock in the centre of the city. It rose abruptly to a height of 150 feet. The summit was flat, and about 1000 feet long from east to west, and about 500 feet broad from north to south. It was the fortress, the sanctuary, and the museum of Athens. The rocks on the north were called the Long Rocks. On this side was the sanctuary of Aglaurus. Opposite the western declivity stood the hill Areiopagus and the altar of the twelve gods. On the Acropolis itself was the Erechtheium, which contained the temple of Athene, and the serpent, the olive, and the salt-spring described by our author.

The Acropolis. General description.

At the front of the Acropolis, [on the northern side,] behind the gate and the road, [which were apparently at the western extremity,] the ascent was very precipitous; but, nevertheless, the Persians contrived to mount it near the sanctuary of Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops.[10] In ancient times the elevation was enclosed by a hedge; and when the oracle declared that a wooden wall would alone protect the Athenians from the Persian invaders, many of the old citizens considered that this hedge was the wooden wall to which reference was made.[11] A stone wall was built by the Pelasgians who came from Samothrace,[12] and called the Pelasgic wall or fort,[13] which was sufficiently strong to defy the Spartans

Herodotus's account. Sanctuary of Aglaurus. Ancient wooden hedge. Pelasgic wall.

[1] The barathron was a deep pit at Athens, with hooks on the sides, in which criminals were cast. The Persian envoys were told to get their earth and water there.

[2] vii. 133. [3] v. 63; vi. 116. [4] v. 63. [5] viii. 52. [6] viii. 91. [7] viii. 76. [8] viii. 85. [9] v. 63; vi. 116. [10] viii. 53. [11] vii. 142. [12] vi. 137. [13] v. 64.

when the Pisistratidae took refuge in the citadel.[1] This Pelasgic wall was apparently dismantled before the Persian war, for when the Acropolis was attacked by Xerxes, the only fortifications appeared to be palisades and other works constructed of wood.[2] In the Acropolis was a temple dedicated to Erechtheus the earth-born.[3] The Athenians said that a large serpent used to live in the temple, whom they regarded as the guardian of the Acropolis, and to whom they brought honey-cakes every month. These cakes were always consumed until Xerxes arrived, after which they remained untouched; and the Athenians were consequently more anxious to abandon their city, as they considered that the god had forsaken the citadel.[4] In the Erechtheium was the salt spring which had gushed from the trident of Poseidon, and the sacred olive by which Athene, when contesting with the latter, had proved her claim to the country. The olive tree was burnt by the Persians with the rest of the temple, but on the second day after, a shoot was seen to have sprouted from the stump to the height of a cubit.[5] Herodotus also mentions the two following trophies which were preserved in the Propylaea.

Temple of Erectheus.

The serpent

The salt spring.

The sacred olive.

Trophies in the Propylaea.

First, a brazen chariot and four horses, which stood on the left hand at the entrance, and bore the following inscription:

> "Athena's sons o'ercame in feats of war
> Boeotians and Chalcidians, and subdued
> Their pride within a dark and iron dungeon,
> And tythed the spoil, and gave these mares to Pallas."

Secondly, the fetters of the Boeotians and of the Chalcidians, who had both been defeated and taken prisoners by the Athenians on the same day. These fetters were still hanging in the time of Herodotus on a wall which had been much scorched by fire by the Mede, and which was opposite the temple that faces the west.[6] The Propylaea was subsequently rebuilt by Pericles in the most magnificent

[1] v. 65. [2] viii. 51. [3] viii. 55. [4] viii. 41. [5] viii. 55. [6] v. 77.

style with white marble, and covered the whole western end of the Acropolis. It contained a temple of Ge Curatrophus and Demeter Chloe, which appears to have been the temple alluded to by Herodotus as the one which faced the west.

Topography

In Attica generally the following localities are mentioned by Herodotus. Eleusis,[1] where there was a magnificent temple of Demeter which was burnt down by the Persians,[2] and where the grove of the goddesses (Demeter and Cora or Persephone, called mother and daughter) was cut down by Cleomenes.[3] Marathon, the best country in all Attica for cavalry,[4] and containing a sanctuary of Heracles.[5] Lipsydrium, above Paeonia,[6] which was fortified by the Alcmaeonidae, after the death of Hipparchus.[7] Alopecae, where was the tomb of the Spartan general Anchemolius, who assisted the Alcmaeonidae against the Pisistratidae.[8] It was not far from Cynosarges. Oenoe and Hysiae, the extreme demi of Attica.[9] Brauron, from whence the Pelasgians carried off the Athenian virgins at the feast of Artemis,[10] [i. e. the young girls who carried the sacred baskets.] Decelea,[11] whose inhabitants had performed so great a service in the mythical period, in showing the Tyndaridae where Theseus had deposited Helen, that at Sparta they enjoyed an exemption from tribute, and a precedency in assemblies; and the Laconians spared the place when they ravaged the rest of Attica during the Peloponnesian war.[12] Also Thoricus;[13] Anaphlystus;[14] Oropus;[15] Pallene, the native place of Ameinias the Athenian,[16] which contained a temple of the Pallenian Athene, where Pisistratus defeated the

Eleusis. Marathon. Lipsydrium Alopecae. Oenoe. Hysiae. Brauron. Thoricus. Anaphlystus. Oropus. Pallene.

[1] v. 74. [2] ix. 65. [3] vi. 75. [4] vi. 102. [5] vi. 116.

[6] Bobrik, following Wesseling and Valckenaer, reads Πάρνηθος instead of Παιονίης. I have followed Gaisford in adopting the older reading. This Paeonia in Attica was apparently a small town or district on the southern slopes of Mount Parnes, and the family seat of the Paeonids, who were kinsmen of the Alcmaeonids. The Paeonids of the Attic tribe of Leontis are mentioned in inscriptions.*

[7] v. 62. [8] v. 63. [9] v. 75. [10] vi. 137; iv. 145.

[11] vi. 92; ix. 15. [12] ix. 73. Comp. Dahlmann, chap. iii.

[13] iv. 9. [14] Ibid. [15] vi. 100. [16] viii. 84.

* Grotefend de Demis Att. p. 40.

Athenians. It lay on one of the roads between Athens and Marathon.[1] Finally, Anagyrus, the native place of Eumenes;[2] Aphidnae, the native place of Timodemus;[3] and Sphendale, at which Mardonius halted on his route from Decelea to Tanagra.[4]

Anagyrus. Aphidnae. Sphendale.

The Athenians sent 127 ships to Artemisium, and supplied 20 others which were manned by Chalcidians.[5] Subsequently they sent 53 more ships.[6] At Artemisium about one-half of their vessels were destroyed, but still they furnished 180 ships at Salamis, which was more than were supplied by any of the other allies.[7]

Herodotus also mentions the following physical features of Attica. The Thriasian plain, which was well adapted for a battle-field.[8] Cape Sunium,[9] where one of the Phoenician vessels was dedicated after the battle of Salamis.[10] Mount Laurium, celebrated for its silver mines, the profits of which the Athenians were about to share at the rate of ten drachmas per man, when Themistocles persuaded them to equip 200 triremes with the money.[11] Cape Colias; where many of the Persian ships were wrecked after the battle of Salamis.[12] Zoster, where some small promontories jutted out from the mainland.[13] Paeonia[14] on Mount Parnes (?). Mount Hymettus, whose underlying lands were given to the Pelasgians in return for the wall which they built round the Acropolis. These Pelasgians were afterwards driven from this settlement, either because they insulted the young Athenian women at the Nine Springs, or because the Athenians desired repossession of the lands after seeing them cultivated.[15] Mount Aegaleos, from whence Xerxes viewed the battle of Salamis.[16] Mount Cithaeron, with narrow passes leading into Boeotia, which were called the Three Heads by the Boeotians, and Oak's Heads by the Athenians.[17] Lastly, the river

Thriasian plain.
Cape Sunium.
Mount Laurium.
Cape Colias.
Zoster.
Paeonia.
Mount Hymettus.
Mount Aegaleos.
Mount Cithaeron.

[1] i. 62. [2] viii. 93. [3] viii. 125. [4] ix. 15. [5] viii. 1.
[6] viii. 14. [7] viii. 44. [8] viii. 65; ix. 7. [9] iv. 99.
[10] viii. 121. [11] vii. 144. [12] viii. 96. [13] viii. 107.
[14] See note to page 65. [15] vi. 137. [16] viii. 90. [17] ix. 39.

Ilissus, near which the Athenians erected a temple to Boreas.[1]

River Ilissus.

III. Boeotia may be described as a large hollow basin, enclosed by mountains. On the south were Cithaeron and Parnes; on the west was Mount Helicon; on the north were the slopes of Parnassus and the Opuntian range; whilst on the east a continuation of the Opuntian chain extended along the sea-coast as far as the mouth of the river Asopus. This basin, however, is divided into two distinct valleys, by a range of elevations running across the country from Mount Helicon to the Euboean Sea. Each of these two valleys has its lake and river. The northern valley is drained by the river Cephissus, whose waters form the lake Copais. The southern valley is drained by the river Asopus, and includes Lake Helice.

III. Boeotia. General description.

History.

In ancient times these two valleys were under the separate dominion of two celebrated towns; Orchomenus in the north, and Thebes in the south. Orchomenus was inhabited by the Minyans; Thebes, by the Cadmeans. Sixty years after the taking of Troy the Aeolian Boeotians, driven from Phthiotis in Thessaly by the Thessalians, invaded this territory, and expelled the Minyans from Orchomenus and the Cadmeans from Thebes. The Minyans fled to Laconica.[2] The Cadmeans went first to Athens, and then to Lemnos, Samothrace, and the coasts of Aeolis; but the Gephyraeans and Aegids, who were priest families of the Cadmeans, permanently settled at Athens and Sparta.[3] Twenty years after this Aeolian conquest of Boeotia, the Dorians invaded the Peloponnesus; and some of the old Peloponnesian inhabitants, instead of subsiding into an inferior caste, proceeded through Boeotia towards Asia. On their way they were joined by so many of the Aeolian Boeotians, that the movement was called the Aeolian migration. At the commencement of the historical period, we find the principal cities of Boeotia formed into a confederacy, of which

[1] vii. 189. [2] Comp. page 45, 46. [3] Comp. page 53, 61.

Thebes was the head, and Orchomenus the second in importance. Plataea withdrew from this confederacy, and placed herself under the protection of Athens as early as B. C. 519.

Herodotus's account.

Scarcely any information respecting the Boeotians is furnished by our author. We can only learn that their sandals, or clogs, must have been different from those worn by the other Hellenes, for Herodotus compares them with those of the Babylonians.[1]

Cadmeans.

The followers of the Phoenician Cadmus, called Cadmeans, settled in Boeotia, and introduced the knowledge of letters.[2] Many of them, together with many Minyans of Orchomenus, joined the Ionian migration.[3]

Topography

Thebes, with the temple of Amphiaraus.

Herodotus mentions the following places in Boeotia. Thebes, the capital, and a fortified town,[4] containing a temple and oracle of the Ismenian Apollo, and a sanctuary of Amphiaraus. The oracle of Apollo was consulted by victims, the same as at Olympia. In his temple Herodotus saw several tripods bearing inscriptions in Cadmean letters, which nearly resembled the Ionian. The first was about the age of Laius the son of Labdacus, who was grandson of Cadmus. It bore the following inscription:

"Amphitryon dedicated me on his return from the Teleboans."

The inscriptions on two other tripods were in hexameters. One was in the time of Oedipus the son of Laius, and ran thus:

"Scaeus, the victor boxer, placed me here,
A beauteous gift to darting-far Apollo."

The other was given by King Laodamas, son of Eteocles, and had these words:

"Laodamas, the monarch, placed me here,
A beauteous gift to glancing-far Apollo."[5]

The oracle.

The oracles of Amphiaraus were given to persons in their dreams, for they had to sleep one night in the temple, [after fasting one day and abstaining

[1] i. 195. [2] v. 57, 58. [3] i. 146. [4] ix. 86. [5] v. 59—61.

from wine for three days.[1]] This oracle could only be consulted by strangers, as no Theban might sleep in the temple; for Amphiaraus had sent to ask whether Thebes would have him for a prophet or an ally, upon which the Thebans chose the latter.[2]

Gifts of Croesus.

Croesus, king of Lydia, having learnt the virtues and sufferings of Amphiaraus, presented to him a shield made entirely of gold and a massive golden spear, which were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo.[3] The Thebans sent 400 men to Thermopylae.[4]

Delium.

Beside Thebes, notice is taken of the following cities. Delium, which was situated in the Theban territory on the coast opposite Chalcis. A Phoenician vessel carried away from this place a gilt image of Apollo, but Datis the Persian general deposited it at Delos, where it remained until the Thebans fetched it back twenty years afterwards.[5]

Thespia.

Thespia, which was burnt by Xerxes,[6] and sent 700 men to Thermopylae.[7]

Eleon. Tanagra.

Eleon.[8] Tanagra,[9] and its district, which on the arrival of Cadmus was given up to the Gephyraeans. The latter were afterwards expelled from thence by the Argives, and proceeded to Athens, where they were enrolled as citizens under certain restrictions.[10]

River Thermodon. Coronaea. Lebadeia. Scolus.

Between Tanagra and Glissas flowed the river Thermodon.[11] Coronaea, near Thebes.[12] Lebadeia, which contained the cave and oracle of Trophonius.[13] Scolus, which was included in the Theban territory.[14]

Acraephia.

Acraephia, close by the precinct of the Ptoan Apollo, which belonged to the Thebans, and stood above Lake Copais, at the foot of a mountain. The oracle was consulted by the messenger from Mardonius, and replied in the Carian language.[15]

Orchomenus. Erythrae. Plataea.

Orchomenus, the native place of Thersander.[16] Erythrae.[17] Lastly, Plataea, which was burnt by Xerxes.[18] Its territory was separated from that of Thebes by the river Asopus, and by a line drawn by Hysiae, from the Asopus to Mount Cithaeron.[19] The Pla-

[1] Philostrat. *Vit. Apoll.* ii. 37. [2] viii. 134. [3] i. 52.
[4] vii. 202. [5] vi. 118. [6] viii. 50. [7] vii. 202. [8] v. 43.
[9] ix. 15. [10] v. 57. [11] ix. 43. [12] v. 79. [13] i. 46; viii. 134.
[14] ix. 15. [15] viii. 135. [16] ix. 16. [17] ix. 15. [18] vii. 50. [19] vi. 108.

taeans assisted the Athenians with all their forces at Marathon;[1] they manned several of the Athenian ships at Artemisium;[2] but were prevented by an accident from fighting at Salamis.[3] They furnished 600 hoplites at the battle of Plataea.[4]

General description of the Plataean territory.

The city of Plataea was situated on the slope of Mount Cithaeron, where its terraces descend into the great plain of Thebes. The Plataeans, intrenched behind their native crags, had early defended themselves from the encroachments of Thebes, and separated their state from the Boeotian confederacy. Close behind the mountain wall of Cithaeron, was the friendly territory of Attica, ever ready to succour in the hour of need. The fortunes of Plataea were thus naturally united with those of Athens. Both had shared the glory and danger of Marathon; and both fought side by side at the great battle of Plataea; whilst the Thebans appeared as traitors in the ranks of the Persian invaders.

View of the scene of the battle.

An idea of the country may be obtained by a due consideration of the following prominent features. First, the range of Cithaeron, gradually sloping towards the north in a succession of terraces to the great plain of Thebes. Next, the river Oëroe, which runs away to the west; and, farther north, at the bottom of the slope, the river Asopus, which runs away to the east. Lastly, the city of Plataea, which was situated in the west, on the river Oëroe; and the towns of Hysiae and Erythrae, which stood in the east, on the slope of Cithaeron, and near the Asopus. The circumstances of the battle may be clearly understood, by remembering that the Greek forces occupied three distinct positions to the south of the Asopus at three different periods; whilst the Persians remained, for the most part, to the north of the river Asopus, where they possessed a fortified camp, from whence they made temporary advances against the enemy.[5]

[1] vi. 108. [2] viii. 1. [3] viii. 44. [4] ix. 28.

[5] The geographical difficulties in Herodotus's description of Plataea have induced us to go more minutely into the details.

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Mardonius had posted his army on the river Asopus in the Theban territory,[1] beginning at Erythrae and stretching along by Hysiae to the territory of Plataea.[2] He also fortified an area of 10 stadia square with wooden walls and towers;[3] but the front of this area, of course, occupied a much less space than the extended front of the army.[4] Meantime the Greek allies had passed over Mount Cithaeron to Erythrae, where they learnt that the enemy were encamped on the Asopus. Accordingly they formed opposite, in the Theban territory at the foot of Cithaeron, and this was their first position.[5] Here they were charged by the Persian cavalry; but the latter were defeated and obliged to return to their camp.[6]

Plan of the battle. 1st position.

The Greeks[7] at length determined to remove into the Plataean territory, where they would be better supplied with water. Accordingly, they marched along the foot of Mount Cithaeron westward to the fountain Gargaphia,[8] and the precinct of the hero

2nd position.

[1] ix. 15. Comp. vi. 108.

[2] It is difficult to decide whether the first position of the army of Mardonius was on the northern or southern bank of the Asopus. The words of Herodotus indicate a position south of the Asopus. In the second position, however, we find the Persians north of the Asopus, (ix. 40, 59,) without any mention of his having previously crossed the river, and the fortified camp was evidently on the northern bank. Kiepert and Grote place the first position on the southern bank, and the fortified camp on the opposite side.

[3] ix. 15, 70. [4] ix. 15. [5] ix. 19. [6] ix. 23.

[7] Bobrik has here made an unfortunate error, by confounding the Persians with the Greeks.

[8] Col. Leake has identified the fountain Gargaphia with a fountain at the source of a streamlet flowing into the Asopus, and incased in an artificial basin covered with squared stones of ancient fabric. Mr. Grote objects to this identification on the ground that the Greek right, if stationed at this point, would be farther from the Asopus than is consistent with the description of Herodotus. Mr. Grote also, in copying Kiepert's plan of the battle of Plataea, has moved the second Greek position much nearer to the river. Kiepert, however, fixed the position according to Herodotus's own measurement, viz. 10 stadia from the island.

The question stands thus. It will presently be seen that in this second position the river flowed between the rival armies, (ix. 40, 59,) the Persians being on the northern bank and the Greeks on the southern. The Greeks were evidently close to the river-side, for each army could see and distinguish the particular nations which composed the other, and each could see the changes from right to left of the opposing line (ix—47). Moreover, all the Greek army, except the Spartans, were so near the Asopus as to be able to draw their water from it, (ix. 49,) until the Per-

Androcrates; and here they formed in line, nation by nation, and encamped on the right or southern bank of the Asopus, on slight elevations and the level plain.[1] This was their second position. When Mardonius heard of this movement, he marched his army to the same part of the Asopus, but on the left or opposite bank, and thus the river divided the rival armies.[2] From this new position Mardonius at night sent some cavalry to the passes of Cithaeron, called Three Heads by the Boeotians, but Oak Heads by the Athenians. These passes were in the rear of the Greeks, and the detachment of cavalry was enabled to intercept the supplies of men and provisions which came through Attica from the Peloponnesus.

3rd position. After ten days the Persian cavalry[3] drove the Greek position farther back from the Asopus, and choked up the fountain Gargaphia. The Greek generals being thus deprived of water, determined on retreating to a spot called the ISLAND, but which is more properly a peninsula.[4] This supposed island

sian cavalry hindered them. On the other hand, Herodotus says, that the Greeks were posted at a distance of 10 stadia from the island, (ix. 51,) whereas, by a modern measurement of the country, we find that the river-bank must be 20 stadia from the island. Mr. Grote, as a historian relying upon the general account, places the Greek army close to the river-bank; Kiepert, as a hydrographer, and implicitly following the measurement of 10 stadia, places the Greek army half way between the island and river.

Mr. Grote has nothing to interfere with his view, but the plain measurement of 10 stadia. Herodotus, however, is always a very doubtful authority for exact measurement. He generally preferred round numbers for the sake of the memory of his readers, and frequently his estimates of distances are exceedingly loose and inaccurate. In the present narrative of the battle of Plataea 10 stadia is a perfect hobby. Everything is 10 stadia. The island was 10 stadia from Gargaphia, and also 10 stadia from Asopus (ix. 51). Pausanias, however, marched 10 stadia from Gargaphia towards the island, and found himself not there, but at Argiopius and the river Moloeis (ix. 56, 57). The Heraeum was 10 stadia beyond the island, and therefore 20 stadia from Gargaphia (ix. 52). The fortified camp was 10 stadia on every side (ix. 15); and it was for 10 days that the Greeks continued to be posted in this second position (ix. 41). I would therefore adopt Mr. Grote's view in preference to Kiepert's.

[1] ix. 25, 30. [2] ix. 31. Comp. 40, 59.

[3] Not the detachment at the passes of Cithaeron, but the great body of cavalry, who were still with Mardonius on the Asopus.

[4] This place, which Herodotus indicates as being before the city of Plataea, and at a distance of 10 stadia from the Asopus as well as from Gargaphia, is nothing more than a level meadow intersected by several

was formed by two tributary streams flowing down the slopes of Cithaeron, about 3 stadia apart, into the river Oëroe, which was called by the neighbouring inhabitants, the daughter of Asopus.[1] The island was 10 stadia distant from the Asopus and the fountain Gargaphia. Accordingly at night the Greek forces prepare to decamp.[2] It will be remembered that their right wing was formed by the Lacedaemonians, the left by the Athenians, and the centre by the other Greek nations. The centre now proceeded beyond the island of Oëroe to the temple of Hera, which stood by the city of Plataea, and about 20. stadia from Gargaphia.[3] The right wing, composed of Lacedaemonians, next marched 10 stadia along the hills to the river Moloeis, at a place called Argiopius, where stood a temple of the Eleusinian Demeter. The left wing, composed of Athenians, retired in the same direction along the plain.[4] This

brooks uniting into one stream, and this is probably all that the historian meant by an island. His description of it as formed by two streams which were separated from one another in Mount Cithaeron, and were afterwards united, is entirely conformable to present appearances. If he had intended a real island, it would not have been necessary for him to make any mention of the two branches in Mount Cithaeron, since the separation of the waters of a single stream and their reunion would have been sufficient to form the island. It is easy to imagine that the Plataeans may have distinguished this part of their plain by the name of Island, although it was in reality no more than a peninsula. The ambiguity of the passage has not been diminished by the translators of Herodotus, who, by referring the word οἱ to νῆσος instead of to ποταμὸς, have represented Oëroe as the name of the island, whereas the historian, in describing the island as the place (χῶρον) which Oëroe the daughter of Asopus surrounds, (περισχίζεται,) clearly shows Oëroe to have been the river. Their mistake may have partly arisen from the belief that the river which formed the island was a branch of the Asopus, a very natural supposition for them to have made in ignorance of the real topography, as Herodotus nowhere indicates the contrary, and as it is greatly favoured by the local mythus, according to which Oëroe was the daughter of Asopus. We find however, as before stated, that although the sources of the Asopus and Oëroe are very near to one another, they are not only separate rivers, but flow in opposite directions, the former to the Euboic channel, the latter to the Corinthian gulf. *Leake.*

[1] It is surprising how difficult it is to eradicate the mistakes concerning the river Oëroe and the island even from our recent geographical works. The river Oëroe is sometimes mentioned as a branch of the Asopus, and the island has often been represented as having been formed by the Asopus. It is however to be hoped that the scholar will find no greater mistakes in the present volume.

[2] ix. 51. [3] ix. 52. [4] ix. 56, 57.

was the third position. Meantime Mardonius crossed the Asopus, with all his army. His Persians and cavalry fell upon the Lacedaemonians, whilst the Boeotians and other allies, who formed his right wing, attacked the Athenians. The Greek centre, who were drawn up by the temple of Hera, took no part in the battle.[1]

Sepulchres of the slain.

The sepulchres of the Greeks who were slain were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus on the field of battle. The Lacedaemonians distributed their dead into three several burial-places: one for the select warriors or officers;[2] a second for the rest of the Spartans; and a third for the helots. The Tegeans buried theirs in a separate spot; as also the Athenians, Megareans, and Phliasians. Sepulchres of other Hellenic nations were also to be seen, which Herodotus was informed were only empty mounds thrown up by those who were ashamed of their absence from the battle. For instance, that of the Aeginetans was thrown up ten years after the victory.[3] Mardonius was also buried there,[4] and his funeral monument was still to be seen in the time of Pausanias.[5]

IV. Phocis General description.

IV. Phocis was bounded by Boeotia on the east, the Locri Opuntians on the north, Doris and the Locri Ozolae on the west, and the Corinthian Gulf on the south. A mountain range traverses it in a south-easterly direction, connecting the rugged chain of Oeta with Cithaeron and Parnes, and including the lofty summits of Parnassus. Northern Phocis, or the country between Parnassus and Oeta, includes the upper valley of the river Cephissus. In some parts the banks are fertile, but in others the heights approach very near to the river. Southern Phocis is almost entirely covered with the mountains which branch off to the south from the huge mass of Parnassus, but there are a few fertile valleys between them,

[1] ix. 59—69.

[2] The critical student has a choice of readings, but Ἱρέες is generally adopted. The Ἱρέες of Herodotus however were certainly not youths, but commanders. Amompharetus, in particular, was lochagus of the Pitanetan lochus. [3] ix. 85. [4] ix. 84. [5] Paus. ix. 2, 2.

of which the largest is the celebrated Crisaean plain. The early history of the Phocians is comparatively unknown, but they appear to have been frequently engaged in hostilities with the Thessalians, and were successful in maintaining their independence. Their territory was dreadfully ravaged by Xerxes during the Persian war.

General description of Delphi.

The small town of Delphi was the most important in Phocis, and on account of its oracle of Apollo was also the most celebrated in all Hellas. It occupied a rocky theatre-shaped position on the southern slope of Parnassus, and was reached by a steep and difficult road. On its north were two great cliffs with peaked summits, and from between the two issued the waters of the Castalian spring. It contained the temple of Athene Pronaea, with the adjoining precinct of the hero Phylacus; but above all, the great temple of Apollo occupied a large space in the highest point of the city. Immense treasures were contained in this temple. Kings and private persons who had received favourable replies from the oracle presented rich offerings; and many of the Greek states had separate thesauri, in which they deposited for the sake of security many of their valuable treasures. In the innermost sanctuary, or adytum, was the golden statue of Apollo, and before it a fire of fir wood was kept constantly burning on an altar. Laurel was also burnt as incense on the altar, and the inner roof of the temple was covered all over with laurel garlands. In the centre of the temple there was a small opening in the ground, through which from time to time an intoxicating smoke arose from the hidden well of Cassotis. Over this chasm stood a high tripod, to which the Pythia was led by the prophetes, and took her seat whenever the oracle was to be consulted. The smoke rising from under the tripod affected her brain in such a manner that she fell into a state of delirious intoxication, and the sounds which she uttered in this state were believed to contain the revelations of Apollo. These sounds were carefully written down by the prophetes, and

Castalian spring.

Temple of Athene Pronaea.

Temple of Apollo.

The oracle.

afterwards communicated to the persons who had come to consult the oracle.[1]

Herodotus's account of the temple and its treasures.

The old temple of Delphi was burnt down by an accident. The Amphictyons then contracted to build a new one for 300 talents. The Delphians were required to furnish one-fourth of this sum, and accordingly went from city to city to raise contributions. In Aegypt the king, Amasis, gave them 1000 talents of alum, and the Hellenic settlers there contributed 20 minas.[2] Afterwards the Alcmaeonidae undertook alone to rebuild the temple; and being wealthy men, they completed it in a more beautiful manner than the plan required. In particular, they built the front of Parian marble, though, according to the contract, they might have used Porine stone.[3] Herodotus, who had evidently visited Delphi, mentions the following curiosities and rich offerings in the sanctuary, together with the names of the donors. Midas, king of Phrygia, was the first barbarian who dedicated offerings at Delphi. He gave the royal throne on which he sat. Next after him was Gyges, king of Lydia, who sent most of the silver offerings contained in the temple, together with a vast quantity of gold, including six golden bowls weighing 30 talents. The Delphians called these articles Gygadian gold and silver, from the name of the donor. The bowls of Gyges and the throne of Midas stood together in the Corinthian treasury, which, however, was not built at the cost of the state, but by the celebrated Cypselus son of Eetion.[4] Afterwards Alyattes, another Lydian king, on recovering from sickness, dedicated a large silver bowl, with a saucer of iron inlaid, made by Glaucus the Chian, who invented the art of inlaying iron. "This object," says our author, "is deserving of more attention than all the other offerings at Delphi."[5] But the most brilliant and costly gifts in the temple appear to have been those of the unfortunate Croesus. This mon-

Throne of Midas.

Silver offerings and golden bowls of Gyges.

Silver bowl and iron saucer of Alyattes.

Gifts of Croesus.

[1] Dr. Smith, Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities, art. *Oraculum*. Comp. Leake's Northern Greece, vol. ii. p. 551, et seq.

[2] ii. 180. [3] v. 62. [4] vi. 14. [5] i. 25.

arch dedicated 117 golden demi-plinths, or half-ingots, each of which were 6 palms long, 3 broad, and 1 thick. Four of them were of pure gold, and weighed 2 talents and a half each: the remainder were of pale or alloyed gold, and weighed 2 talents each. He also gave a lion made of refined gold, which originally weighed 10 talents, and stood on the demi-plinths. When, however, the temple was burnt down, the lion fell from the demi-plinth. In the time of our author it was standing in the Corinthian treasury, and weighed only 6 talents and a half, as 3 talents and a half had been melted from it.[1] Croesus also sent two mixing-cups, one of gold and the other of silver, which were placed at the entrance of the temple—the golden one on the right hand, and the silver one on the left. After the fire, however, they were removed: the golden one, weighing 8 talents and a half and 12 minas, was placed in the treasury of Clazomenae; and the silver one, which would contain 600 amphorae, lay in a corner of the vestibule. The silver one was used by the Delphians for mixing the wine on the Theophanian festival, and they say that it was made by Theodorus the Samian. Herodotus also thought that this was the case, as it appeared to him to be no common work. Croesus likewise dedicated four silver vessels which stood in the Corinthian treasury, and two lustral vases, one of gold and the other of silver. The golden one bore the inscription, Λακεδαιμονίων, "of the Lacedaemonians," who said that it was their present; but this was incorrect, for a Delphian, whom Herodotus could name if he pleased, engraved the inscription in order to please the Lacedaemonians. Many other offerings he also sent without any inscription,[2] including some spherical-shaped ewers of silver; a golden statue of a female 3 cubits high, which the Delphians said was an image of the Artocopus, or baker,[3] of Croesus; and the necklaces

117 golden demi-plinths. Golden lion.

Gold and silver mixing-vessels.

Other offerings of Croesus.

[1] i. 50. [2] Probably because they were of inferior value.

[3] The importance here ascribed to a baker is perfectly in keeping with the manners of despotic eastern courts. The officers of the Turkish

Miscellaneous gifts from the Lacedaemonians, Euelthon, Phocians,

and girdles of his queen. The Lacedaemonians dedicated the statue of a boy through whose hand the water flows.[1] Euelthon, the tyrant of Salamis in the island of Cyprus, gave a curious censer which was deposited in the Corinthian treasury.[2] The Phocians gave half of the shields which they captured from the Thessalians, when 600 of their number attacked the enemy in chalked armour; and with a tenth of the spoil taken on the same occasion they constructed those great statues around the golden tripod,[3] which stood upon a three-headed brazen serpent close to the altar. The tripod and serpent were dedicated by Pausanias from a tenth of the spoil taken at Plataea.[4] A statue, twelve cubits high, holding the beak of a ship in its hand, was also dedicated by the Greeks from the first-fruits of the spoil taken at Salamis. It stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian. The Pythia however demanded a further offering from the Aeginetans on account of their superior valour, and the latter accordingly gave three golden stars on a brazen mast, which was placed in a corner near the mixing-cup of Croesus.[5] Such were the temple treasures which our author must certainly have seen with his own eyes.

Pausanias, and from the Greeks after the battle of Salamis.

Herodotus's description of Mount Parnassus.

Of Mount Parnassus two summits are mentioned by Herodotus. One was called Tithorea, and lay near the city of Neon. This was sufficiently large to receive a great multitude on its top; and the Phocians carried their effects to this spot when their country was overrun by the army of Xerxes.[6] The other summit was called Hyampeia, and beneath it was the Castalian spring.[7] On the heights of Par-

janizaries, so long as that corps existed, were all named from the duties of the kitchen, the colonel being styled the Soup-maker. In the time of Xenophon, there was an officer called Artocopus in the Persian court. (Hellen. VII. i. 26.—Cyrop. V. v. 39.) At a later period (Juvenal, Sat. v. 72) the word appears to have become common.

The statue here mentioned was subsequently converted into money, and assisted the Phocians in maintaining the Sacred War. Diod. Sic. xvi. 56.

[1] i. 51. [2] iv. 162. [3] viii. 27. [4] ix. 81.
[5] viii. 121, 122. [6] viii. 32. [7] viii. 39.

nassus was the Corycian cavern,[1] where the Delphians secured their goods and chattels from the Persian army.[2] Near the Hyampeian summit was the sanctuary of Athene Pronaea, which was the first spot reached by the Persians in their advance on Delphi. Here thunder fell on them from heaven, and two large crags bore down upon them with a loud crash and killed many.[3] These crags were still preserved in the time of Herodotus in the enclosure of Athene Pronaea.[4] Beyond the sanctuary of Athene and by the side of the road was the precinct of Phylacus, a hero of the country; and near the Castalian spring, under the Hyampeian summit, was that of another hero of the country, named Autonous.[5]

Topography Route of the army of Xerxes.

The Persian army advancing along the banks of the river Cephissus, burnt the following cities, viz. Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicaea, Neon, Pedica, Tritea, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamium, and Abae.[6] Near Hyampolis was a narrow pass, where the Phocians destroyed the Thessalian cavalry by digging a pit and filling it with empty jars lightly covered with earth, over which the cavalry charged and broke the legs of their horses.[7] At Abae the Persians plundered and burnt the rich temple of Apollo which contained many treasures and offerings, including half of the shields which the Phocians took from the Thessali-

[1] "The cavern is about seven miles from Delphi... We ascended more than half way to the summit of the mountain, when a small triangular entrance presented itself, conducting into the great chamber of the cavern, which is upwards of 200 feet in length, and about 40 feet high in the middle. Drops of water from the roof had formed large calcareous crystallizations rising at the bottom, and others were suspended from every part of the roof and sides. The inner part of this great hall is rugged and irregular, but after climbing over some rocks, we arrived at another small opening leading into a second chamber, the length of which is nearly 100 feet, and has a direction nearly at a right angle with that of the outer cavern. In this inner apartment there is again a narrow opening, but inaccessible without a ladder; at the foot of the ascent to it is a small natural chamber. There seems to have been ample space for the Delphians and other Phocians to deposit here their valuable property and even their families." *Leake.*

[2] viii. 36. [3] viii. 37. [4] viii. 39. [5] Ibid. [6] viii. 33.
[7] viii. 28.

ans, and some great statues like those at Delphi,[1] and where also there was an oracle which still existed in the time of Herodotus.[2] Passing by Parapotamium the Persians reached Panopeus, and then divided into two bodies: the largest proceeding under Xerxes through Boeotia to Athens,[3] whilst the other, keeping Parnassus on the right, burnt Panopeus, and the two cities of the Daulians and Aeolidae.[4] The town of Thyia is also mentioned, as the place where Thyia the daughter of Cephissus had a sacred enclosure, and where the Delphians erected an altar and sacrificed to the winds, because the Pythia had assured them that the winds would prove the most powerful allies of Greece against the Persians.[5] The Phocians sent 1000 men to defend Thermopylae.[6]

V. Locris. General description.

V. LOCRIS was a name applied to two distinct territories, situated at a considerable distance from each other.

Eastern or Opuntian Locrians.

1. The eastern Locrians occupied a territory extending from Thessaly and the pass of Thermopylae, along the coast of the Euboean Sea, as far as the frontiers of Boeotia. They were separated from Phocis by a mountain range which stretches from Oeta to the Boeotian borders. The northern part of this district was inhabited by Epicnemidii; the southern by the Opuntians.[7]

Western, or Locri Ozolae.

2. The western Locrians, or Locri Ozolae, occupied a territory on the Corinthian Gulf. According to Strabo,[8] they were a colony from the eastern Locrians.

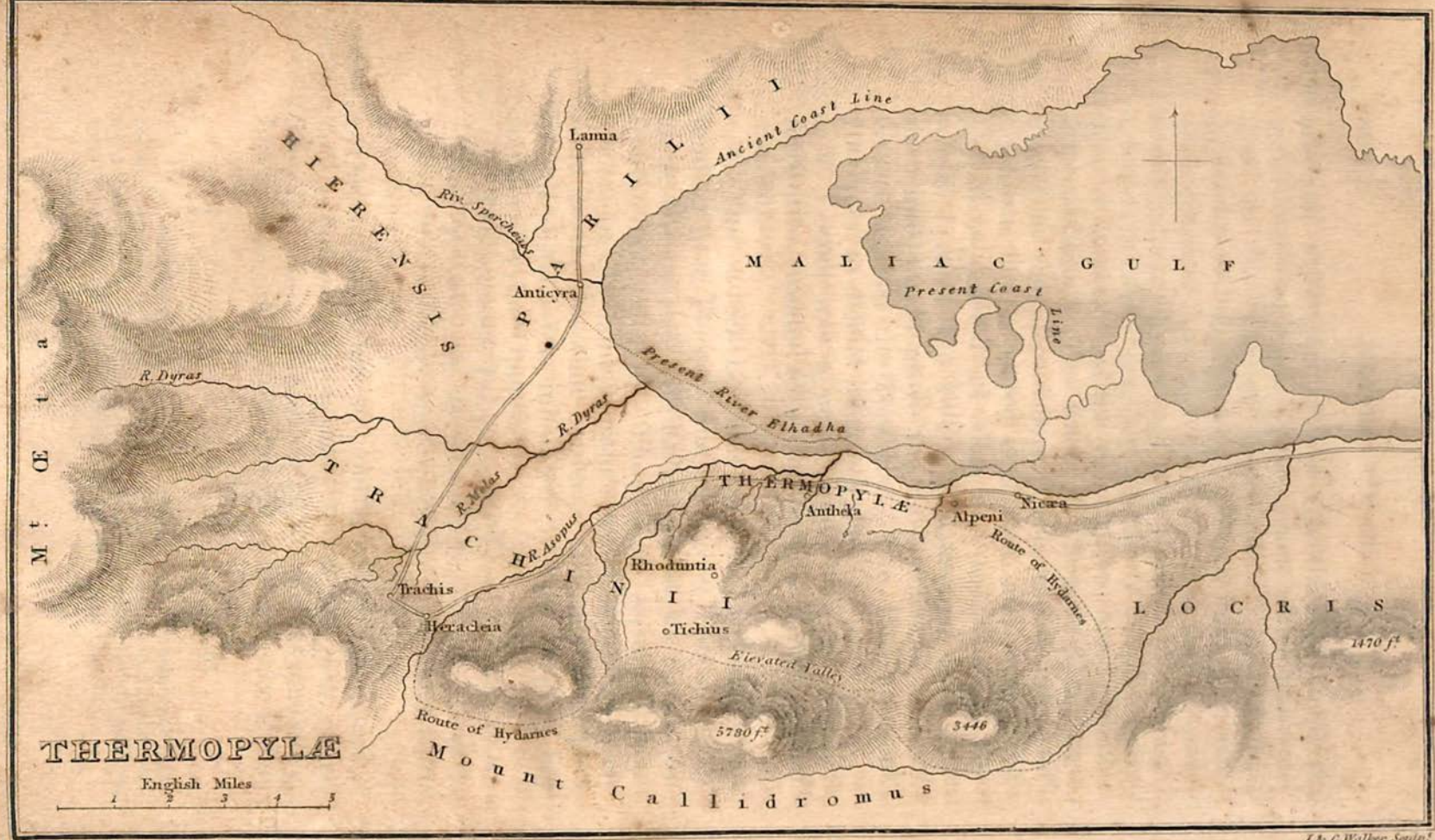
Herodotus's account of the Locri Ozolae.

Our author makes no mention of the Epicnemidii, but he describes the country round the pass, called Thermopylae, or Hot-gates, by the Greeks generally, but by the inhabitants and neighbours only Pylae,

[1] viii. 27. [2] viii. 33. [3] viii. 34. [4] viii. 35.
[5] vii. 178. [6] vii. 203.

[7] The northern part of the mountain range, which is much higher than the southern, was called Cnemis, whence the Epi-cnemidii Locrians derived their name. The Opuntian Locrians were so called from Opus, their chief town, which was situated on the borders of Boeotia.

[8] Strabo, ix. p. 427.



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or Gates.[1] The city of Alpenus, however, which he describes as the first Locrian city coming from Malis,[2] evidently belonged to the Epicnemidii. He also names the Locri Ozolae and their city of Amphissa, which was situated above the Crisaean plain;[3] and the Opuntian Locrians who appeared among the Greek forces at Thermopylae.[4]

Amphissa.

The Opuntian Locrians.

About the bay of Malis lies a plain country, in one part wide and in the other very narrow, and around it are high and impassable mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, which enclose the whole Malian territory.[5] The first city on the bay, in coming from the Thessalian district of Achaia, is Anticyra, by which the river Spercheius flows into the sea. Twenty stadia farther is the river Dyras, which, according to tradition, gushed forth to assist Heracles when he was burning. Twenty stadia from the Dyras is a third river, called Melas.[6] The city of Trachis is 5 stadia from this river. Near it is the widest part of the pass, for the Trachinian rocks and the sea are 22,000 plethra[7] apart.[8] The narrowest part of the same locality is half a plethrum wide.[9] In the Trachinian mountains which enclose the territory or district of Trachis, there is a ravine to the south of the city of Trachis through which the river Asopus flows along the declivity.[10] Farther on to the south of the Asopus is the Phoenix, a smaller river, which flows from these mountains into the Asopus. Here, at the river Phoenix, is the narrowest part of the entire pass, for the road has been made so as only to admit of a single chariot. Fifteen stadia beyond the river Phoenix is Thermopylae, and between the two is a village named Anthela, by

Thermopylae as described by Herodotus.

Enclosed by the Trachinian rocks.

Anticyra.

River Spercheius.

River Dyras.

River Melas.

Trachis.

Widest part.

Ravine of the river Asopus.

River Phoenix.

Narrowest part.

Thermopylae.

Anthela.

[1] vii. 201. [2] vii. 216. [3] viii. 32. [4] vii. 203.

[5] Our author's description of this celebrated pass leading from the Thessalian plain of Malis into the Locrian territory, includes an account of the Malian district. It has not, however, been thought advisable to disunite the narrative for the sake of an arbitrary division of the matter.

[6] vii. 198.

[7] A palpable mistake of a transcriber, as 22,000 plethra would be 366⅔ stadia, or 90 English miles. Baehr, however, does not know how to correct the blunder.

[8] vii. 199. [9] vii. 176. [10] vii. 199.

which the river Asopus, after receiving the waters of the Phoenix, falls into the Maliac Gulf.[1] The country about here is more spacious, and contains a temple of the Amphictyon Demeter, the seats of the Amphictyons, and the temple of Amphictyon himself.[2] On the western side of Thermopylae is an inaccessible and precipitous mountain, stretching to Mount Oeta: on the eastern side is the sea and a morass. At the entrance to this passage there are hot springs, or baths, which the inhabitants call Chytri, and above them is an altar to Heracles. In this passage a wall with gates had been formerly built by the Phocians to keep out the Thessalians; and at the same time the Phocians had diverted the hot springs into the entrance in order to render the pass more impracticable. This wall had been built in very ancient times, and in the time of the Persian war the greater part had fallen down from age; the Greeks, however, at that critical moment determined to rebuild it, and then repel the invaders.[3] On a neighbouring hill,[4] apparently to the north of the wall, there stood, in the time of Herodotus, the stone lion to the memory of Leonidas.[5] South of Thermopylae, and near the town of Alpenus, the road contracts, and will only receive a single chariot.[6] Alpenus is the first Locrian city towards the Malians.[7] Thus the general scene of the pass of Thermopylae, as pictured by Herodotus, may be described as two narrow openings, one near Anthela and the other at Alpenus, having an intermediate mile of enlarged road, and hot springs between them. Xerxes was encamped in the Trachinian territory of Malis, and the Greeks in the pass of Thermopylae.[8]

Temple of Demeter. Seats of the Amphictyons, etc.

Hot springs.

Phocian wall and gates.

Stone lion to Leonidas.

Alpenus.

Encampments.

[1] The territory of Malis we may regard as extending to Thermopylae and including Anthela. Locris, as beginning at Thermopylae and including Alpenus. The pass itself led from one territory to the other without actually belonging to either. Formerly it had been a part of Phocis. [2] vii. 200. [3] vii. 176.

[4] This glorious spot, where the remnant of the Spartan band made their last stand against the Persians, has been identified in a remarkable hillock a little to the east of the hot springs. Near its base, the indications of the deposited soil are plainly discernible, having all the appearance of a sea beach. [5] vii. 225. [6] vii. 176. [7] vii. 216.

[5] The configuration of the coast, the course of the rivers, and the ge-

Pass of Anopaca.

The pass of Anopaea, which Ephialtes discovered to Xerxes, began at the ravine through which the river Asopus flowed into the Maliac Gulf, and continuing along the ridge of the mountain which is called by the same name of Anopaea, ended at Alpenus, by the rock of Melampygus, and the seats of the Cercopes, where also the path is narrowest.[1] The whole of the mountain in this neighbourhood was covered with oaks.[2]

Inscriptions at Thermopylae.

At Thermopylae were the following inscriptions. One was written over the grave of those who fell before Leonidas dismissed the allies:

> From Peloponnesus came four thousand men,
> And on this spot fought with three hundred myriads.

Another was placed over the tomb of the Spartans:

> Go, stranger! tell the Lacedaemonians—here
> We lie, obedient to their stern commands.

The third was inscribed over the tomb of Megistias the augur, by his friend Simonides:

> The monument of famed Megistias,
> Slain by the Medes what time they passed the Spercheius:
> A seer, who, though he knew impending fate,
> Would not desert the gallant chiefs of Sparta.[3]

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neral local phenomena have now entirely changed; and Thermopylae itself no longer exists as a pass, and can only be identified by its hot springs. But still, as Col. Leake observes, a comparison of Herodotus's description with modern topography carries with it the conviction that the places mentioned by Herodotus are there correctly placed. Surprising changes however appear to have been created by the accumulation of soil brought down from the upper country by rivers, especially by the Spercheius. The Asopus is recognised by its rocky gorge, through which it issues into the plain: between it and the Spercheius are found the two streams corresponding to the Melas and Dyras, which now, instead of falling separately into the sea, unite, and then discharge their waters, as does the Asopus itself, into the Spercheius. The latter, instead of meeting the coast nearly opposite Lamia, as it appears to have done in the time of the Persian war, not only receives the Dyras, Melas, and Asopus as tributary streams, but continues its course on a line parallel to the pass of Thermopylae, at a distance of a mile from the hot sources. It then forms a delta in that new plain which has been created beyond the pass, and which has thus caused the head of the gulf to be removed three or four miles from its ancient position. The consequence is, that all the lower plain, although intersected with marshes at all seasons, and scarcely passable in the winter, affords in summer a road through it, which leaves Thermopylae two or three miles on the right, and renders it of little or no importance as a pass in that season. *Leake's Northern Greece.*

[1] vii. 215, 216. [2] vii. 217. [3] vii. 228.

VI. DORIS. Mother country of the Dorians. Topography Pindus. Erineus.

VI. DORIS was a narrow strip of mountainous territory about 30 stadia broad, and situated between the Malian and Phocian territories. We learn from Herodotus that it was anciently called Dryopis, after its older inhabitants the Dryopes. It was the mother country of the Dorians of the Peloponnesus,[1] and contained two cities, Pindus and Erineus.[2]

VII. AETOLIA. Scattered notices.

VII. AETOLIA is scarcely mentioned by our author. When the Dorians invaded the Peloponnesus, they were accompanied by some Aetolians, who received Elis as their share of the conquest.[3] Males the Aetolian went to Sicyon as a suitor for the hand of the daughter of Cleisthenes. He was the brother of that Titormus, who excelled all the Grecks in strength, but fled from the society of men to the extremity of the Aetolian territory.[4]

VIII. ACARNANIA. River Achelous. Echinades islands. Anactorium Teleboa.

VIII. ACARNANIA was watered by the river Achelous, which flowed through this country and fell into the sea. In the time of Herodotus the Achelous had converted one-half of the islands of the Echinades into continent.[5] Acarnania contained the city of Anactorium, which in conjunction with the Leucadians sent 800 men to Plataea.[6] The Teleboans also are mentioned in a Cadmean inscription on a tripod in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo in the Boeotian Thebes.[7]

IX. THESSALY. General description.

IX. THESSALY Proper is an irregular square plain, shut in on every side by mountain barriers—the Cambunian range on the north, Ossa and Pelion on the east, Othrys on the south, and the Pindus range on the west. In addition to this great plain, two other districts were included under the general name of Thessaly: one called Magnesia, a narrow strip of land running from Tempe to the Pegasaean Gulf; the other being a long narrow valley drained by the river Spercheius, and running along the south of Thessaly Proper, between Othrys and the range of Mount Oeta. From the earliest times the plain of Thessaly Proper was divided into four districts or

Thessaly Proper, viz.

[1] viii. 31. [2] viii. 43. [3] viii. 73. Comp. page 45.
[4] vi. 127. [5] ii. 10. [6] ix. 28. [7] v. 59.

tetrarchies, viz. Histiaeotis in the north, Pelasgiotis in the east, Phthiotis in the south, and Thessaliotis in the interior.[1] The other two districts were as already mentioned: Magnesia east of Mount Ossa and Pelion, and Malis south of Mount Othrys. The great plain of Thessaly is watered by the Peneus and its tributaries; the southern valley between Othrys and Oeta is drained by the Spercheius.

Histiaeotis, Pelasgiotis, Phthiotis, and Thessaliotis. Two other districts: Magnesia, Malis.

Herodotus gives us a very graphic and spirited account of the physical geography of Thessaly. According to a tradition it was anciently a lake enclosed on all sides by lofty mountains. On the east were the united bases of Pelion and Ossa; on the north was Mount Olympus; on the west was Pindus; and on the south was Othrys. The vale of Thessaly was thus a hollow space shaped like a caldron. From these surrounding mountains numerous rivers flowed into Thessaly. The most celebrated were the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus.[2] Of all the rivers in Thessalia Proper, the Onochonus was the only stream whose waters were exhausted by the Persian armies; but none of the rivers in the Thessalian district of Achaia, not even the Apidanus, or Epidanus,[3] which was the largest, could hold out.[4] The five rivers meet together in the plain, and discharge themselves through one narrow ravine into the sea, but after their union they are called by the one name of Peneus. In ancient times, before this ravine or outlet existed, these rivers, together with the lake called Boebeis, made the whole of Thessaly a sea. The Thessalians say that the outlet was formed by Poseidon, and Herodotus thinks that all who believe that earthquakes are the works of this deity will be of the same opinion, as the separation of the mountains was evidently effected by an earthquake.[5] On this account Xerxes commended the prudence of the Thes-

Herodotus's account.

Anciently a lake enclosed by Pelion and Ossa, Olympus, Pindus, and Othrys;

formed by the rivers Peneus, Apidanus, Onochonus, Enipeus, Pamisus, and Lake Boebeis.

Outlet at Tempe formed by an earthquake.

[1] The territory of Pelasgiotis is not mentioned by Herodotus, who seems to include it in the district of Thessaliotis (i. 57).

[2] vii. 129.

[3] Called Ἀπιδανὸς (vii. 129), and Ἠπιδανὸς (vii. 196).

[4] vii. 196.

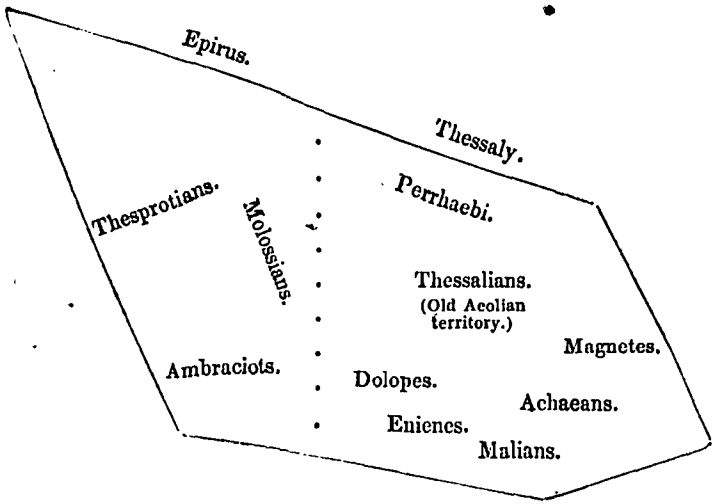
[5] vii. 129.

salians in surrendering to him at once, as he had only to dam up the Peneus, and the whole country would be inundated.[1] The lofty heights of Ossa and Olympus were visible at Therma, and Xerxes beheld the mouth of the Peneus with great astonishment.[2]

Tribes of Thessaly. Thessalians Dolopes, Eniences, Magnetes, Malians, Perrhaebi, Achaeans of Phthiotis

Herodotus mentions the following tribes who occupied the country, viz. the Thessalians, Dolopes, Enienes, Magnetes, Malians, Perrhaebi, and Achaeans of Phthiotis,[3] which last he seemed to consider as scarcely belonging to Thessaly Proper.[4] The Thessalians originally came from Thesprotia in Epirus to settle in the Aeolian territory, which they still possessed in the time of Herodotus.[5] The Enienes dwelt upon the banks of the river Spercheius.[6]

The following diagram will show the position of the tribes occupying Thessaly and Epirus.



Of the various districts Herodotus notices Phthiotis and Histiaeotis, anciently occupied by the Hellenes;[7] Thessaliotis, anciently occupied by the Pelasgi;[8] Magnesia;[9] and Malis.[10] [11] Two passes led from

Pass of Tempe.

[1] vii. 129. [2] vii. 128. [3] vii. 132. [4] vii. 196. [5] vii. 176. [6] vii. 198. [7] i. 56. [8] i. 57. [9] vii. 183. [10] vii. 198.

[11] Malis, like Achaia of Phthiotis, was also scarcely regarded by our author as belonging to Thessaly Proper. The river Spercheius is not

Macedonia into Thessaly. First that of Olympus, which led from Lower Macedonia into the vale of Tempe,[1] up the outlet between Olympus and Ossa, through which the river Peneus flows.[2] Secondly, that by the city of Gonnus, which led from Upper Macedonia through the country of the Perrhaebi.[3] [4] Xerxes entered Thessaly by this latter pass, as he was informed that it was the safest way;[5] but he first employed a third of his army, then encamped in Pieria, in clearing the road.[6]

Pass of Gonnus.

The following places in Thessaly are mentioned by Herodotus. Iolcus, which the Thessalians offered to Hippias, who however did not accept it.[7] Gonnus, by the pass through which Xerxes entered Thessaly.[8] Meliboea, and the places called Ipni or Ovens, on the coast in the neighbourhood of Mount Pelion, where 400 Persian ships were dashed to pieces by a Hellespontine gale.[9] The Ovens were probably concealed crags or breakers. Alos in Achaia, where there was a sanctuary of the Laphystian Zeus, with the mythus of the curse of the descendants of Athamas, and a prytaneum called Leitum.[10] Larissa, the native place of the Aleuadae.[11] Lastly, Casthanaea and the acte Sepias in Magnesia.[12] Amcinocles, who possessed some lands near Sepias, was enriched by the great treasures, including many drinking vessels of gold and silver, which were thrown on shore after the shipwreck of the Persian

Topography

Iolcus.

Gonnus.

Meliboea.

Alos.

Larissa.

Casthanaea.

included in the description of the celebrated Thessalian rivers, whilst the account of Malis itself is given in the description of Thermopylae.

[1] The lovely scenery of this beautiful and romantic valley has been too often described to require much repetition here. The whole glen is rather less than five miles long, and opens gradually to the east into a spacious plain stretching to the shore of the Thermaic Gulf. On each side the rocks rise precipitously from the bed of the Peneus, and in some places only leave room between them for the stream; and the road, which at the narrowest point is cut in the rock, might in the opinion of the ancients be defended by ten men against a host. See *Thirlwall's Greece.*

[2] vii. 172, 173. [3] vii. 173.

[4] This defile passed by the village of Pythium at the north-east extremity of the range of Olympus. It was also crossed by Brasidas in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war. *Thucyd.* iv. 78.

[5] vii. 128. [6] vii. 131. [7] v. 94. [8] vii. 128, 173.

[9] vii. 188. [10] vii. 197. [11] ix. 1. [12] vii. 183, 188.

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fleet. All the coast belonged to Thetis and the other Nereids, because Peleus had carried that goddess away from thence.[1]

Gulf of Magnesia.

The Gulf of Magnesia is also mentioned. It ran up to Pegasae. On it was a place called Aphetae, where Heracles was abandoned by the Argonauts. The Persian fleet moored here after the storm.[2] Xerxes got up a match at Aphetae with his own horses for the purpose of trying the Thessalian cavalry, which he was told were the best in all Hellas. On this occasion the horses of Thessaly proved far superior to all the others.[3]

X. EPIRUS. Scattered notices in Herodotus.

X. EPIRUS, or "the mainland," the country between Thessaly and the sea, is not mentioned under this comprehensive heading, but the following scattered notices of this region are to be found in Herodotus.

Thesprotians.

Thesprotians dwelt on the river Acheron, where there was an oracle of the dead[4] [where those who consulted called up the spirits of the dead and offered sacrifices to the gods of the lower world]. The Thessalians formerly lived here, either before the Thesprotians, or else as a branch of the same people.[5]

Molossians.

From the Molossians came Alcon to contest for the hand of the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon.[6]

Epidamnus.

On the Ionian Gulf was the city of Epidamnus, from which place Amphinestus also came to Sicyon.[7]

Ambraciots

The Ampraciotae, or Ambraciots, bordered Thesprotia and the river Acheron on the eastern side.[8] They sent seven ships to Salamis.[9]

Apollonia.

The city of Apollonia was situated on the Ionian Gulf. Here a flock of sheep were kept sacred to Helios. By day they grazed near the river that flows from Mount Lacmon through Apollonia, and discharges itself into the sea near the port of Oricus. At night they were folded in a cavern at some distance from the city, and watched by eminent citizens, who were appointed every year for the office.[10]

Oracle at Dodona.

Above all, Herodotus mentions the celebrated oracle of Zeus at Dodona,[11] which was the oldest in

[1] vii. 190, 191. [2] vii. 193. [3] vii. 196. [4] v. 92. [5] vii. 176. [6] vi. 127. [7] Ibid. [8] viii. 47. [9] viii. 45. [10] ix. 92, 93. [11] i. 46.

Hellas. Two different traditions were told of its origin; one by the Aegyptians and the other by the Greeks. The priests of Zeus at the Aegyptian Thebes told Herodotus that two holy women, or priestesses, were carried away from that city by certain Phoenicians, who afterwards sold one of them in Libya and the other in Hellas; and these women were the first who established oracles in these two countries. On the other hand, the prophetesses of Dodona said, that two wild black pigeons flew from Thebes, one to Libya and the other to Dodona, and that this last one perched on an oak tree, and commanded in a human voice, that the oracle to Zeus should be established there. It was Herodotus's opinion, that if the Phoenicians did really carry away the women, that the one in question was sold to some Thesprotians in that country, which in his time was called Hellas, but was originally named Pelasgia; and that here the woman erected a temple to Zeus under an oak in memory of the one she had left at Thebes. Further, that the woman was called a dove, because at first she spoke a foreign tongue, which must have sounded like the chattering of birds; and also a black dove, because of the dark colour of her Aegyptian complexion; and that when she began to speak the language of the country, it was said that the black dove spoke with a human voice. Oracles were delivered in Thebes and Dodona in a very similar manner.[1]

Aegyptian tradition of its origin.

Greek tradition.

Opinion of Herodotus.

Such then is the geography of the Hellas of Herodotus; we shall now proceed in a separate chapter to develope and explain his knowledge of the islands.

[1] ii. 54—57.

CHAPTER V.

THE ISLANDS.

Distribution of the Islands.—ISLANDS IN THE IONIAN SEA.—Corcyra.—Leucas.—Cephallenia.—Zacynthus.—ISLANDS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.—Cyrnus.—Sardo.—Sicily. Topography of Sicily: Syracuse, Camarina, Gela, Megara, Zancle, Eryx country, Egestaea, Selinus, Minoa, Mactorium, Inycus, Callipolis, Naxos, Leontini, Himera, Agrigentum, Hybla, Camicus, river Elorus, Cithera.—Crete, its history. Topography of Crete: Cydonia, Cnossus, Itanus, Axus.—Carpathus.—Rhodes.—Cyprus. Topography of Cyprus: Paphos, Soli, Curium, Amathus, Salamis, Key of Cyprus.—ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN, or Grecian Archipelago, general description.—I. The Cyclades.—Delos, the centre; its sacred character; sanctuary of Artemis; banqueting-hall of the Ceians; grave of the two Hyperborean virgins, Hyperoche and Laodice; grave of two other Hyperborean virgins, Opis and Arge.—Islands round Delos, viz. Rhenea, Myconus, Tenos, Andros, Scyros, Ceos, Cythnos, Seriphus, Siphnos, Melos, Paros, Naxos.—II. The Sporades, viz. Thera, Telos, Cos, Leros.—III. Other islands of the Aegean.—Samos.—The aqueduct; the mole; the temple of Hera and its curiosities, viz. the great brazen mixing-vessels, two wooden statues of Amasis, picture of the Bosphorus bridge, furniture of Polycrates, linen corselet of Amasis, brazen vessel on a tripod: description of the city of Samos; curious festival observed by the Samians; flourishing condition of Samos under Polycrates; Samians in Libya; artistic skill of the Samians; their dialect, etc.—Lade.—Chios.—Topography of Chios: Chios, Caucasa, Coeli, Polichne: notices of the Chians.—Lesbos.—Hecatonnesi.—Tenedos.—Lemnos, atrocities committed there.—Imbros.—Samothrace.—Thasos, its valuable mines.—Sciathus.—Euboea.—Topography of Euboea: Eretria, Chalcis, Styra, Geraestus, Carystus, Histiaeotis; description of the beach of Artemisium; Coela, Cape Cepharęus, mountains, the Abantes.—Salamis.—Psyttalea.—Aegina, its trade and shipping.—Hydrea.—Belbina.

Distribution of the islands.

THE Islands pertaining to the geography of Herodotus we have included, for the sake of clearness, in a single chapter under the division of Europe, though many of them lay off the Asiatic coast. They are divisible into three classes, namely, those in the Ionian Sea, those in the Mediterranean, and those in the Aegean, which last are usually known by the name of the Grecian Archipelago.

Islands in the Ionian Sea.

THE ISLANDS IN THE IONIAN SEA mentioned by our

author are only four in number, viz. Corcyra, Leucas, Cephallenia, and Zacynthus.

Corcyra. CORCYRA is the modern Corfu. Its inhabitants manned 60 ships before the battle of Salamis, but anchored about Pylus and Taenarum to await the issue of the contest.[1] Leucas. LEUCAS (or the modern Santa Maura) was peopled by Dorians from Corinth, who sent three ships to Salamis,[2] and in conjunction with the Anactorians supplied 800 men at Plataea.[3] Cephallenia. CEPHALLENIA (or Cephallonia) included the town of Pale, which sent 200 men to Plataea.[4] Zacynthus. ZACYNTHUS (or Zante) contained several lakes, of which the largest was 70 feet every way, and 2 orgyae in depth. Herodotus had seen pitch drawn from this lake, by dipping in a pole with a myrtle-branch fastened to the end, upon which the pitch adhered to the myrtle. The pitch had the smell of asphalt, but in other respects was better than the pitch of Pieria. It was poured into a cistern near the lake, and when a sufficient quantity had been collected, it was put into jars. All that fell into the lake passed under ground, and reappeared in the sea 4 stadia distant.[5] The Zacynthians are also mentioned as being in Crete.[6]

Lake celebrated for its pitch.

Islands in the Mediterranean. THE ISLANDS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN mentioned by Herodotus, were eight in number, viz. Cyrnus, Sardo, Sicilia, Cythera, Crete, Carpathus, Rhodes, and Cyprus.

Cyrnus. CYRNUS was the modern Corsica. Here the Phocaeans, in obedience to an oracle, built the town of Alalia. Twenty years afterwards their own city of Phocaea was destroyed by the Persians, and accordingly they proceeded to Cyrnus. After five more years their fleet of 60 ships engaged 60 ships belonging to the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians in the Sicilian Sea, upon which the Phocaeans gained a Cadmean victory, forty of their own ships being destroyed, and the remaining twenty disabled.[7] The Cyrnians fought in the Carthaginian army against Gelon.[8]

[1] viii. 168. [2] viii. 45. [3] ix. 28. [4] Ibid. [5] iv. 195.
[6] iii. 59. i. 165, 166. [8] vii. 165.

Sardo.

SARDO (or Sardinia) was a large and important island, which however Histiaeus offered to make tributary to the Persians, and even assured Darius that he would not lay aside his clothes until he had done so.[1] Bias of Priene advised the Ionians to sail in one common fleet to Sardo, and build there one common city for all.[2] This advice, which Herodotus considered to be of the most salutary character, was rejected, and we subsequently find Aristagoras proposing a similar course to the Milesians.[3] The Sardonians fought in the Carthaginian army against Gelon.[4] The surrounding waters were called the Sardonian Sea.[5]

Sicily.

SICILY was called Sicania in the time of Minos, but Sicilia in the days of Herodotus;[6] and our author mentions the Sicelians and the war against them, in which Hippocrates fell.[7] He, however, says nothing about the island in a general way, though we are able to extract some information concerning the following cities.

Topography of Sicily.

Syracuse.

Syracuse seems to have been the most important town. Under the government of Gelon it rapidly grew up and flourished,[8] until it became far superior to any other Hellenic state.[9] The Demus or populace had united with the Cyllyrii or slaves, and driven out the Gamori or landholders.[10] The latter then settled in the city of Casmene, but Gelon brought them back again.[11] He also removed all the Camarinaeans, half the Geloans, and all the more opulent of the Sicelian Megarians and Euboeans, to Syracuse, and admitted them to the citizenship.[12]

[1] v. 106. [2] i. 170. [3] v. 124. [4] vii. 165. [5] i. 166.
[6] vii. 170. [7] vii. 155. [8] vii. 156. [9] vii. 145.
[10] Three classes existed at Syracuse. (1.) The Gamori, or old Corinthian colonists, who had divided the land amongst themselves and formed the πολίτευμα, or body politic. (2.) The Demus, or populace; whom Gelon regarded as "an unpleasant fellow-lodger" (vii. 156). (3.) The Cyllyrii, or slaves, who were without doubt native Sicelians, as is shown by the various forms of their name, Κυλλύριοι, Κιλλικύριοι, Καλλικύριοι, which, as Müller says, cannot be explained from the Greek. Müller adds that the Gamori and their Cyllyrians stood in nearly the same relation to the Demus as the patricians with their clients did to the plebeians at Rome. *Dor.* B. iii. c. 4.
[11] vii. 145. [12] vii. 156.

The town of Camarina originally belonged to the Syracusans, but the latter gave it up to Hippocrates, the tyrant of Gela. Subsequently Gelon destroyed the city and removed all the inhabitants to Syracuse, of which place he made them citizens.[1] Gela was founded by the Lindians from Rhodes, and among the colonists was an ancestor of Gelon, who came from Telos, and whose descendants became priests of the infernal deities.[2] Gelon removed half of the inhabitants to Syracuse.[3] The town of Megara was taken by Gelon, who removed the more opulent inhabitants to Syracuse, but sold the populace, whom he regarded as an unpleasant fellow-lodger, for exportation from the island.[4] The Euboeans of Sicily were treated by Gelon in the same way as the Megarians.[5] The town of Zancle, or "a sickle," was so called from the shape of its harbour. After the suppression of the Ionian revolt, the Zanclaeans invited the Ionians to found a city in Cale acte, which lay on that side of Sicily which faced the Tyrrhenians. The Samians and Milesians alone accepted the invitation, but afterwards seized the city of Zancle for themselves, whilst its citizens were absent at a siege, being persuaded to commit this treacherous act by King Anaxilaus of Rhegium, who was at enmity with the Zanclaeans.[6] The Eryx country was the place where Dorieus, the Lacedaemonian colonist, was advised by Antichares to found Heraclea, as, according to the oracles delivered to Laius, all the region of Eryx belonged to the Heracleidae.[7]

Camarina.

Gela.

Megara.

Zancle.

Eryx country.

The following miscellaneous localities are also noticed by Herodotus. Egestaea, which contained the tomb of Philippus, the handsomest man of his time, together with a shrine where the Egestaeans propitiated him with sacrifices;[8] Selinus, which contained an altar to the Forensian Zeus;[9] Minoa, a colony of the Selinuntines;[9] Mactorium, a city situated above Gela;[11] Inycus, where Scythes king of Zancle was

Egestaea.

Selinus.

Minoa.

Mactorium.

Inycus.

[1] vii. 154, 156. [2] vii. 153. [3] vii. 156. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.
[6] vi. 22, 23. [7] v. 43. [8] v. 47. [9] v. 46. [10] Ibid.
[11] vii. 153.

sent in chains;[1] Callipolis; Naxos; Leontini;[2] Himera, where the Carthaginians were defeated by Gelon; Agrigentum;[3] Hybla;[4] and Camicus, which in the time of Herodotus was possessed by the Agrigentines, and which was besieged for five years by all the Cretans, except the Polichnitae and the Praesians, after the death of Minos.[5] Lastly, there was the river Elorus, where the Syracusans were defeated by Hippocrates.[6]

Callipolis. Naxos. Leontini. Himera. Agrigentum. Hybla. Camicus. River Elorus.

Attempts of the Carthaginians to conquer Sicily.

The conquest of Sicily was attempted by the Carthaginians in the time of Gelon. The latter requested the Greeks to assist him against the invaders, and thus avenge the death of Dorieus, who had been slain by the Phoenicians[7] and Aegestaeans; and he even promised to free the ports, but could obtain no assistance.[8] Subsequently, at Himera, he gained a brilliant victory over the Carthaginians, who at the instigation of Terillus, the exiled tyrant of Himera, had invaded Sicily with 300,000 men under Hamilcar.[9] The battle was fought on the same day as that at Salamis.[10] Gelon offered to furnish 200 triremes, 20,000 heavy-armed troops, 2000 horse, 2000 archers, 2000 slingers, and 2000 light horse, to the allied army of Hellas at the Persian invasion, and also to supply the whole army with corn until the conclusion of the war, upon condition of being made commander-in-chief; but this offer was declined.[11]

Cythera.

CYTHERA, now called Cerigo, lay off the Malean promontory of Laconica. Chilon, the wisest man amongst the Lacedaemonians, said that it would be more to the advantage of Sparta if it was sunk to the bottom of the sea, than if it remained above water.[12] It once belonged to Argolis, together with *αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νησων*, or, "the remainder of the islands." It is impossible to say to what islands Herodotus alludes in this last expression; but it is probable that he meant either the small islets by Cithera, or else those in the Argolic Gulf.[13]

[1] vi. 23. [2] vii. 154. [3] vii. 165. [4] vii. 155.
[5] vii. 170. Comp. page 95. [6] vii. 154. [7] v. 46. [8] vii. 158.
[9] vii. 165. [10] vii. 166. [11] vii. 158. [12] vii. 235. [13] i. 82.

Crete, its history.

CRETE, the modern Candia, was in ancient times in the possession of the barbarians. The Lycians of Asia Minor originally dwelt there. The Caunians also said that they came from Crete, but Herodotus thinks that they were aborigines of Caria. The two sons of Europa, Sarpedon and Minos, had struggled for the sovereign power. Minos obtained the supremacy, and Sarpedon and his partisans migrated to Asia Minor.[1] Minos was subsequently killed in Sicily, where he had gone in search of Daedalus; and all the Cretans excepting the Polichnitae and the Praesians sailed there to avenge his death, but being unable to take the city of Camicus, they proceeded to Iapygia and founded Hyria. Crete being thus almost deserted, the Hellenes came and settled there. After the return from the Trojan war, which took place three generations after the death of Minos, famine and plague carried off all the inhabitants and cattle on the island. The Cretans in the time of Xerxes were therefore the third people who had occupied Crete.[2] Herodotus seems to have joined in the general belief of their naval supremacy and piratic daring in ancient times. The Hellenes who sailed to Tyre and carried off Europa, he says, must have been Cretans,[3] which corroborates the testimony of Thucydides.[4]

Topography of Crete.

Cydonia.

The following towns in Crete are mentioned by our author. Cydonia, which was founded by those Samians who were exiled in the time of Polycrates,[5] but who however did not go to Crete for the purpose of founding this colony, but to drive out the Zacynthians. These Samian exiles remained in Cydonia and prospered for five years, and erected the sacred precincts which existed there in the time of Herodotus, and also built the temple of Dictynna; but in the sixth year they were defeated by the Aeginetans, and enslaved with the other Cretans, and the prows of their boats, which represented the figure of a boar, were dedicated in the temple of Athene in Aegina.[6]

Cnossus.

Cnossus was the ancient capital of Minos, who is

[1] i. 172, 173. [2] vii. 170, 171. [3] i. 2. [4] Thuc. i. 4, 8.
[5] iii. 44. [6] iii. 59.

called the Cnossian.[1] Itanus was the residence of a dyer of purple named Corobius, who had been to Libya, and who conducted the Theracans to the island of Platea.[2] Axus was a city where Etearchus was king.[3]

Itanus.

Axus.

The Polichnitae and Praesians have been already mentioned, together with some strangers who were settled in the island.[4]

Carpathus. CARPATHUS, the modern Scarpanto, is merely named by Herodotus.[5]

Rhodes. RHODES was inhabited by Dorians.[6] Herodotus only mentions three of its cities—Lindus, Ialyssus, and Cameirus.[7] At Lindus there was a temple of Athene, said to have been founded by the daughters of Danaus, when flying from the sons of Aegyptus. On this account the Aegyptian king, Amasis, dedicated two stone statues and a linen corselet, well worthy of notice.[8] The Lindians founded Gela in Sicily.[9]

Cyprus. CYPRUS contributed 150 ships to Xerxes. Her kings wrapped their heads in turbans. The people generally wore tunics, and were in other respects attired like the Hellenes. The inhabitants of the island were a mixture of many nations, some coming from Salamis and Athens, others from Arcadia, others from Cythnus, others from Phoenicia, and some even, as the Cyprians themselves said, from Aethiopia.[10] Artemisia said of the Cyprians, that they were bad slaves, and fit for nothing.[11] The following localities are mentioned. Paphos, which sent 12 ships to Xerxes, 11 of which were destroyed in the storm off Sepias.[12] Soli, which held out longer against the Persians than any of the other Cyprian cities, but was taken in the fifth month by the enemy undermining their wall.[13] Curium, whose inhabitants are said to be a colony of Argives.[14] Amathus, whose inhabitants refused to join in the Ionian revolt.[15] Salamis, whose tyrant, Euelthon, dedicated the curious

Topography of Cyprus.

Paphos.

Soli.

Curium.

Amathus.

Salamis.

[1] iii. 122. [2] iv. 151, 152. [3] iv. 154. [4] iv. 151. [5] iii. 45.
[6] ii. 178. [7] i. 144. [8] ii. 182. [9] vii. 153. [10] vii. 90.
[11] viii. 68. [12] vii. 195. [13] v. 115. [14] v. 113. [15] v. 104.

censer at Delphi, which is deposited in the treasury of the Corinthians.[1] The promontory called the Key of Cyprus.[2] The island also contained a temple of the celestial Aphrodite, which was built after the fashion of the one at Ascalon.[3] The Cyprians called spears σιγύννες.[4] In many parts of Cyprus there was a custom very similar to the one observed by the Babylonian women in the temple of Aphrodite.[5]

Key of Cyprus.

THE ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN which are included under the name of the Grecian Archipelago, are best considered under their separate heads. First, the group of isles off the coast of Europe, which are called the Cyclades, because they were supposed to lie in a circle round Delos. Secondly, the Sporades, or "scattered islands," which lie more to the south, and off the Asiatic coast. Thirdly, the northern islands, or those lying off the more northern coasts of both Europe and Asia Minor. Countless numbers of isles or islets, beside those mentioned by our author, are scattered over the Aegean Sea. Many are of volcanic formation; others, like Paros, are composed of a pure white marble; and we learn from modern travellers, that in no part of Greece does the character and expression on the face of ancient statues so decidedly show itself, as upon the countenances of the fine athletic men, and very beautiful women, who still people

Islands of the Aegean, or Grecian Archipelago. General description.

"the isles of Greece,
Where burning Sappho loved and sung."

I. THE CYCLADES mentioned by Herodotus are thirteen in number, viz. Delos, Rhenea, Myconus, Tenos, Andros, Scyros, Ceos, Cythnos, Seriphus, Siphnos, Melos, Paros, and Naxos.

I. The Cyclades.

The small island of DELOS, which formed the centre of the Cyclades, was celebrated as having been the birth-place of the two deities, Apollo and Artemis; and its inhabitants were apparently regarded as sacred.[6] It contained a sanctuary of Artemis with an altar; and also a hall called the banqueting-

Delos, the centre; its sacred character.

Sanctuary of Artemis. Banqueting-hall of the Ceians.

[1] iv. 162. [2] v. 108. [3] i. 105. [4] v. 9.
[5] i. 199. Comp. Asia, chap. iii. [6] vi. 97.

room of the Ceians.[1] On the left-hand side of the entrance to the sanctuary of Artemis was the grave of two Hyperborean virgins, Hyperoche and Laodice, who died at Delos; and on the grave there grew an olive tree. The two virgins had carried some sacred things, wrapped in wheat straw, from their native country to Delos, attended by five of the principal Hyperborean citizens, who were afterwards called Perpherees, and highly venerated at Delos. The maidens and youths of the island dedicated their hair to these two virgins; the maidens cutting off a lock before marriage, and laying it on the sepulchre wound round a distaff; and the youths placing their hair on the sepulchre wound round a plant.[2] Behind the temple of Artemis, facing the east, and very near the banqueting-room of the Ceians, was the sepulchre of two other Hyperborean virgins, named Opis and Arge, who came with the gods themselves long before the two others. The Delians paid them different honours, and the women collected contributions for them, and invoked their names in a hymn sung by Olen the Lycian; and the ashes of the thighs of victims burnt on the altar were strewed upon their grave.[3] Delos was spared by the Persians under Datis, but after their departure was shaken by an earthquake, which Herodotus says had never happened in his time before or since.[4] In obedience to an oracle, Delos was purified by Pisistratus, who dug up all the dead bodies within sight of the temple, and removed them to another part of the island.[5]

Grave of the two Hyperborean virgins, Hyperoche and Laodice.

Grave of two other Hyperborean virgins, Opis and Arge.

West of Delos was the island of RHENEA, which is merely named by Herodotus.[6] To the east was the island of MYCONUS, also scarcely noticed.[7] Northward was TENOS;[8] then ANDROS, which was dependent on Naxos.[9] South of Andros was SCYROS.[10] Again, to the north-west was CEOS, whose inhabitants were Ionians from Athens, and furnished two triremes and

Islands round Delos, viz. Rhenea, Myconus, Tenos, Andros, Scyros, Ceos,

[1] iv. 35. [2] iv. 33, 34. [3] iv. 35. [4] vi. 98.
[5] i. 64. Comp. Thucyd. iii. 104. [6] vi. 97. [7] vi. 118.
[8] iv. 33. [9] v. 31. [10] vii. 183.

two penteconters, both at Artemisium and Salamis.[1] Southwards of Ceos was CYTHNOS, whose inhabitants were Dryopes, and sent one trireme and one penteconter to Salamis.[2] Many of the Cythnians were settled at Salamis.[3] Next came SERIPHUS, whose inhabitants were Ionians from Athens. They refused to send earth and water to Xerxes, and had one penteconter at Salamis.[4]

Cythnos. Seriphus.

The island of SIPHNOS came next. In the time of Polycrates it was in a very flourishing condition, and so rich in gold and silver mines that Herodotus considered the Siphnians to be the richest of all the islanders. A tithe of the produce went to Delphi, and the remainder was shared by the inhabitants. When the Siphnians sent their treasure to Delphi, they inquired of the oracle if their prosperity would continue. The Pythia thus replied:

Siphnos.

> "In Siphnos when the hall and mart are white,
> Then she will need a prudent man to guard
> From wooden ambush and a crimson herald."

This prophecy was fulfilled. The prytaneium and agora of Siphnos were faced with Parian marble,[5] and at that time all ships were painted with red ochre or vermilion. Ambassadors came in a ship from Samos to request the loan of ten talents, and when this was refused the Samians ravaged the country, and exacted a fine of 100 talents.[6] Siphnos was one of the few islands that refused to send earth and water to Xerxes, and one of its ships with 50 rowers fought on the side of the Greeks at Salamis. Its inhabitants were of Ionian extraction, and came from Athens.[7]

Lastly came the three islands, Melos, Paros, and Naxos. The inhabitants of MELOS were Dorians from Lacedaemon. They refused to send earth and water to Xerxes, and furnished two penteconters at Salamis.[8] PAROS included a town of the same name, which was surrounded by a wall. When the Parians were threatened by Miltiades, they raised the

Melos. Paros.

[1] viii. 1, 46, 47. [2] viii. 46. [3] vii. 90. [4] viii. 46, 48.
[5] iii. 57. [6] iii. 58. [7] viii. 46, 48. [8] viii. 46, 47.

EUROPE. CHAP. V.

most exposed parts of this wall to double the former height.[1] On a hill in front of the city was a temple of Demeter Thesmophora, surrounded by a fence, which Miltiades leaped over, as he could not open the door. He then entered the interior, which contained things that ought not to have been revealed to the male sex, but a thrill of horror came over him, and he turned back; but on again leaping the fence, dislocated his thigh, or, as others say, hurt his knee.[2] The Parians were chosen by the Milesians to reconcile the factions at Miletus.[3]

Naxos.

NAXOS was regarded by Herodotus as an island of no great extent, but otherwise beautiful and fertile. It was near Ionia, and contained much wealth and many slaves. Paros, Andros, and the other islands that are called Cyclades, were dependent upon it.[4] In the time of Darius, its inhabitants were the richest of all the islanders,[5] and possessed 8000 heavy-armed men, and a considerable number of ships of war.[6] Aristogoras built a fortress for the Naxian exiles.[7] The island was apparently mountainous in the interior.[8] The Naxians were Ionians from Athens, and sent four triremes to Salamis.[9]

II. The Sporades.

II. THE SPORADES mentioned by our author are only four in number, viz. Thera, Telos, Cos, and Leros. They lie off the western coast of Asia Minor.

Thera.

The island of THERA (the modern Santorin) was anciently called Callista, and was inhabited for eight generations after Cadmus by the descendants of Membliares and some Phoenicians. Theras, founder of a colony from Sparta including Laconians and Minyans, re-named it after himself.[10] The Pythia admonished the Theraeans to send a colony to Libya, but the latter did not know where Libya lay. Seven years of drought followed, during which no rain fell, and all the trees in the island except one withered away. The Pythia then renewed her ad-

[1] vi. 133. [2] vi. 133, 134. [3] v. 29. [4] v. 31.
[5] v. 28. [6] v. 30. [7] v. 34. [8] vi. 96. [9] viii. 46.
[10] iv. 147, 148.

vice, and it was followed.[1] A Theraean merchant is mentioned as living in Axus, a city of Crete.[2]

Of the other three islands, TELOS lay off Triopium, and was the native place of an ancestor of Gelon;[3] Cos was inhabited by Dorian Epidamnians;[4] and LEROS was brought before the notice of the Milesians by Hecataeus the historian, who advised them to occupy it after the suppression of the Ionian revolt.[5]

Telos.

Cos.

Leros.

III. THE ISLANDS IN THE AEGEAN not reckoned amongst the Cyclades and Sporades, include seventeen which are mentioned by Herodotus, viz. Samos, Lade, Chios, Lesbos, Hecatonnesi, Tenedos, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Thasos, Sciathus, Euboea, Salamis, Psyttalea, Aegina, Belbina, Hydrea.

III. Other islands in the Aegean.

SAMOS was one of the most important of them all, and Herodotus dwelt longer on the affairs of the Samians because they possessed the three greatest works that have been accomplished by the Hellenes.

Samos.

First, there was a mountain, 150 orgyae or fathoms in height, at the base of which a tunnel was dug, having an opening at each side. The excavation was seven stadia long, eight feet broad, and eight feet high. Throughout the whole length of it ran a trench 20 cubits deep and three feet broad, through which the water was conveyed by pipes from an abundant spring into the city. The constructor was Eupalinus from Megara.

The aqueduct.

Secondly, there was a mole carried out to sea, and surrounding the harbour. This mole was 20 orgyae or fathoms deep, and more than two stadia long.

The mole.

Thirdly, there was a temple of Hera, the largest that had ever been seen,[6] of which the first architect was Rhoecus, a Samian.[7] Amongst other consecrated gifts and curiosities, it contained a large brazen mixing-vessel, covered outside to the rim with various

The temple of Hera, its curiosities.

The great brazen mixing-vessel.

[1] iv. 150. [2] iv. 154. [3] vii. 153. [4] vii. 99. [5] v. 125.

[6] Herodotus seems to have seen this temple, and perhaps wrote his description of it before he visited Aegypt; for speaking of the Labyrinth a little above Lake Moeris (ii. 148) he says, "This I have seen myself: it is greater than can be described. This Labyrinth must have been the work of more labour and money than all the buildings and public works in Hellas, though the temple in Ephesus is worthy of mention, as well as that of Samos."

[7] iii. 60.

figures, and capable of containing 300 amphorae. This mixing-vessel had been sent as a present by the Lacedaemonians to Croesus, king of Lydia, in return for the gold he had given them for the Apollo statue on Mount Thornax. The mixing-vessel however never reached Sardis. The Lacedaemonians said that on its way it was seized by the Samians, and forcibly carried off. On the other hand, the Samians affirmed that the Lacedaemonians who were carrying it to Croesus, hearing that Sardis was taken and that the king was a prisoner, sold it to some private persons in Samos, who thereupon dedicated it in the Heraeum. Herodotus adds, that perhaps those who sold it pretended that they had been robbed.[1] Amasis, on account of his friendship for Polycrates, sent two images of himself carved in wood to this same temple, and they were standing behind the doors in the time of Herodotus.[2] Mandrocles the Samian, the architect of the bridge over the Bosphorus by which Darius and his army crossed into Europe, having been amply rewarded by the king, dedicated in return in the Hera temple a picture of the entire construction of the bridge, with king Darius on his throne, and the army crossing over. Attached to the picture was the following inscription:

Two wooden statues of Amasis.

Picture of the Bosphorus bridge.

> "Mandrocles bridged the fishy Bosphorus,
> And this memorial to Hera gave:
> Thus having pleased Darius, he has earned
> Glory to Samos, for himself a crown."[3]

Macandrius dedicated in this temple all the magnificent ornamental furniture from the men's apartment in the house of Polycrates.[4] Here also was probably the corselet, which Amasis had sent to the Lacedaemonians, but which the Samians stole the year before they took the brazen mixing-vessel. This corselet was made of linen, inwrought with many figures of animals, and adorned with gold and cotton wool; and each thread, though fine, consisted of 360 small threads, which were all distinct.[5] Lastly, the Samians

Furniture of Polycrates.

Linen corselet of Amasis.

[1] i. 70. [2] ii. 182. [3] iv. 88. [4] iii. 123. [5] iii. 47.

who were carried to Tartessus, set aside from the immense profits of the voyage, one-tenth, amounting to six talents, with which they made a brazen vessel like an Argive mixing-jug, with griffins' heads projecting round the edge. This vessel they dedicated in the temple, upon a pedestal of three colossal brazen figures, seven cubits high, leaning upon their knees.[1]

Brazen mixing vessel on a tripod.

The city of Samos was fortified by walls and surrounded by a moat, which had been dug by some Lesbian captives.[2] Near the sea, and facing the suburbs, was a tower, and farther from the coast was another, which Herodotus calls the upper tower, and which stood on the ridge of the mountain.[3] There were also arsenals or docks, literally "ship houses," in which Polycrates imprisoned some women and children.[4] In the former stood a monumental column bearing the names and ancestry of the eleven captains, or steersmen, who refused to desert the Ionians at Lade;[5] and in the suburbs was an altar and sacred precinct to Zeus the liberator, which had been consecrated by Maeandrius.[6] Both the column and altar stood in the time of Herodotus. Maeandrius also dug a secret passage, from the citadel to the sea.[7] The place called Calami was near the celebrated Hera temple.[8]

Description of the city of Samos.

The Samians celebrated a festival in consequence of the following circumstance. Periander, tyrant of Corinth, sent 300 Corcyraean boys, who were sons of the principal men, to Sardis for emasculation. On their way the Corinthians landed at Samos, and the Samians instructed the youths to hold to the temple of Artemis. The Corinthians cut off all provisions from the youths, but the Samians instituted choruses of virgins and young men to carry cakes of sesame and honey by night to the temple. This custom continued not only until the departure of the Corinthians, but also down to the time of Herodotus.[9]

Curious festival observed by the Samians.

[1] iv. 152. [2] iii. 39. [3] iii. 54. [4] iii. 45. [5] vi. 14. [6] iii. 142. [7] iii. 146. [8] ix. 96. [9] iii. 48.

Flourishing condition of Samos under Polycrates.

Under Polycrates Samos flourished. He had 100 galleys with 50 rowers to each, together with 1000 archers, but he plundered without distinction. Having taken the Lesbians prisoners, he forced them to dig the ditch round the city walls of Samos.[1] The commerce of the island must also have been very considerable. The Samians built a temple of Hera in Aegypt;[2] and one of their vessels having been driven by an easterly wind to Tartessus, which was at that time an unfrequented port, they made more money by the voyage than any one else, except Sostratus of Aegina, with whom our author says it is impossible for any one to compete. It was on this occasion that the Samians relieved Corobius with a year's provisions, when he was reduced to the last extremity on the Libyan island of Platea; and this timely relief led to the great friendship which existed between them and the Cyrenaeans and Theraeans.[3]

Samians in Libya.

Some Samians of the Aeschrionian tribe inhabited the oasis called Island of the Blessed, which is about seven days' march from the Aegyptian Thebes, from which it is separated by a sand desert.[4]

Artistic skill of the Samians.

The Samians must have been celebrated for their skill in works of art from an ancient period. Polycrates possessed an emerald signet ring mounted in gold, the work of Theodorus of Samos;[5] and also found native artisans sufficiently skilful to strike a number of coins in lead, and gild them sufficiently well, in imitation of the Samian money, to enable him to impose them upon the Lacedaemonians as a bribe to induce them to raise the siege of the city.[6]

Samos ravaged by Otanes.

The Samians sent 60 ships to Lade.[7] Their island had been previously scoured and hunted through by the Persians under Otanes, who had drawn it as with a net, and delivered it up to Syloson utterly destitute of inhabitants; but Otanes, in consequence of a dream and distemper, subsequently repeopled it.[8]

[1] iii. 39. [2] ii. 178. [3] iv. 152. [4] iii. 26.
[5] iii. 41. [6] iii. 56. [7] vi. 8. [8] iii. 149.

The Samians spoke a peculiar dialect of the Ionian language.[1] Their cubit was the same length as that of the Aegyptians.[2]

Samian dialect, etc.

Near Samos was the small island of LADE, which was celebrated as the spot where the Ionian fleet assembled and were defeated during the Ionian revolt.[3]

Lade.

In the island of CHIOS the following places are mentioned by Herodotus. The city of Chios, which contained a sanctuary of Athene Poliuchus,[4] and a school of which the ceiling fell in upon 120 boys as they were learning to read, and only one escaped.[5] Caucasa, a port from whence Aristagoras with a north wind wanted to sail to Naxos.[6] Coeli, where Histiaeus defeated the Chian garrison:[7] the name appears to indicate a valley or hollow way. Lastly, the little town of Polichne.[8]

Chios. Topography. Chios. Caucasa. Coeli. Polichne.

The Chians sent 100 ships to Lade,[9] forty chosen citizens serving as marines on board of each vessel.[10] The island was afterwards scoured and depopulated by the Persians, who took one another by the hand, and extending from the northern to the southern sea, marched over the whole of it, hunting out the inhabitants.[11] From Chios came Glaucus, who first invented the art of inlaying iron.[12] The Chians possessed the Oenyssae islands, and refused to sell them to the Phocaeans.[13]

Notices of the Chians.

In the island of LESBOS the three following places are mentioned by Herodotus. Methymna, the native place of Arion;[14] Mitylene, the birth-place of Charaxus, the brother of Sappho;[15] and Arisba, whose inhabitants the Methymnaeans reduced to slavery though of kindred blood.[16] Herodotus however says that five Aeolian cities were situated in Lesbos, and he mentions Arisba as the sixth.[17]

Lesbos.

The Lesbians sent 70 ships to Lade,[18] and their island was netted by the Persians the same as

[1] i. 142. [2] ii. 168. [3] vi. 7, 115. [4] i. 160. [5] vi. 27.
[6] v. 33. [7] vi. 26. [8] Ibid. [9] vi. 8. [10] vi. 15.
[11] vi. 31. [12] i. 25. [13] i. 165. [14] i. 23. [15] ii. 135.
[16] i. 151. [17] Ibid. [18] vi. 9.

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Chios.[1] The Scythian cauldrons for cooking the flesh of their sacrifices are compared with the Lesbian mixing-vessels, only the former were much larger.[2]

Hecatonnesi.

The HECATONNESI, or Hundred Islands; a group of small islands, of which the real number is reckoned by some at 20, by others at 40, in number. They lay between Lesbos and the continent, and their name, according to Strabo, is derived not from ἑκατόν, a hundred, but from Ἕκατος, a surname of Apollo. Herodotus merely mentions the solitary circumstance of their containing one Aeolian city.[3]

Tenedos.

TENEDOS he also names as containing one Aeolian city,[4] and having been netted by the Persians like Chios.[5]

Lemnos, atrocities committed there.

The island of LEMNOS was famous for bloody atrocities. In ancient times all the Lemnian women murdered their husbands.[6] Subsequently the island was occupied by the descendants of the Argonauts, called Minyans, who were expelled by the Pelasgians.[7] These Pelasgians carried off the Athenian women from Brauron. The sons of the latter, however, were perpetually fighting with the sons of the Pelasgian women, and accordingly the Pelasgians murdered all the Athenian women and their progeny. In consequence of this atrocity, and of the former murder of the Lemnian husbands by their wives, Lemnian Deeds became a proverb in Greece for all atrocious acts.[8] Lemnos was still inhabited by Pelasgians when taken by Otanes, the general of Darius, against whom they fought bravely.[9] Miltiades subsequently delivered Lemnos from the Persians, and brought it under the sway of Athens, the Hephaestians yielding at once, but the Myrinaeans not surrendering until after the siege.[10] Some islands are mentioned as lying off Lemnos, and Onomacritus was discovered in the very act of interpolating among the oracles of Musaeus a prophecy importing that these isles would disappear beneath the sea.[11]

Imbros.

IMBROS was taken by the Persians at the same

[1] vi. 31. [2] iv. 61. [3] i. 151. [4] Ibid. [5] vi. 31. [6] vi. 138. [7] iv. 145. [8] vi. 138. [9] v. 26. [10] vi. 140. [11] vii. 6.

time as Lemnos, and was also inhabited by the Pelasgians.[1] SAMOTHRACE was celebrated as having been also occupied by Pelasgians who taught the mysteries of the Cabeiri.[2] Samothrace

The island of THASOS was visited by Herodotus, who found there a temple of Heracles, which had been founded by the Phoenicians five generations before Heracles the son of Amphitryon appeared in Greece.[3] The Phoenicians discovered the island and its valuable mines whilst sailing in search of Europa, and being led by Thasus they called it after him. Before the Persian conquest the Thasians derived a clear surplus revenue of 200 talents yearly, and sometimes even 300 talents; of which sum 80 talents came in from the gold mines of Scapte Hyle on the opposite coast of Thrace, whilst the mines in the island itself produced somewhat less, and the produce of the soil was exempt from taxes. Herodotus himself saw the mines in Thasos, and says that the most wonderful were those which were discovered by the Phoenician colonists. These were between Aenira and Coenyra, opposite Samothrace, and a large mountain had been thrown upside down in the search for ore. The Thasians having been besieged by Histiaeus the Milesian, applied their wealth to building ships of war and fortifying their city with a stronger wall; but at the command of Darius they demolished the wall and sent their ships to Abdera.[4] The entertainment to Xerxes cost the Thasians 400 silver talents.[5] They possessed several cities in Thrace, of which Stryme is mentioned.[6] Thasos, its valuable mines.

Next comes the island of SCIATHUS, which is principally celebrated as being one of the posts of observation at the invasion of Xerxes. Between Sciathus and Magnesia was a sunken rock,[7] called Myrmex or Ant, upon which the crews of three of the ten Sciathus.

[1] v. 26; vi. 41. [2] ii. 51. [3] ii. 44. [4] vi. 46, 47.
[5] vii. 118. [6] vii. 108.
[7] Bobrik makes ἔρμα signify a sand-bank; but this is an evident mistake.

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Persian vessels erected a stone pillar to mark its position. Three Greek ships were stationed at Sciathus at the Persian invasion, and from thence announced the approach of the enemy by fire signals.[1]

Euboea. Topography

The large island of EUBOEA, now called the Negropont, contained the following cities and districts[2]

Eretria.

mentioned by Herodotus. The most important was the town and territory of Eretria, from whence the Gephyraeans of Athens said that they themselves were sprung; but Herodotus found upon diligent inquiry that they formed part of those Phoenicians who came with Cadmus to Boeotia.[3] An Eretrian was amongst the suitors for the hand of the daughter of Clisthenes of Sicyon, and at that time it was flourishing.[4] The territory of Eretria also included the towns of Tamynae, Choereae, and Aegilia. The city of Eretria was plundered, its temples fired, and its inhabitants enslaved by the Persians in accordance with the commands of Darius.[5] Eretria sent seven ships to Artemisium,[6] and the same number to Salamis.[7] The people were Ionians,[8] and those who were enslaved by the Persians were transported to a station called Arderica in Cissia.[9]

Chalcis.

The city of Chalcis was situated at the straits of Euripus.[10] The most opulent of the Chalcidians were called Hippobotae, and after the defeat of the Chalcidians near Euripus, their lands were occupied by 4000 Athenian settlers.[11] The Chalcidians were Ionians. They manned 20 ships at Artemisium, which were furnished by the Athenians, and the same number at Salamis.[12]

Styra.

The city of Styra sent four ships to Artemisium, and the same to Salamis. The Styreans were Dryopes,[13] and also possessed a small island called Aegilia.[14]

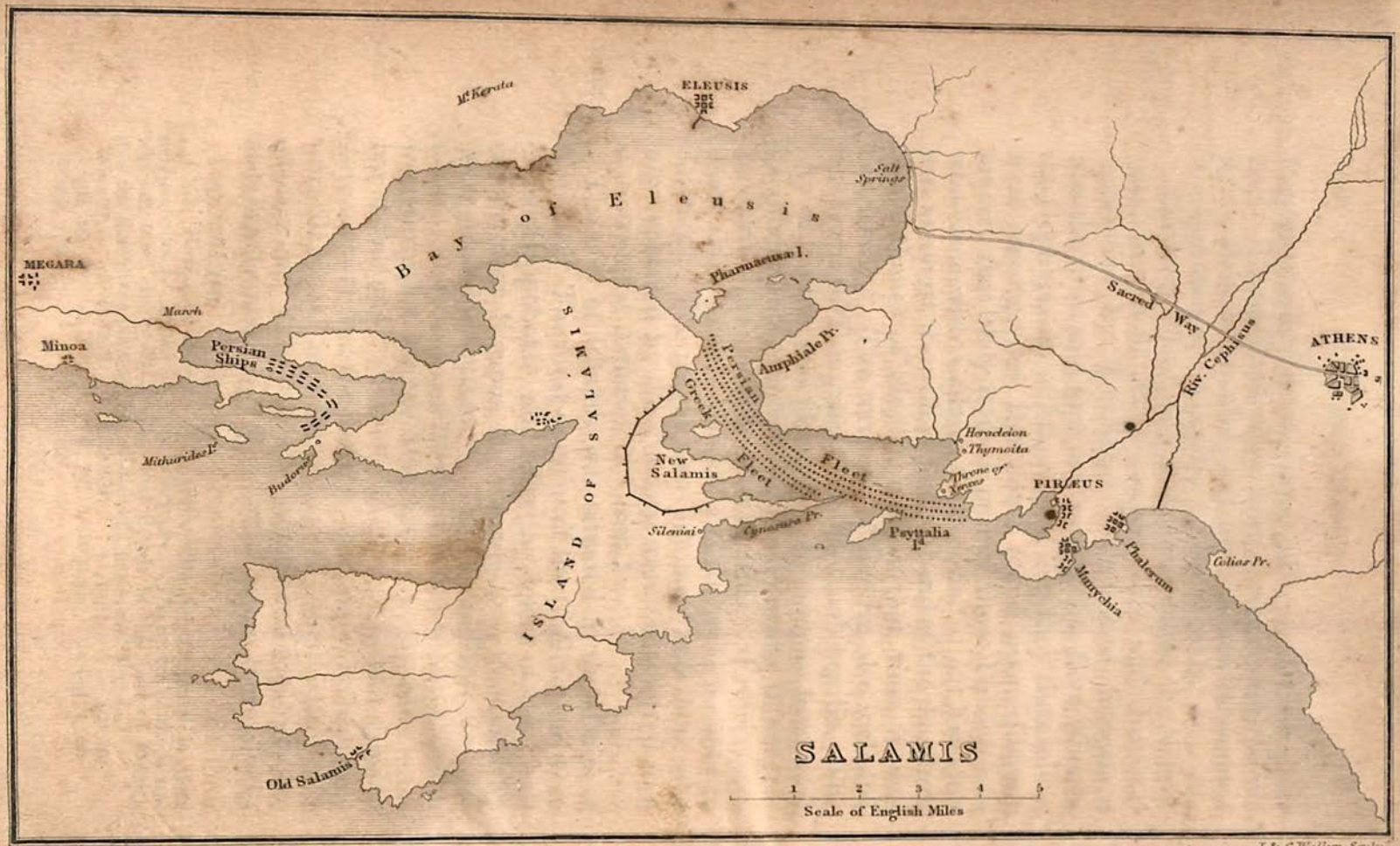
Geraestus.

The following towns and localities are also briefly noticed. Geraestus, where Hermolycus

[1] vii. 179—183.

[2] The Histiaeans dwelt in the north, with the Ellopians in their neighbourhood. In the south were Dryopes. The centre of the island was inhabited chiefly by Ionians, and it was in this part of Euboea that the Athenians planted the colonies of Chalcis and Eretria.

[3] v. 57. [4] vi. 127. [5] vi. 101. [6] viii. 1. [7] viii. 46.
[8] viii. 46. [9] vi. 119. [10] v. 77. [11] Ibid. [12] viii. 1, 46.
[13] viii. 1, 46. [14] vi. 107.



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the Athenian was buried.[1] Carystus,[2] which included the place called Cyrnus.[3] Histiaeotis, which included the city of Histiaea, and the Ellopian district with all its maritime villages.[4] Carystus. Histiaeotis.

The celebrated beach of Artemisium, (in northern Euboea,) was, according to Herodotus, 80 stadia distant from the opposite point of Aphetae in Thessaly,[6] and so near Thermopylae that what happened at one place could be seen from the other.[7] It was situated just where the Thracian bay contracts into a narrow strait, passing between the island Sciathus and the main-land of Magnesia. On it was a temple of Artemis,[8] from which it naturally took its name. It was here that Themistocles engraved inscriptions upon the stones, calling on the Ionians either to desert, or to withdraw, or else to purposely behave ill in the approaching action.[9] Description of the beach of Artemisium.

Herodotus also notices the following. Coela, where 200 Persian ships were dashed against the rocks.[10] The Capharcus promontory.[11] The mountains of Euboea, namely, those in the south, which included the fastnesses where some of the Eretrians proposed to retire on the approach of the Persian fleet;[12] and those of the north, where the Greek scouts were stationed.[13] Many of the Abantes of Euboea went with the Ionians to Asia Minor.[14] Coela. Cape Caphareus. Mountains. The Abantes.

The island of SALAMIS is celebrated for the famous naval battle fought off its shores. A Phoenician trireme was dedicated in the island to Ajax, from the first-fruits of the spoil.[15] A temple of Athene Sciras stood upon the coast.[16] Some lands in Salamis were presented by the Athenians of Antidorus, a Lemnian, as being the only Greek in the service of Xerxes who went over to the Greek side at the battle of Artemisium.[17] Ceos and Cynosura were undoubtedly promontories, though not expressly stated to be such by Herodotus.[18] Near Salamis Salamis.

[1] viii. 7; ix. 105. [2] iv. 33. [3] ix. 105. [4] viii. 23.
[5] vii. 175. [6] viii. 8. [7] vii. 175. [8] vii. 176. [9] viii. 22.
[10] viii. 12. [11] viii. 7. [12] vi. 100. [13] vii. 182. [14] i. 146.
[15] viii. 121. [16] viii. 94. [17] viii. 11.
[18] viii. 76. Comp. Baehr's note.

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was the little island of PSYTTALEA, upon which the Persians landed some troops prior to the battle.[1]

Psyttalea.

Aegina.

South of Salamis was the island of AEGINA, whose inhabitants were Dorians from Epidaurus. The island was formerly called Oenone.[2] The Aeginetans wore very long clasps to their garments, for a reason already explained.[3] The capital was apparently divided into the old and new town: Herodotus mentions that part which he said was called the old town.[4] The city contained a temple of Athene, in which the Aeginetans dedicated the beaks of the Samian ships they captured at Cydonia. The beaks or prows represented the figure of a boar.[5] There was also a temple of Demeter Thesmophoria, with a propylaea.[6] At the village of Oea in the interior of the island, and about 20 stadia from Aegina, the Aeginetans erected two olive-wood statues of Damia and Auxesia, which they had captured from the Epidaurians; and here they propitiated the two deities with sacrifices and derisive dances of women, ten men being assigned to each deity as leaders of the chorus. In these choruses the women of the island, and not the men, were the subjects of raillery.[7]

Trade and shipping.

The trade and shipping of the Aeginetans must have been very important. They erected for themselves in Aegypt a temple of Zeus.[8] They sent 18 ships to Artemisium,[9] and yet kept back many vessels ready manned to guard their own island. They also sent 30 of their best sailing vessels to Salamis, which was half as much again as any of the other islanders;[10] and here they obtained more renown than any other Hellenic nation.[11] Our author says that their immense riches originated after the battle of Plataea, when they purchased a great quantity of gold and silver vessels from the helots almost at the same price as brass.[12] Herodotus however states, that at a much earlier period the profits which Sostratus of

[1] viii. 76. [2] viii. 46. [3] v. 88. Comp. page 40. [4] vi. 88.
[5] iii. 59. [6] vi. 91. [7] v. 83. [8] ii. 178. [9] viii. i.
[10] viii. 46. [11] viii. 93, 122. [12] ix. 80.

Aegina derived from a single cargo, were larger than any that had ever been gained by the Greeks.[1]

Lastly, two small islands are mentioned by our author. HYDREA, which the Hermionians gave to the Samian exiles;[2] and BELBINA, whose inhabitants appear to have excited either general hatred or contempt. Timodenus of Aphidna, who envied Themistocles, reproached him by saying that the honours he had received at Sparta had not been paid to him as Themistocles, but as a citizen of Athens. Themistocles however replied: "Were I a Belbinite I should not have been honoured, nor would you, fellow, though you are an Athenian."

Hydrea.

Belbina.

[1] iv. 152. [2] iii. 59.

CHAPTER VI.

MACEDONIA, THRACE, AND ILLYRIA.

Countries north of the Cambunian and Ceraunian hills.—I. MACEDONIA: difference between Macedonia Proper and the Macedonian empire.—General description of the Macedonian empire.—Watered by four rivers: Haliacmon, Lydias, Axius, Echeidorus.—Divided into five districts: Pieria, Macedonia Proper, Bottiaeis, Mygdonia, Crestonica.—Peninsula of Chalcidice.—Eastern frontier formed by Mount Dysorum.—Herodotus's geography illustrative of Xerxes's progress.—Route of the Persian fleet: description of Mount Athos; canal through the isthmus; bay of Singus; Sithonia; Cape Canastraeum; Pallene; Crossaea; Therma; river Axius; gulf of Therma; Olynthus; Scione; Potidaea.—Route of the Persian army: river Echeidorus; camels attacked by lions; rivers Lydias and Haliacmon; Pieria.—Additional topographical notices: Mount Dysorum; Anthemus; Creston; mythus of the Temenidae; sacred river; gardens of Midas; Mount Bermion.—II. THRACE: its geography illustrative of the routes of Darius and Xerxes.—General description.—Northern Thrace.—Southern Thrace.—Herodotus's idea of the magnitude of Thrace.—Its frontier towards Scythia.—Route taken by Darius: bridge over the Bosphorus; two columns of white marble; Byzantium; Cyanean isles; river Tearus; Heracopolis; Perinthus; Apollonia; rivers Contadesdus, Agrianes, and Hebrus; Aenus; river Artiscus; the Odrysae, Scyrmiadae, Nipsaei, and Getae; Mesambria; bridge at the Ister.—Route of Xerxes from the Hellespont to Acanthus: the Chersonesus; inhabited by the Thracian Dolonci; wall across the isthmus; topography—Elaeus, sepulchre of Protesilaus, Sestos, Madytus.—Xerxes leaves the Chersonesus.—Apsinthians.—Agora.—Bay and river of Melas.—Aenus.—Lake Stentoris.—Doriscus.—Valley of the river Hebrus.—Sala and Zona.—Cape Serrhium.—Mesambria.—River Lissus.—Stryme.—Briantica, anciently Galaica.—Maroneia.—Dicaea.—Abdera.—Lakes Ismaris and Bistonis.—Rivers Travus and Compsatus.—River Nestus.—Pistyrus.—Paeti.—Cicones.—Bistones.—Sapaei.—Dersaei.—Edoni.—Satrae.—Pierian forts.—Mount Pangaeus.—Pieres.—Odomanti.—Paeones.—Doberes.—Paeoplae.—District of Phyllis.—River Angites.—Paeonia: its extent.—Siro-paeones.—Scapte Hyle.—Paeones on the Strymon.—Paeones above Crestonica, and on Mount Orbelus and Lake Prasias.—Agrianes.—River Strymon.—Eion.—Strymon bridge.—"Nine Ways."—Edonia.—Myrcinus.—Datus.—Bisaltia.—Argilus.—Plain of Syleus.—Acanthus.—Miscellaneous notices of southern Thrace: Bryges; gold mine of Scapte Hyle; Cape Sarpedon; Perinthus; Selybria; Aegospotami; Tyrodiza; Leuce Acte; Bisanthe; Hellespontines.—Northern Thrace, but little known: its seven rivers; Istria; Pillars of Sesostris.—Manners and customs of the Thracians.—Peculiar tenets of the Getae.—Belief in the immortality of the soul.—

Their deity Zalmoxis.—Greek account of Zalmoxis.—Effect of his teachings on the Thracians.—His subterranean dwelling, and re-appearance.—Herodotus's opinion.—Peculiar custom of the Trausi: mournful births and happy funerals.—Thracians above Crestonica, their polygamy.—The favourite wife killed at her husband's death.—Customs of the Thracians generally.—Sale of children.—Profligacy of the unmarried women.—Tattooing.—Fondness for war.—Worship of Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis.—Worship of Hermes.—Funerals.—Sepulchral monuments.—Garments of Scythian hemp.—Paeonians on Lake Prasias: living in huts supported over the lake by planks and piles.—Polygamy.—Horses and cattle fed on fish.—Satrae, the only independent Thracians.—Their oracle of Dionysus.—III. ILLYRIA; scarcely noticed by Herodotus.—Sale of maidens amongst the Eneti.—River Angrus.—Triballic plain.—River Brongus.—The Enchelees.—

Countries north of the Cambunian and Cerraunian hills.

We must now leave the Aegean Sea, and return to the European continent. The regions south of the Cambunian range, and of the hills which connect Pindus with the Ceraunian mountains, have already been described in the chapters on Hellas; and we have already noticed the chain of Pindus, which extended through Greece from the Balkan range like the back-bone of the country, and sent out ribs on every side. East of Pindus were the Macedonians, and the rude tribes of Thrace and Paeonia, stretching northward from the Cambunian range over the Balkan or Haemus to the southern bank of the Danube or Ister. West of Pindus were the Illyrians, who extended northwards from the Ceraunian mountains beyond the head of the Adriatic to the Save and the Alps. The geography of these three nations will be comprised in the present chapter.

I. MACEDONIA. Difference between Macedonia Proper and the Macedonian empire.

I. The MACEDONIA of Herodotus was much more limited in extent than the Macedonia of a later period, and our author himself almost seems to employ the name in two different senses. First, we have Macedonia Proper, or the small district originally occupied by the Macedonian race. Then we have what may be called the Macedonian empire, or the more extensive country obtained by conquest or political preponderance. After the time of Herodotus the empire embraced a still larger portion of the surrounding territory, and consequently the name had a still wider signification.

The Macedonian empire in the time of Herodo-

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tus stretched from Thessaly and the Cambunian mountains to a ridge which he calls Mount Dysorum,[1] and which was situated near Lake Prasias, and therefore close to the frontiers of Paeonia.[2] This region is watered by four rivers, which flow from very different directions; but they all discharge themselves into the Thermaic Bay, now called the Gulf of Salonika, at very short distances from each other. On the south is the river Haliacmon; next above it is the Lydias. In the time of Herodotus these two rivers discharged themselves at the same mouth,[3] and in modern maps the interval between them is represented as very small. Further north is the river Axius, and just beyond it the river Echeidorus empties itself into a lagoon.[4] The Axius, at present called the Vardar, flows from the Balkan, or Mount Haemus. The Haliacmon, or modern Vistriza, flows from the Cambunian range. Between the Haliacmon and Lydias is a ridge which Herodotus seems to describe under the name of Mount Bermion.[5]

General description of the Macedonian empire.

Watered by four rivers, viz.

Haliacmon,

Lydias,

Axius,

Echeidorus.

Divided into five districts, viz.

This Macedonian empire was divided into five districts, viz. Pieria, Macedonia Proper, Bottiaeis, Mygdonia,[6] and Crestonica.

Pieria,

Macedonia Proper,

Bottiaeis,

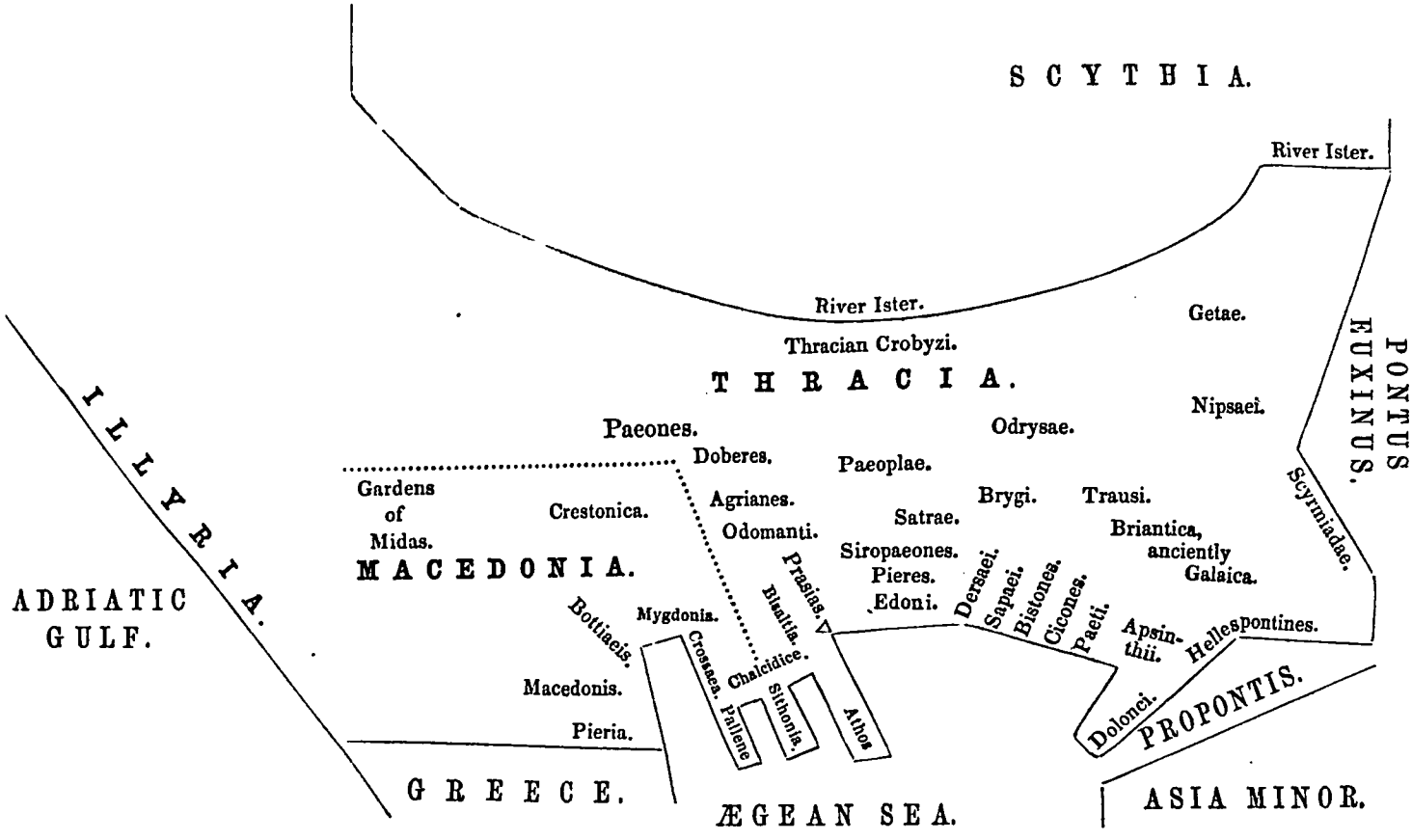
Mygdonia,

Crestonica.

PIERIA was apparently the district under Mount Olympus. MACEDONIA PROPER lay northward of it, and was divided from Bottiaeis by the united mouths of the Lydias and Haliacmon.[7] BOTTIAEIS extended to the river Axius; and beyond the Axius was MYGDONIA[8] on the Thermaic Bay. Above Mygdonia was the district of CRESTONICA, from whence flowed the river Echeidorus.[9] In addition to these may be mentioned the peninsula of Chalcidice, occupied by settlers from Euboea and others; but though we include it in our account of Macedonia,

Peninsula of Chalcidice.

[1] v. 17. [2] Lake Prasias was in Paeonia. v. 15, 16.
[3] vii. 127. A fuller account is given further on in the present volume.
[4] vii. 124. [5] viii. 138.
[6] Bisaltia was reckoned as part of Thrace.
[7] vii. 127. Herodotus therefore cannot make Pieria reach as far as the Haliacmon, because this river was north of Macedonia Proper.
[8] vii. 123. Cf. 127. [9] vii. 124. Cf. 127.


SCYTHIA.
River Ister.
River Ister.
Thracian Crobyzi.
THRACIA.
Getae.
Nipsaei.
Odrysae.
Paeones.
Doberes.
Paeoplae.
Gardens of Midas.
Crestonica.
Agrianes.
Odomanti.
Satrae.
Brygi.
Trausi.
Briantica, anciently Galaica.
MACEDONIA.
Siropaeones.
Pieres.
Edoni.
Prasias, ▽
Bisaltia.
Dersaei.
Sapaei.
Bistones.
Cicones.
Paeti.
Mygdonia.
Bottiaeis.
Crossaea.
Chalcidice.
Sithonia.
Athos
Apsinthii.
Hellespontines.
Macedonis.
Pallene
Pieria.
Doloncі.
PROPONTIS.
ILLYRIA.
ADRIATIC GULF.
GREECE.
ÆGEAN SEA.
ASIA MINOR.
PONTUS EUXINUS.
Scyrmiadae.

it certainly formed no part of the empire. It runs out into the Aegean in three prongs, viz. Athos, Sithonia, and Pallene.[1]

Eastern frontier formed by Mount Dysorum.

Whether, however, Herodotus really alludes to this collective territory under the name of Macedonia, depends upon the identification of Mount Dysorum, which undoubtedly formed the eastern frontier.[2] K. O. Müller identifies Dysorum with the ridge between the Haliacmon and Lydias,[3] but if we adopt this theory there is no finding Lake Prasias. I am more disposed to follow Colonel Leake in supposing Lake Prasias to be the same as the Lake Cercinitis, and Mount Dysorum as that part of the range which separates the Strymonic plain from those mountains that extend to Thessalonica and the Axius.[4]

Herodotus's geography only illustrative of Xerxes' progress.

Herodotus's knowledge of the Macedonian empire is only brought forward to explain the route taken by the fleet and army of Xerxes between Acanthus and the parts of Macedonia bordering on Thessaly. It will therefore be advisable, for the sake of clearness, to follow in these two separate tracks; one illustrating the geography of the coast, the other the geography of the interior.

Route of the Persian fleet.

The army and navy of Xerxes had reached Acanthus on the eastern coast of the Chalcidian peninsula. At this point the king dismissed his fleet, with orders to proceed to Therma, on the western coast and at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, and there to await his arrival with the land forces. Accordingly the fleet left Acanthus, and sailed through the canal which divided the peninsula of Mount Athos (or eastern prong of Chalcidice) from the main-land.[5]

Description of Mount Athos.

Athos is a large and celebrated mountain, stretching into the sea, and joined to the continent by an isthmus 12 stadia across. At the isthmus the country is level, nor are there any considerable hills be-

[1] See preceding Diagram of Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria.

[2] v. 17.

[3] Dorians, vol. i. Appendix I., on the settlement, origin, and early history of the Macedonian nation, with map.

[4] Leake, *Northern Greece*, vol. iii. p. 210; iv. p. 581.

[5] vii. 121.

tween the Acanthian Gulf and that of Torone.[1] The isthmus was cut through to avoid the disasters which befell the fleet of Mardonius, when 300 of his ships were wrecked in endeavouring to double the promontory, and 20,000 men were either dashed against the rocks, or destroyed by the numerous sea-monsters which abounded in the neighbourhood.[2] Three years were employed upon the canal. Triremes were stationed at Elaeus in the Chersonesus, and men of all nations, having been drawn from the army, were sent out from these triremes, and compelled to dig under the lash in successive sets, and the inhabitants of the surrounding country were also compelled to take a part in the labour. The excavation was thus managed. A straight line was drawn near the city of Sana, (at the narrow part of the isthmus,) and the entire space was allotted in parcels to the several nations that were to be employed. In the progress of the excavation the earth dug out was handed up by man to man from the bottom of the canal to the top—the whole being performed by hand, without any aid of cranes or barrows. The canal was made sufficiently wide for two triremes to pass abreast, and the Phoenicians showed their superior intelligence, by being the only people who took the precaution of beginning the excavation at a breadth far greater than that prescribed, so as to enable them to gradually narrow the canal as they approached the bottom, and leave a convenient slope for the sides. The others dug straight down, so that the time as well as the toil of their work was doubled by the continual falling in of the sides.[3] A mound was placed at each end

Canal through the isthmus.

[1] vii. 22. [2] vi. 44.

[3] The present condition of the canal has been thus described by Lieut. Wolfe: "The canal of Xerxes is still most distinctly to be traced all the way across the isthmus, with the exception of about 200 yards in the middle, where the ground bears no appearance of ever having been touched. But as there is no doubt of the whole canal having been excavated by Xerxes, it is probable that the central part was afterwards filled up, in order to allow a more ready land passage into and out of the peninsula. In many places the canal is still deep, swampy at the bottom, and filled with rushes and other aquatic plants: the rain and small springs draining down into it from the adjacent heights afford, at the

of the canal to prevent its mouths from being choked up.[1] A market and bazaar were held in a neighbouring meadow, and great abundance of meal was brought from Asia. On the isthmus stood the Hellenic city of Sana. On the peninsula of Athos itself stood the cities of Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssus, and Cleonae.[2]

Bay of Singus.

After leaving the canal the fleet entered the Bay of Singus, now called the Gulf of Monte Santo, on which were situated the cities of Assa, Pilorus, Singus, and Sarta. Having taken troops on board from these cities, the fleet doubled the Toronaean foreland of Ampelus, and passed by the following Hellenic cities, viz. Torone, Galepsus, Sermyle, Mecyberna, and Olynthus; and from thence took both ships and men. The district in which these places lay was called Sithonia.[3] The fleet then stretched from Cape Ampelus to Cape Canastraeum, the most prominent point of all Pallene, which was anciently called Phlegra. Pallene contained the cities of Potidaea, Aphytis, Neapolis, Aega, Therambus, Scione, Menda, and Sana, from all of which the Persians collected both men and ships. Coasting along the country called Crossaea, they collected men from the cities of Lipaxus, Combrea, Lisae, Gigonus,

Cape Ampelus.

Sithonia.

Cape Canastraeum.

Pallene.

Crossaea.

Monte Santo western end, a good watering-place for shipping. The distance across the isthmus is 2500 yards, which agrees very well with the breadth of 12 stadia assigned by Herodotus. The width of the canal appears to have been about 18 or 20 feet. The level of the earth nowhere exceeds 15 feet above the sea. The soil is a light clay. It is on the whole a very remarkable isthmus, for the land on each side, but more especially to the westward, rises abruptly to an elevation of 800 to 1000 feet." *Pen. Cyclop.*

Herodotus (vii. 24) considers that Xerxes performed this laborious work from motives of mere ostentation, for the ships might have been easily drawn across the isthmus. Col. Leake however says, that there can be no doubt that even now this canal, which might be renewed without much labour, would be useful to the navigation of the Aegean,—"for such is the fear entertained by the Greek boatmen of the strength and uncertain direction of the currents around Mount Athos, and of the gales and high seas to which the vicinity of the mountain is subject during half the year, that I could not, as long as I was on the peninsula, and though offering a high price, prevail upon any boat to carry me from the eastern side of the peninsula to the western.... The circumnavigation of the Capes Ampelus and Canastraeum was much less dangerous." *North. Greece*, vol. iii. p. 145.

[1] vii. 37. [2] vii. 22—24. [3] vii. 122.

Campsa, Smila, and Aenea. From Aenea the fleet went to Therma; then to the towns of Sindus and Chalestra; and finally to the river Axius, which forms the boundary between the territories of Mygdonia and Bottiaeis. On a narrow part of Bottiaeis near the sea stood the cities of Ichnae and Pella.[1]

Therma. River Axius.

Herodotus also mentions a few particulars in connexion with some of these localities. The Thermian Gulf, he says, derives its name from the city of Therma.[2] Olynthus was formerly occupied by Bottiaeans, who had been driven from the Thermaic Gulf by the Macedonians. Artabazus took the town and slaughtered the garrison in a neighbouring marsh, and then gave the place to the Chalcidian people.[3] Scione was the birth-place of Scyllias, the best diver of the period, who carried to the Greeks the news of the 200 Persian ships which were to sail round Euboea. Potidaea was also besieged by Artabazus for three months, at the expiration of which there happened an extraordinary ebbing of the sea, and the besiegers seeing the shallows attempted to proceed round the city.[4] When, however, they had accomplished two-fifths of the way, a strong flood-tide came upon them, such as, the inhabitants say, was never seen before, though floods were frequent. All who could not swim perished, whilst the Potidaeans put out in boats and slew many who would otherwise have escaped. The Potidaeans say, and Herodotus thinks they are cor-

Gulf of Therma. Olynthus. Scione. Potidaea.

[1] vii. 123. [2] vii. 121. [3] viii. 127.

[4] Potidaea was situated on the narrow isthmus which connected the peninsula of Pallene with the main-land. The walls of the city were built across the entire breadth of the isthmus, and thus were a defence for the entire peninsula as well as for the city. Artabazus apparently besieged it on the north side, and was thus shut out from Pallene as well as from Potidaea. His troops thought of proceeding along the shore which was left by the tide, and by getting into Pallene and to the south of Potidaea, to surround the city and to complete the blockade. The walls above and below the city were apparently connected by breakwaters or walls running along the two shores on each side of the city. At the siege of Potidaea during the Peloponnesian war, (Thucyd. i. 62, 63,) Aristeus, the commander of the Corinthians and Potidaeans, made a similar attempt to run along under the sea wall, and obtain an entrance into the town of Potidaea at one of the gates on the inner part facing Pallene. He and his troops were however more successful than the Persians under Artabazus.

rect, that the Persians were thus punished for having profaned the temple and statue of Poseidon in the suburbs of the city.[1]

Route of the Persian army.

Xerxes and his land force proceeded also from Acanthus, taking the road through the interior, and passing through Paeonia and Crestonica[2] towards

River Echeidorus.

the river Echeidorus. This river rises up amongst the Crestonians, flows through Mygdonia, and discharges itself in the swamp which is above the river Axius.[3]

Camels attacked by lions.

During the march some lions left their lairs at night and attacked the camels carrying the provisions, but made no attempt to seize the other beasts or the men; and Herodotus wonders that they should thus have only attacked an animal like the camel, which they could never before have either seen or tasted.[4] The lions were very numerous, but were only to be found between the rivers Nestus and Achelous. The country also abounded in wild bulls, whose horns were of an extraordinary size, and were exported to Hellas.[5]

Rivers Lydias and Haliacmon.

The army at length encamped in a district on the coast stretching from Therma and Mygdonia to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which, uniting their waters into the same channel, divide the territories of Bottiaeis and Macedonia.[6] The Echeidorus was

[1] viii. 129.

[2] K. O. Müller conjectures that this Crestonica was a district of Chalcidice, and quite different from that of the Crestonaeans at the source of the Echeidorus; and he urges as a reason the difficulty of supposing that Xerxes, in going from Acanthus to Therma, would pass through Paeonia and Crestonica. There may have been Crestonaeans in Chalcidice, but it is considered most advisable here to draw the map according to the plain meaning of the author. The student, however, can compare Herod. viii. 116; Thucyd. ii. 99.

[3] vii. 124. [4] vii. 125. [5] vii. 126.

[6] It appears from this passage, that in the time of Herodotus the Haliacmon was joined by the Lydias, a discharge of the lake of Pella. But a change has now taken place in the course of the Lydias, which joins not the Haliacmon, but the Axius. The Haliacmon itself appears of late to have moved its lower course more to the east, so that in time perhaps all these three rivers may unite before they join the sea. In all the large rivers of Greece, similar changes of direction in the lower parts of their course are observable, as we have already noticed in the case of the Spercheius. The new soil which is brought down by the water, and distributed along the shore by the sea, acted upon by prevailing winds and currents, produces a continual change of obstacles and of relative levels in the maritime plain, which speedily gives a new course to the

the only one of the above-mentioned rivers that proved insufficient for the wants of the army.[1] Xerxes remained several days about Pieria, for a third division of his army was employed in felling the trees on the Macedonian range, that the whole army might pass in that direction, [i. e. over the Cambunian mountains through the pass of Gonnus,] into the country of the Perrhaebi.[2] Pieria produced pitch, which was however not equal to that obtained from Zacynthus.[3]

Pieria.

The following scattered notices may also be connected with those which belonged to the routes taken by the Persian armament. From Lake Prasias the road to Macedonia was very short. Adjoining the lake was a mine, which in later times produced a talent of silver daily to Alexander the son of Amyntas. Beyond the mine the traveller has only to pass over the mountain called Dysorum to be in Macedonia.[4] Herodotus also mentions the town of Anthemus, which Amyntas offered to give to Hippias, but the latter refused to accept it.[5] Also the town of Creston, above the Tyrrhenians. The inhabitants of Creston had once held possession of Thessaliotis, and were distinguished in the time of Herodotus as conservators of the old Pelasgian language.[6] It was probably the capital of the Crestonaean race.

Additional topographical notices.

Mount Dysorum.

Anthemus.

Creston.

A few notices of north-western or Upper Macedonia are also to be found in a mythus. Three brothers of the race of Temenus, named Gauanes, Aeropus, and Perdiccas, fled from Argos to the Illyrians, and from thence to Lebaea in Upper Macedonia, where they hired themselves to the king as servants. At length they were expelled, and pursued by horsemen. In this region there was a river to which the descendants of these men from Argos afterwards sacrificed as their deliverer; for when the three Temenidae had crossed over, it swelled to

Mythus of the Temenidae.

Sacred river.

waters, even in the land which is not of the latest formation. See Leake's North. Greece, vol. iii. p. 437.

[1] vii. 127. [2] vii. 131. [3] iv. 195. [4] v. 17. [5] v. 94. [6] i. 57.

such a height that their pursuers were unable to ford it. The three brothers then dwelt in another quarter of Macedonia, near the gardens that were said to have belonged to Midas, son of Gordias. Wild roses grew in this region, each one having sixty leaves, and surpassing all others in fragrance.[1] The Macedonians relate that Silenus was taken in these gardens. Above them is a mountain called Bermion, which was inaccessible from the cold. The three brothers having possessed themselves of this tract, subsequently issued from thence and subdued the rest of Macedonia.[2]

Gardens of Midas.

Mount Bermion.

II. THRACE its geography illustrative of the routes of Darius and Xerxes.

Such is the extent of our author's knowledge of Macedonia. We next come to the geography of Thrace, and as this also is chiefly brought forward to illustrate the routes taken by Darius and Xerxes, we shall pursue the subject in a similar manner, namely, first review the general geography of the country, and then follow in the tracks marked out.

General description.

II. The THRACE of Herodotus extended from the north-eastern frontier of the Macedonian empire to the right bank of the Ister or Danube. It included the Roman provinces of Moesia and Thracia, and the districts of Paeonia, and thus answered to the modern territories of Bulgaria, Rumilia, and eastern Macedonia, which now belong to European Turkey. This region is divided into two parts by the Balkan range, (or Haemus,[3]) which runs from west to east, separating the plain of the lower Danube from the rivers which flow into the Aegean Sea. Three extensive chains branch off from the southern side of Haemus, and traverse Thrace. One, about 100 miles

[1] "The roses of Miletus," says Pliny, "have no more than twelve petals: the rose called Spineola has many, but they are small. The least leafy roses have five petals; and there is a species called 'centifolia,' which has a hundred petals; these are found in Campania, and in Greece not far from Philippi. The territory of that city does not produce them; the shrubs are brought from Mount Pangaeus, and, being replanted in a rich soil, produce roses larger than those that grow on the mountain itself." *Hist. Nat.* xxi. iv., quoted by Larcher.

[2] viii. 137, 138.

[3] This mountain probably derived its name from its cold and snowy top, since Haemus seems to contain the same root as the Sanscrit *hima*, "snow," whence also comes the name of the Himalaya mountains.

from the Euxine, runs in a south-easterly direction towards Byzantium. The second, which is much larger, branches off near the sources of the Hebrus, (or Maritza,) and likewise runs to the south-east. This latter chain is alluded to by Herodotus as Mount Rhodope: at present it bears the name of the Despoto mountains. A third branch, which appears in Herodotus under the name of Orbelus, extends from the northern elevations of Rhodope along the eastern bank of the Strymon to Mount Pangaeus. The whole of this mountain system is distinguished by craggy summits and steep sides, and is everywhere rent by terrific fissures so deep and narrow that daylight is almost excluded.

Northern Thrace.

The northern half of Thrace, or the region beyond the Balkan, is watered by several small streams, which take their rise from the northern declivities of the mountain range, and discharge themselves into the Danube.[1] In the time of Herodotus it was occupied by the celebrated Getae,[2] afterwards called the Dacians, and by a people whom Herodotus merely names as the Thracian Crobyzi.[3]

Southern Thrace.

The southern half of Thrace is described at far greater length and detail, in consequence of its including the routes taken by Darius and Xerxes. Twelve rivers are mentioned by Herodotus, namely, the Melas; the Hebrus, (or Maritza,) which receives the waters of the Tearus, the Contadesdus, the Agrianes, and the Artiscus; the Lissus, the Travus, the Compsatus, the Nestus, (or Carasu,) the Angites, and the Strymon (or Struma). The country was occupied by numerous nations. On the coast of the

[1] Herodotus enumerates seven of these tributaries, viz. the Athrys, Noes, Artanes, Scios, Tibisis, Auras, and Atlas (iv. 49). These are of no importance in history, and many others flow in a similar direction. It is therefore as unnecessary as it would be difficult to attempt to identify them. Spruner, in his map of Thracia, etc., has given the Herodotean names to some of the streams, but not in the order in which Herodotus places them. Rennell thinks that under the name of Tibisis our author alludes to the Tibiscus or Theiss, but that by a mistake he has made it descend from Mount Haemus instead of the Bastarnian Alps in the opposite quarter. I am not inclined, however, to believe that the two rivers are identical, or that Herodotus could have made such a blunder.

[2] iv. 93. [3] iv. 49.

Euxine were the Scyrmiadae, and Nipsaei. On the Propontis were the Hellespontines. In the Chersonesus were the Dolonci. On the river Melas were the Apsinthians. Between the Melas and the Hebrus were the Paeti, and on the upper course of the Hebrus were the Odrysae. Lower down were the Trausi and Brygians. Nearer to the coast of the Aegean were the Ciconcs and Bistones. On the lower course of the Nestus were the Sapaei and Dersaei. On the lower course of the Angites were the Satrae, Pieres, and Edoni. Between the Angites and the Strymon were the Odomanti; and westward on the Strymon was the territory of Bisaltia, afterwards included in Macedonia. Last of all must be mentioned the extensive region of Paeonia, which included the upper courses of the Nestus, Angites, and Strymon. The nations occupying this country were the Pacoplae, Satrae, Doberes, Agrianes, Siro-paeones, and an amphibious people who lived on Lake Prasias, (or Cercinitis,) all of whom were described by Herodotus under the general name of Paeones.

Herodotus's idea of the magnitude of Thrace.

The Thracian people, according to Herodotus, were the most numerous in the world excepting the Indians, and if they had been governed by one man, or had acted in concert, they would have been in his opinion invincible, and the most powerful of all nations. It was however impossible that they should ever be united, and therefore they were weak.[1]

From this paragraph we plainly see that Herodotus had formed an extravagant idea of the magnitude of Thrace. The country was but little known, and the veil of obscurity which hung over the interior served to magnify its extent in the same way that a Highland mist exaggerates the objects it envelopes.[2]

[1] v. 3.

[2] Niebuhr, in his map of the world according to Herodotus, gives a large accession of territory to Thrace, by representing the Ister, which formed the northern boundary, as flowing along a parallel very much farther to the north, and then taking a southerly direction towards its present mouth, and thus forming the western side of the Scythian square. This theory is discussed in the next chapter.

"Thrace," says Herodotus, "where it adjoins the sea, projects before the Scythian territory, and where a bay is formed in this country Scythia begins, and the Ister discharges itself, having its mouth towards the east."[1] By this description we may understand our author to mean, that in that part where the mouths of the Ister form a bay, (probably Lake Rassein,) Thrace projects either into the Euxine, or else towards the south, and that the river there forms the boundary between Thrace and Scythia.[2]

Its frontier towards Scythia.

We will now form an itinerary of the country by following in the routes taken by Darius and Xerxes.

Route taken by Darius.

At the mouth of the Pontus, where there was a sanctuary,[3] and also a large mixing-vessel dedicated by Pausanias,[4] the celebrated bridge over the Bosphorus was erected for Darius by Mandrocles the Samian. Herodotus conjectures that the bridge was contructed half way between the sanctuary and the city of Byzantium.[5] On the same spot Darius erected two columns of white marble, bearing inscriptions, one in Assyrian, and the other in Greek, enumerating all the nations which were included in his armament. These columns were subsequently re-

Bridge over the Bosphorus.

Two columns of white marble.

Byzantium.

[1] iv. 99.

[2] The river Ister, or Danube, will be further discussed in chapters vii. and viii. We may however here remark, that its mouths particularly attracted the attention of Herodotus, and probably led him in the first instance to compare the Ister with the Nile (ii. 33, 34). He describes each of these rivers as discharging itself into the sea through five mouths (ii. 17; iv. 47); but the great changes which the Danube has evidently undergone at its mouth render it difficult to identify his description. At the present day this river, about fifty miles from the coast of the Euxine, divides into three principal arms, besides forming, on its southern side, the lake now called Rasselm or Rassein, from which several minor arms proceed. The delta of the Danube is a vast swampy flat, interspersed with lagoons covered with bulrushes, the resort of vast flocks of water-fowl. The northern arm, which is named Kilia, and the southern one, named Edrillis, are shallow and of little value. The latter one forms the boundary between the Russian and Turkish dominions. The middle arm is called Sulineh, and has from ten to twelve feet of water over the bar at its mouth. The mouth of the Sulineh arm is now rapidly filling up from the deposits of mud brought down by the river, and which the current is not sufficiently strong to carry away. *Macculloch, Geog. Dict.*

[3] iv. 87. [4] iv. 81.

[5] iv. 87. The two ancient castles, Rumili-Eski-Hissar on the European side, and Anadoli-Eski-Hissar on the Asiatic side, are supposed to mark the points which the Persians connected by the bridge of boats.

moved by the Byzantines into their city, and were used in building the altar of the Orthosian Artemis, all but one stone, which was left near the temple of Dionysus in Byzantium, covered with Assyrian characters.[1] The Persian fleet then sailed through the Cyanean Isles,[2] to the river Ister, whilst Darius proceeded through Thrace with his land forces.[3]

Cyanean Isles.

River Tearus.

The first recorded spot reached by the Persian army, was at the sources of the river Tearus, which were celebrated amongst the neighbouring inhabitants. The Tearus was said to be the best of all rivers, both for its general healing qualities, and especially for curing the itch in men and horses. This river rises from 38 springs, some warm and others cold, which all flow from the same rock. The road to them was equally distant from the town of Heraeopolis near Perinthus, and from Apollonia on the Euxine, being two days' journey from either place. The Tearus discharges itself into the Contadesdus, the latter into the Agrianes, and this last again into the Hebrus, which falls into the sea near the city of Aenus.[4] Darius was so pleased with the river that he erected a pillar at the sources bearing this inscription: "The springs of the Tearus yield the best and finest water of all rivers; and a man, the best and finest of all men, leading an army against the Scythians, Darius son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians, and of the whole continent."[5]

Heraeopolis Perinthus. Apollonia.

Rivers Contadesdus, Agrianes, and Hebrus.

Aenus.

River Artiscus. The Odrysae.

Proceeding from thence Darius reached the river Artiscus, which flows through the Odrysae, and here he left vast heaps of stones, having marked out a certain spot and commanded each soldier to place a

[1] iv. 87.

[2] These Cyanean isles, also called Symplegades by Euripides and others, are correctly described by Strabo as "two little isles, one upon the European and the other on the Asiatic side of the strait, separated from each other by 20 stadia." The more ancient accounts, representing them as sometimes separated, and at other times joined together, were explained by Tournefort, who observed that each of them consists of one craggy island, but that when the sea is disturbed the water covers the lower parts, so as to make the different points of either resemble insular rocks. The presence of copper gives to these rocks a greenish colour, and obtained for them the name of Cyaneae.

[3] viii. 99. [4] iv. 90. [5] iv. 91.

stone there.[1] On his way the Scyrmiadae Thracians, who occupy Salmydessus, and the Nipsaei Thracians, who dwell above the cities of Apollonia and Mesambria, surrendered; but the Getae, who were apparently the last Thracian nation and reached to the Ister, made an obstinate resistance, but were at length overcome and made slaves,[2] though they were the most valiant and most just of all the Thracians. The city of Mesambria was founded about this time by the Byzantines and Chalcedonians who fled before the Persians along the coast of the Euxine, and established a colony.[3] Darius at length reached the bridge which he had ordered to be thrown over the Ister, and at last entered the Scythian territory.[4]

Scyrmiadae. Nipsaei. Getae. Mesambria. Bridge at the Ister.

The army of Xerxes proceeded in its turn, but over the Hellespont (or modern Dardanelles) instead of the Bosphorus. The Chersonesus (land-island or peninsula) was first traversed. This was 420 stadia long, and at the isthmus which connects it with the European continent it was 36 stadia broad.[6] The Chersonesus was originally occupied by the Thracian Dolonci, who made Miltiades son of Cypselus their tyrant in accordance with an oracle. Miltiades built a wall on the isthmus, from the city of Cardia to Pactya, to keep out the Apsinthian Thracians.[7] The Chersonesus contained numerous cities,[8] of which Herodotus mentions the following: Elaeus,[9] with a sepulchre of Protesilaus in the midst of a sacred precinct, originally containing rich treasures of gold and silver vessels, and brass, robes, and other consecrated offerings, all of which were stolen by Artayctes the Persian, who sowed and pastured part of the precinct, and profaned the sanctuary.[10] Sestos, which was the strongest fortress in those parts, and occupied by native Aeolians.[11] Madytus, between which city and Sestos a craggy shore, or Acte Trachea, ran out into the sea directly opposite Abydos;[12]

Route of Xerxes from the Hellespont to Acanthus. The Chersonesus inhabited by the Thracian Dolonci. Wall across the isthmus. Topography. Elaeus, and sepulchre of Protesilaus. Sestos. Madytus.

[1] iv. 92. [2] iv. 93. [3] vi. 33. [4] iv. 97. [5] vii. 58.
[6] vi. 36. [7] vi. 34, 36. [8] vi. 33. [9] vi. 140. [10] ix. 116.
[11] ix. 115. [12] vii. 33.

and here Artayctes was nailed to a plank and hoisted aloft, because of the atrocious crimes he had committed with women in the sanctuary of Protesilaus at Elaeus. Others however say that Artayctes was thus crucified on a hill above Madytus.[1]

Xerxes leaves the Chersonesus

The army of Xerxes proceeded through the Chersonesus in an easterly direction, having the sepulchre of Helle on the right hand and the city of Cardia on

Apsinthians

the left,[2] and then entered the territory of the Apsinthian Thracians, who subsequently, according to the custom of their country, sacrificed the Persian general Oebazus to Pleistorus their national deity.[3] The army then marched through the middle of a

Agora. Bay and river of Melas.

city named Agora, and bending round the bay of Melas, at length crossed the river Melas, which gave its name to the bay, and whose stream was insufficient for the forces. From thence the Persians

Aenus. Lake Stentoris. Doriscus. Valley of the river Hebrus.

proceeded westward by the Aeolian city of Aenus and the lake Stentoris to Doriscus,[4] under which name was included not only the tract along the coast, but also an extensive plain watered by the river Hebrus. Here stood a royal fortress also called Doriscus, where Darius had placed a Persian garrison at the time of his expedition against Scythia.

Sala and Zona. Cape Serrhium.

On the coast stood the Samothracian cities of Sala and Zona; and at its extremity was the celebrated promontory of Serrhium. The entire coast formerly belonged to the Cicones.[5]

Mesambria.

From Doriscus the army first passed the Samothracian fortresses already mentioned to the most westerly one of all, called Mesambria.[6] It then

River Lissus. Stryme.

crossed the river Lissus, which was insufficient for the forces, and reached Stryme, a city of the Thasians. This country was anciently called Galaica,

Briantica, anciently Galaica. Maroneia. Dicaea. Abdera.

but at that time Briantica, although in strict right it belonged to the Cicones.[7] The army next passed the Hellenic cities of Maroneia, Dicaea, and Abdera.

[1] ix. 120. [2] vii. 58. [3] ix. 119. Comp. vi. 36. [4] vii. 58.
[5] vii. 59.
[6] This Samothracian fortress of Mesambria must not be confounded with the city of Mesambria on the Euxine.
[7] vii. 108.

Between Stryme and Maroneia was the lake Ismaris, and near Dicaea was the lake Bistonis, into which the rivers Travus and Compsatus emptied themselves.[1] Abdera was peopled by the Teians, after their own city on the coast of Asia Minor had been taken by Harpagus. It had however been first founded by Timesius of Clazomenae, who was afterwards driven out by the Thracians, but in spite of this was honoured as a hero by the Teians.[2] In the subsequent flight of Xerxes after the battle of Salamis, he made an alliance of friendship with the Abderites, and presented them with a golden scimeter and a gold-embroidered tiara; and the Abderites said, what appeared incredible to Herodotus, that at this place he loosened his girdle for the first time after leaving Athens. Abdera was situated nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eïon, whence, as they say, he embarked.[3]

Lakes Ismaris and Bistonis.

Rivers Travus and Compsatus.

The Persian army did not pass by any lake near Abdera, but in the neighbourhood of the city was the river Nestus, which flows into the sea.[4] From this place the army marched by several continental cities. Near one of these, named Pistyrus, was a lake 30 stadia in circumference, abounding in fish, but with brackish waters; yet the sumpter beasts, who alone drank of it, were sufficient to exhaust it.[5]

River Nestus.

Pistyrus.

The Thracian nations through which Xerxes passed, were the Paeti, Cicones, Bistones, Sapaei, Dersaei, Edoni, and Satrae.[6] Then he passed the Pierian forts, one of which was called Phagres, and the other Pergamus, marching close to them, and keeping on his right the vast and lofty mountain of Pangaeus, whose gold and silver mines were worked by the Pieres and Odomanti, and especially by the Satrae.[7] Northward of Pangaeus were the Paeones, Doberes, and Paeoplae. The country which surrounded this mountain was called Phyllis, and

Paeti.
Cicones.
Bistones.
Sapaei.
Dersaei.
Edoni.
Satrae.
Pierian forts.
Mount Pangaeus.

Pieres.
Odomanti.
Paeones.
Doberes.
Paeoplae.
District of Phyllis.

[1] vii. 109. [2] i. 168. [3] viii. 120.

[4] Abdera was at some distance to the east of the river Nestus. Herodotus says κατὰ Abdera. In another place, (vii. 126,) however, he speaks of it as flowing through Abdera.

[5] vii. 109. [6] vii. 110. [7] vii. 112.

River Augites.

extended westward to the river Augites, which falls into the Strymon, and southwards to the Strymon itself, which the Magi propitiated by the sacrifice of white horses.[1] From this river a violent north wind was called "a wind from the Strymon.[2]"[3]

Paeonia, its extent. Siro-paeones.

The Paeones dwelt on its banks,[4] and amongst others, the race of Siro-paeones,[5] so called from their city of Siris.[6] The revenues which Pisistratus drew from the river Strymon,[7] and the rich mines of Scapte Hyle, must also be noticed in reference to this district. The Paeones on the Strymon professed to be descended from the Teucri of Troy,[8] but the name has a very wide signification, for Herodotus also mentions the Paeones dwelling above Crestonica and over Mount Orbelus and the lake Prasias.[9] All the above-mentioned races then, together with the Agrianes, which are drawn upon our map within these limits, may be regarded as so many sub-divisions of the Paeones. The Siro-Paeones, the Paeoplae, and other Paeonian tribes as far as Lake Prasias, were transported into Asia by Mardonius, but those upon Mount Pangaeus, including the Doberes, the Agrianes, the Odomanti, and the people dwelling on the lake, were not completely subdued.[10]

Scapte Hyle. Paeones on the Strymon.

Above Crestonica, and on Mount Orbelus and Lake Prasias. Agrianes.

River Strymon. Eïon.

Xerxes now came to Eïon,[11] where a large store of provisions had been laid up for his army,[12] and which was governed by Boges, the same Persian who afterwards, when besieged, threw all his treasures into the Strymon, and himself into a fire, rather than capitulate.[13] The Strymon was already bridged over by the royal command,[14] and the army approached it by the town called the "Nine Ways" of the Edonians, where, having heard the name, the Magi buried alive nine of the sons and nine of the daughters of

Strymon bridge.

"Nine Ways."

[1] vii. 113.

[2] The ancients understood the north wind by the words, *a blast from Strymon*, or *a blast from Thrace*, because Thrace was a cold country, and was looked upon as the abode of Boreas.

[3] viii. 118. [4] v. 1, 13. [5] v. 15. [6] viii. 115. [7] i. 64. [8] v. 13. [9] v. 16; vii. 124. [10] v. 15, 16. [11] vii. 113. [12] vii. 25. [13] vii. 107. [14] vii. 24.

the inhabitants.[1] Herodotus gives no account of this place, which was originally so called from the many roads which met there. It was subsequently called Amphipolis, and was one of the most important positions in this part of Thrace. This was the same city, though not there named by Herodotus,[2] that Aristogoras of Miletus endeavoured to besiege, but both he and his army were cut off through a breach of faith on the part of the Thracians. In the country of Edonia lay Myrcinus, where Histiaeus obtained permission from Darius to found a city,[3] but was afterwards recalled whilst building its walls, as the neighbourhood presented too many facilities for revolt, being thickly populated by both Hellenes and Barbarians, and possessing abundance of timber for ship-building, wood for oars, and valuable silver mines.[4] Also in the same neighbourhood was the city of Datus, where the Athenians, after the battle of Plataea, fought for the gold mines.[5] At some distance beyond the Strymon the Persians passed an Hellenic city called Argilus, situated on the coast towards the west. This district and the country above it was called Bisaltia. Proceeding from thence, and keeping the bay near the temple of Poseidon on the left, the army marched through what was called the plain of Syleus, and passing by the Hellenic city of Stageirus, arrived at Acanthus. This road, along which King Xerxes and his army marched, was not subsequently disturbed or cultivated by the Thracians, but regarded by them with great veneration even down to the time of Herodotus.[6] Xerxes enjoined the Acanthians to show hospitality, and presented them with a Medic dress.[7] Here Artachaees of the Achaemenidae race died of disease. He had superintended the excavation of the canal at Athos, and was the tallest of all the Persians, and had the loudest voice of any man. He was now buried with great pomp, and the whole army raised up a mound for his sepulchre, and the Acanthians,

Edonia. Myrcinus.

Datus.

Argilus.

Bisaltia.

Plain of Syleus. Acanthus.

[1] vii. 114. [2] v. 126. Comp. Thucyd. iv. 102. [3] v. 11.
[4] v. 23. [5] ix. 75. [6] vii. 115. [7] vii. 116.

in obedience to an oracle, sacrificed to him as a hero, and invoked him by name.[1]

Miscellaneous notices of Thrace. Brygians.

Notices of the following people and localities in Thrace are also to be found in Herodotus:—The Thracian Brygians, who were enslaved by Mardonius.[2]

Gold mines of Scapte Hyle.

Scapte Hyle, where the Thracians possessed a gold mine which produced 80 talents annually.[3]

Cape Sarpedon.

Cape Sarpedon, where the fleet of Xerxes was ordered to wait.[4]

Perinthus. Selybria.

The cities of Perinthus and Selybria, on the Hellespont.[5]

Aegospotami.

Aegospotami, or the goat-river, where Artayctes was captured.[6]

Tyrodiza. Leuce Acte.

Tyrodiza of the Perinthians, and Leuce Acte, in both of which places provisions were stored up for the army of Xerxes.[7]

Bisanthe.

Bisanthe, on the Hellespont.[8]

Hellespontines.

The Hellespontines in general are also noticed. They were Ionian and Dorian colonists, and contributed 100 ships to the navy of Xerxes, and were equipped like the Hellenes.[9]

Northern Thrace, but little known. Its seven rivers.

Northern Thrace is but little described by Herodotus. We learn that it was watered by seven rivers, viz. the Athrys, Noes, Artanes, Scios, Tibisis, Auras, and Atlas. Of these the Scios flowed from the foot of Mount Rhodope, and after dividing Mount Haemus in the middle discharged itself into the Ister. The other six flowed down the northern slope of Haemus, and likewise fell into the Ister.[10]

Istria.

The town of Istria, colonized by the Milesians, was situated at the Ister mouth.[11]

Pillars of Sesostris.

Herodotus also casually mentions that pillars were erected in Thrace by Sesostris.[12]

Manners and customs of the Thracians.

The Thracians had various names according to their respective regions, but they all observed the same customs, excepting the Getae, the Trausi, and those Thracians who dwelt above the Crestonaeans.[13]

Peculiar tenets of the Getae. Belief in the immortality of the soul.

The Getae were the most valiant and the most just of all the Thracians. They believed in the immortality of the soul, inasmuch as they imagined that they did not actually die, but that the soul of the deceased went to the deity Zalmoxis, and some

[1] vii. 117. [2] vi. 45. [3] vi. 46. [4] vii. 58. [5] vi. 33.
[6] ix. 119. [7] vii. 25. [8] vii. 137. [9] vii. 95. [10] iv. 49.
[11] ii. 33. [12] ii. 103. [13] iv. 3.

of them thought that he was the same as Gebeleizis, or "he who gives repose." Every fifth year they selected one of themselves by lot to go to Zalmoxis and tell him what they required. Their mode of sending the messenger was as follows. Some of them were placed together holding three lances with the points upward. Others then seized the appointed ambassador by the hands and feet, and swinging him backwards and forwards, tossed him upon the points of the lances. If he died of the wounds they considered that the deity, Zalmoxis, would prove propitious; if he did not die they decided that the messenger was a bad man, and selected another. These Getae considered that there was no other deity but theirs, and in storms of thunder and lightning they shot their arrows towards heaven, and threatened the god.[1]

Their deity Zalmoxis.

Herodotus was informed by the Greeks who dwelt about the Hellespont and Pontus Euxinus, that this Zalmoxis was originally a slave of Pythagoras, the son of Mnesarchus, in Samos; but that, having obtained his liberty and acquired great riches, he returned to his own country. Here he found the Thracians living in a wretched and very uncivilized state, and being acquainted with the more refined manners of the Ionians, and having enjoyed familiar intercourse with the Greeks, and especially with Pythagoras, who was not the meanest sage in Hellas, he built a saloon, in which he received and entertained the principal persons of the country, and taught them that neither he, nor any of his guests, nor their posterity for ever, should die, but should go into a place where they would live eternally and enjoy every kind of blessing. Meanwhile he prepared for himself a subterraneous dwelling, and at length suddenly disappeared from amongst the Thracians and lived in this under-ground abode for three years; but in the fourth year, and whilst the people were still lamenting his supposed death, he re-appeared,

Greek account of Zalmoxis.

Effects of his teachings on the Thracians.

His subterraneous dwelling and re-appearance.

[1] iv. 94.

and thus obtained additional credibility for his teachings.[1]

Herodotus's opinion.

Herodotus neither disbelieves nor entirely believes in this Greek account of Zalmoxis and his subterranean dwelling, but he is of opinion that the man lived many years before Pythagoras; though he appears to doubt whether he were a man or a native deity.[2]

Peculiar custom of the Trausi: mournful births and happy funerals.

The Trausi observed a strange custom at births and burials, which was the only one in which they differed from the other Thracians. When a child was born, its relations sat round it and deplored the many evils it would have to undergo, and at the same time they enumerated the various sufferings incidental to mankind. But when any one died, they buried it in the earth with merriment and rejoicing, that now being released from so many evils, the departed being would henceforth revel in perfect bliss.[3]

Thracians above Crestonica, their polygamy. Favourite wife killed at her husband's death.

The Thracians who dwelt above the Crestonaeans had a multiplicity of wives, and when the husband died, a great contest arose amongst his wives, and violent disputes between their friends, as to which was most loved by the deceased. When at length it was decided who was to be so honoured, the favoured woman received the praises of all, and was then slain upon her husband's tomb by her nearest relative, and buried in the same grave, whilst the surviving widows considered themselves to be disgraced.[4]

Customs of of the Thracians generally. Sale of children. Profligacy of the unmarried women.

The remainder of the Thracian nations practised the following customs. They sold their children for exportation into foreign lands. Fathers kept no watch over their unmarried daughters, but permitted them to cohabit with any man they pleased; but husbands maintained a strict watch over their wives, and purchased them from their parents at high prices.

Tattooing.

The man who tattooed himself was acknowledged to be noble, but the untattooed man was considered to be ignoble.

Fondness for war.

To do no work, but to live by war and rapine, was accounted to be most honour-

[1] iv. 95. [2] iv. 96. [3] v. 4. [4] v. 5.

able, but tilling the soil was highly despised.[1] Of gods, they only worshipped Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis; their kings however especially reverenced Hermes above all other deities, swore only by him, and held him to be their ancestral head.[2] The funerals of the more wealthy Thracians were thus celebrated. The dead body was laid out for three days, and the mourners made lamentation and killed various kinds of animals for sacrifice. They then feasted, and at last concluded the ceremony by burning the body or interring it; a great mound of earth was afterwards thrown up over the grave, upon which were practised all kinds of games, and the highest prizes were adjudged to the victors in single combat.[3] Our author also incidentally remarks, that the Thracians made garments from Scythian hemp, which bore so strong a resemblance to linen, that persons who had never seen that kind of hemp would think that the garment had been really made from flax.[4]

Worship of Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis.

Worship of Hermes.

Funerals.

Sepulchral monuments.

Garments of Scythian hemp.

The most singular people in Herodotus's description of Thrace were perhaps those who lived upon Lake Prasias, and whom Megabazus was unable to subdue. These actually lived on the lake itself, in dwellings or huts built upon planks which were fitted on lofty piles in the centre of the lake. A single narrow bridge alone connected this community with the main-land. The piles which supported the planks were anciently fixed at the common charge of all the citizens, and the wood was brought from the Orbelus mountain. Subsequently they established a law, that whenever a man married he should sink three piles for each wife, for they practised polygamy to a considerable extent. Every man had his own hut upon this extensive platform, with a trap-door closely fitting in the planks, and leading down to the lake, and a cord was tied to the feet of the young children to prevent their falling in. Horses and draught cattle were fed with fish instead of fodder; and there was such an abundance of fish, of

Paeonians on Lake Prasias. Living in huts supported upon the lake by planks and piles.

Polygamy.

Horses and cattle fed on fish.

[1] v. 6. [2] v. 7. [3] v. 8. [4] iv. 74.

which Herodotus particularly notices the papraces and tilones, that when a man let down a basket through the trap-door into the lake, he drew it up again after a little time completely filled.[1]

The Satrae, the only independent Thracians.

The Satrae, according to our author, were the only Thracian nation who kept themselves independent down to his time. They inhabited lofty mountains covered with woodland and snow, and were courageous in war. They possessed an oracle of Dionysus, which was situated on the highest of their mountains, and was under the charge of a race of the Satrae called Bessi. The decrees themselves were delivered by a priestess as at Delphi, and were not at all more ambiguous.[2]

Their oracle of Dionysus.

III. ILLYRIA, scarcely noticed by Herodotus.

III. The ILLYRIANS, westward of Macedonia and Thracia, are but very little mentioned by Herodotus. He says that the Eneti, an Illyrian race, collected and sold their marriageable maidens by auction, in a manner similar to the Babylonians. The handsomest fell to the highest bidders, and the sums they produced were given as dowries to the plainer maidens, who in their turn fell to those who offered to take them with the least money.[3] In another place Herodotus speaks of the Eneti on the Adriatic,[4] from which it would seem that they had inhabited the islands along Dalmatia. He also says that the river Angrus flowed from the Illyrians and emptied itself into the Triballic plain, and into the river Brongus, which then discharged itself into the Ister.[5] The Enchelees of Illyria are also named, but nothing more.[6]

Sale of maidens amongst the Eneti.

River Angrus. Triballic plain. River Brongus.

The Enchelees.

[1] v. 16. [2] vii. 111. [3] i. 196. [4] v. 9. [5] iv. 49. [6] ix. 43.

CHAPTER VII.

SCYTHIA.

Difficulties in Herodotus's description of Scythia.—Its identification with southern Russia, Moldavia, and Wallachia.—Face of the country. —Crimea or Taurica.—Rivers of southern Russia.—Herodotus's description of Scythia.—Its form and measurement.—Its boundaries.—Extent of our author's personal knowledge.—Olbia, the centre of his observations.—Explanation of his statements respecting the route along the coast.—Explanation of his statements respecting the route into the interior.—The four-sided shape of Scythia explained.—Scythian rivers.—The Ister or Danube, its five mouths and equal stream.—Five tributaries flowing into it: the Porata, Ararus, Naparis, Ordessus, and Tiarantus.—Difficulties in the theory of Niebuhr and Ideler.—Identification of the five tributaries with the Pruth, Sireth, Jalomnitza, Argisch, and Aluta.—Seven independent rivers: the Tyras, Hypanis, Borysthenes, Panticapes, Hypacyris, Gerrhus, and Tanais.—The Hyrgis.—Modern names of the rivers.—The Dniester.—The Bog.—The Dnieper.—Difficulty in identifying the Panticapes, Hypacyris, and Gerrhus: probably the Samara, Kalantchak, and Tastchenik.—The Don and Hyrgis.—Boundaries of Scythia on the modern map.—Scythian nations: west of the Borysthenes or Dnieper.—I. Callipidae.—II. Alazones.— III. Aratores: Exampaeus, Hippoleon, and Hylaea.—IV. Georgi.—V. Nomades.—VI. Royal Scythians.—VII. Tyritae.—VIII. Tauri.—Carcinitis.—Course of Achilles. —History of Scythia.—Anciently occupied by Cimmerians.—Scythian invasion.—Sepulchre of the Cimmerian kings.—Scythian pursuit of the Cimmerians.—Cimmerians in Asia Minor.—Scythians masters of Upper Asia.—Plunder the temple of Aphrodite at Askalon.—Return to Scythia.—Proofs of the ancient occupation of Scythia by the Cimmerians.—District of Cimmeria.—Cimmerian fort and ferry.—Cimmerian Bosphorus.—Massagetae and Sacae of Scythian race.—Climate of Scythia.—Eight months of the year winter, during which the sea freezes.—Four months of cold summer, constant rains and violent thunder-storms.—Effects of cold on the horses and cattle.—Scythian story of the air filled with feathers.—Tradition of the Hyperboreans.—Foot-print of Heracles. —Pillars of Sesostris.—Natural productions of Scythia: grass, hemp, wheat, onions, garlic, lentils, millet. — Cranes. — Swine. — National mythus of Targitaus, and his three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Colaxais. —The Auchatae, Catiari, and Traspies.—General name of Scoloti.—Greek mythus of the three sons of Heracles, and the serpent maiden Echidna. —Ignorance of the nations on the Euxine.—Wise device of the Scythians against invasion.—Their houses carried with them.—Scythian deities: Hestia, Zeus, Ge, Apollo, Aphrodite, Heracles, and Ares.—Poseidon.—Mode of sacrifice.—Enormous piles of faggots sacred to Ares.—Human sacrifices.—Enemies' heads presented to the king.—Mode of preparing

the skulls and other trophies.—Soothsayers and manner of divining.—Ceremonies at the illness of a king.—Manner of making contracts.—Sepulchres of the Scythian kings.—Funeral ceremonies.—Favourite concubine, servants, and goods buried with the king.—Fifty attendants killed and placed on horseback round the tumulus.—Burial of private citizens.—Manner of purification.—Hatred of foreign customs.—Costume.—Blinding of slaves.—Mode of milking cattle.—Habit of taking unmixed wine, and drinking very hard.—Contempt of trade.—Difficulty in ascertaining the population of Scythia.—Cauldron made from arrowheads, one being furnished by every Scythian.—Meagre remains of the Scythian language.—Barbarous customs of the Tauri.

Difficulties in Herodotus's description of Scythia.

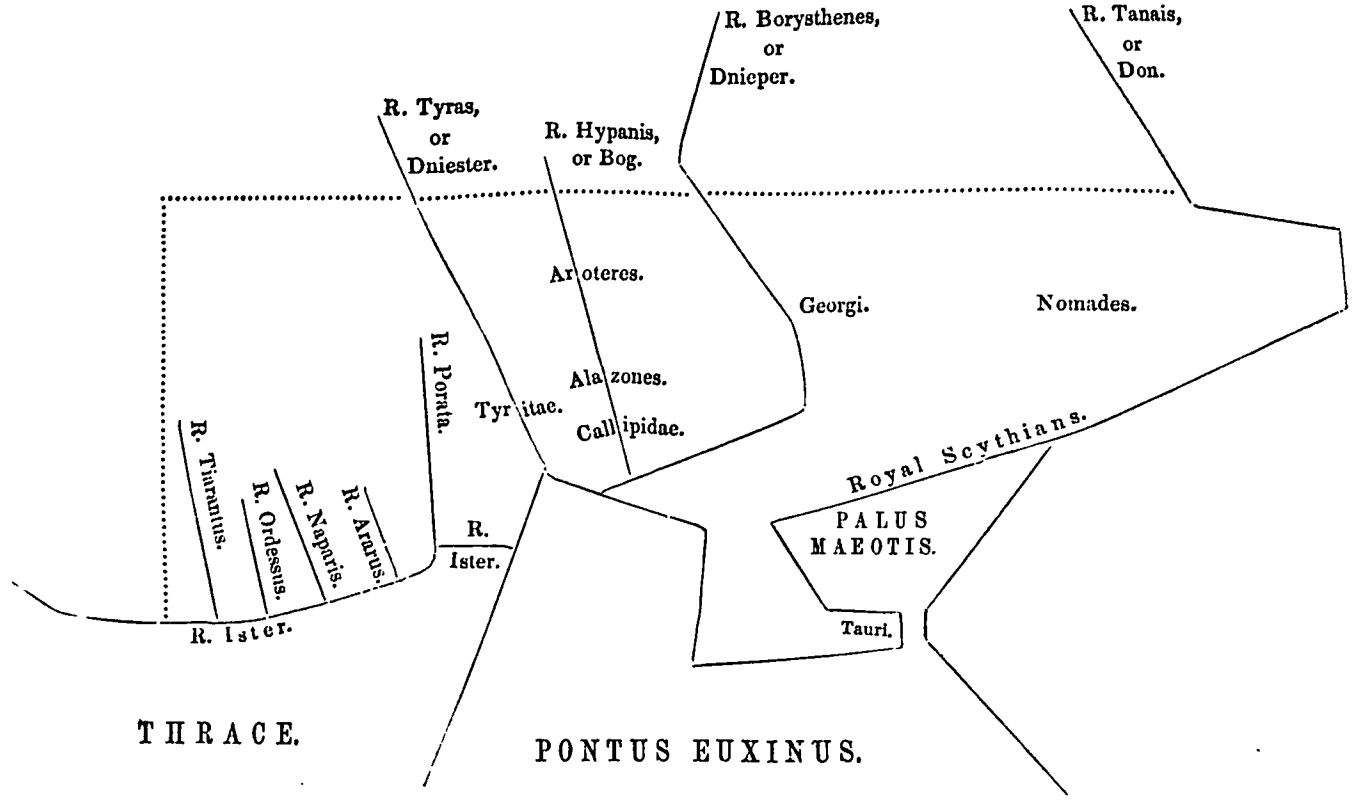
OUR author's description of Scythia is full of difficulty. His meaning is so doubtful that it cannot be developed without a critical examination of almost every statement; and even when this progress is attained, it will be found next to impossible to reconcile his accounts with the real geography of the country.

Its identification with southern Russia, Moldavia, and Wallachia.

The SCYTHIA of Herodotus lay on the northern coast of the Black Sea, or Pontus Euxinus, between the mouth of the Danube (or Ister), and the Don (or Tanais), and it stretched about 500 miles into the interior. It thus included the steppes of southern Russia, and it also extended westward to the river Aluta and Carpathian mountains. Accordingly Scythia Proper answers on modern maps to the country of the Ukraine, the Nogaïs, the Don Cossacks, and the Tartars of the Crimea, together with the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, as far as the Aluta.

Face of the country.

The surface of all this region is chiefly undulating, but in many places it extends in fertile plains. The higher land has a soil consisting of a reddish clay, which is very barren. The lower tracts consist of black mould and sand mostly covered with grass, which supplies good pasture for cattle and horses. Other portions towards the east are exceedingly fertile, and produce excellent wheat and all kinds of grain. Great quantities of rye are also raised even from districts which have rather a poor soil; and flax and hemp are more extensively grown than in any other part of Europe, and are to be found in a wild state on the steppes along the banks of the river Don. Many parts of the country are marked by salt lakes; and salt marshes of some extent occur


R. Borysthenes, or Dnieper.
R. Tanais, or Don.
R. Tyras, or Dniester.
R. Hypanis, or Bog.
Arioteres.
Georgi.
Nomades.
R. Porata.
Alazones.
Tyritae.
Callipidae.
Royal Scythians.
R. Tiarantus.
R. Ordessus.
R. Naparis.
R. Ararus.
R. Ister.
R. Ister.
PALUS MAEOTIS.
Tauri.
THRACE.
PONTUS EUXINUS.

SCYTHIA.

between the Dniester and the Danube. The great granitic tract which traverses Russia between the Pruth and the Don, lies to the north of the entire region; but is similar in soil and climate to the country already mentioned, and only differs from it in the more hilly character of its surface.

Crimea or Taurica.

The peninsula of Crimea, which is the Taurica of Herodotus, projects south and east between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff, and presents considerable variety of surface. The northern part, comprising three-fourths of its extent, consists of an arid plain or steppe, occasionally diversified with hollows. A mountainous tract covered with rich pastures, and in some places enclosing delicious valleys, extends along the southern coast.

Rivers of southern Russia.

The country of southern Russia is watered by several rivers, which however are not navigable at any great distance from their mouths. From the scarcity of rain and snow and the shallowness of their beds, they possess but a comparatively small volume of water; whilst their course is interrupted by rapids and cataracts where they break through the granitic tract already mentioned. Amongst these are the Danube, the Pruth, the Dniester, the Bog, the Dnieper, and the Don, which we shall soon find further occasion to describe.

Herodotus's description of Scythia.

We now proceed to develope our author's description.

Its form and measurement.

"Scythia," he says, "is four-sided, with two parts extending along the sea: that which stretches into the interior and that along the coast are in every respect of equal length. For from the Ister to the Borysthenes is ten days' journey, and from the Borysthenes to the lake Maeotis is ten days' more; whilst from the sea into the interior as far as the Melanchlaeni, who occupy the country above the Scythians, is also a journey of twenty days. Computing the day's journey at 200 stadia, the extent of Scythia transversely would be 4000 stadia, and the direct route leading into the interior would be the same distance."[1]

[1] iv. 101.

"Scythia begins at that part of the country where a bay is formed, and where the river Ister, turning its mouth towards the east, discharges itself into the sea. From the Ister it lies towards the south as far as the city called Carcinitis. Next to that the Tauric nation inhabits the mountainous country, which projects into the Pontus as far as the Chersonesus called Trachea, and reaches to the sea towards the east. For the two parts of the boundaries of Scythia extend along the sea, one towards the south and the other towards the east, as is the case with Attica.[1] . . . From Taurica, Scythians inhabit the country above the Tauri, and the parts along the eastern sea, and the parts lying to the west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the lake Maeotis, as far as the river Tanais, which flows into the farthest recess of that lake."[2]

Its boundaries.

We must now endeavour to ascertain our author's actual knowledge of the regions he has thus described. The Greek settlement of Olbia on the river Borysthenes, was apparently the farthest point ever reached by Herodotus, and we may suppose him to be stationed here when forming his views concerning the shape and extent of the country. We can trace him past the bay, (Lake Rasselm,) and where the Ister discharges its waters through five mouths;[3] next, to the river Tyras, where he was shown the foot-print of Heracles;[4] and then to the river Hypanis, where he saw the fountain Exampeus, and the huge brass vessel made from Scythian arrow-heads.[5] But beyond the Borysthenes his knowledge was very vague; he supposed the lake Maeotis to be nearly as large as the Pontus Euxinus,[6] and that Crimea, which he calls Taurica, was not a peninsula, but only an acte projecting into the Pontus, like Attica or Iapygia.[7]

Extent of our author's personal knowledge.

Olbia, at the mouth of the Borysthenes, was, therefore, the centre of our author's observations. The distance from the mouth of the Ister to this

Olbia, the centre of his observations.

[1] iv. 99. [2] iv. 100. [3] iv. 47. [4] iv. 82. [5] iv. 81. [6] iv. 86. [7] iv. 99.

point he calculated from positive experience as being ten days' journey, or 2000 stadia, which reckoned as furlongs would be 250 English miles; and this calculation is not very far distant from the actual measurement of a land journey along the coast between these two rivers. Next he estimated that it was exactly the same distance from the Borysthenes to the lake Maeotis. Now to what point of the coast bordering on the lake did he refer? Certainly not to the Siwash or putrid sea, which was only two days' journey off, nor to the mountainous point called Trachea at the extremity of Taurica, which was occupied by the Tauri, and was a continuation of the Tauric range. I should rather fix it at the slave trench which was dug from the Tauric mountains to the lake Maeotis;[1] and if we suppose that the line of road extended from the Borysthenes through the modern isthmus of Perkope, as far as the point where the Tauric mountains approach the coast,—say at the southern extremity of the Siwash and near the town of Kaffa,—then we should find that our author's calculation again very nearly approached the actual measurement. The southern extent of Scythia, from the Ister to the Maeotis, was therefore, according to Herodotus's calculation, twenty days' journey, a measurement equal to 4000 stadia, or 500 English miles. He characterizes the entire route as τὰ ἐπικάρσια, the *oblique*, or *transverse*, which we shall presently find to have been used as opposed to τὰ ὄρθια, or the *direct*, by which he describes the route into the interior; and we may therefore understand that he either alluded to the coast route as being somewhat oblique,[2] or else merely used the word as signifying the extent of Scythia crossways.

Explanation of his statements respecting the route along the coast.

Explanation of his

Having thus calculated the extent of the route

[1] See iv. 3.

[2] The entire coast is exceedingly indented, but Herodotus evidently considered it to be much straighter than it really was, being probably misled by the bearings of places during the land journey, in the same way that he makes a mistake when he supposes Megaris to have been the most westerly point of Greece. See p. 57.

along the coast, Herodotus notices what he calls the direct or straight route into the interior, viz. from the sea-coast, probably at Olbia, as far as the Melanchlaeni on the western bank of the upper course of the Tanais. It must be borne in mind, that the caravan route from Olbia towards the Ural mountains first passed through Hylaea, or the wood country, and then coasted the Palus Maeotis as far as the Tanais, and at length crossed the river and entered the steppe of Astracan.[1] Our author probably gained his information from caravan travellers, and he readily supposed that this was the direct route into the interior. He calculates it at exactly the same distance as the road along the coast, viz. twenty days' journey or 4000 stadia; and that point of the Tanais at which it is most likely the caravan crossed, is as nearly as possible in accordance with his measurement.

statements respecting the route into the interior.

These then are the two sides, both reaching to the sea, which are described by Herodotus. One crossways along the coast, the other stretching into the exterior. One extending towards the south, and the other towards the east, as was the case with Attica: by which last expression, I understand that Herodotus did not suppose his four-sided Scythia to be shaped thus, □, but thus, ◇. These two routes or boundaries of Scythia were all that Herodotus knew of its extent. He took it for granted that there must be two other sides to the country, and therefore he called it τετράγωνος, or "four-sided;" though whether he imagined that all the four sides were exactly equal, as Niebuhr supposes, is liable to several objections. Our author evidently thought that the western side was formed by the upper course of the Ister,[2] and that this river somewhat corresponded with the eastern boundary along the lake Maeotis and river Tanais. The northern side he indicated by an imaginary line drawn from the

The four-sided shape of Scythia explained.

[1] Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, vol. ii.

[2] iv. 99.

upper corner of the Ister towards the east, and shutting out the Agathyrsi, the Neuri, the Androphagi, and the Melanchlaeni.[1] By reference to a modern map, it will be readily seen that the four-sided figure of our author was based upon a considerable misconception of the course of the Ister on the west and the Tanais on the east; but before we attempt to reconcile his notions with the real geography, it will be necessary to examine further into his description of the numerous Scythian rivers.

Scythian rivers. The Ister or Danube; its five mouths and equal stream.

The river ISTER was the first amongst the Scythian streams on the western side. It was the greatest of all the rivers with which Herodotus had made himself acquainted, being much enlarged by the number of tributaries which discharged themselves into it. It had five mouths, and its stream was always equally strong in summer and winter.[2] After flowing through all Europe, it entered the borders of Scythia;[3] and it would appear that Herodotus regarded it as the boundary between the Scythians and Thracians, on the banks of which the armies of both nations encamped opposite each other.[4] Five rivers flowing through Scythia fall into the Ister; viz. the river called Porata by the Scythians, and Pyretos by the Hellenes; the Tiarantus; the Ararus; the Naparis; and the Ordessus. Of these the Porata is large, and flows towards the east, and the Tiarantus is smaller, and flows more to the west; whilst the three other rivers flow between them.[5] This remark of Herodotus, that these rivers flowed through Scythia into the Ister, some more towards the east and others more towards the west, cannot be reconciled with the theory of Professor Ideler, which is followed by Niebuhr, viz. that, according to our author's notion, the Ister, when it reached Scythia, changed its direct easterly course, and flowed exactly north and south, and thus formed the western side of the Scythian square.[6]

Five tributaries flowing into it, viz. the Porata, Ararus Naparis, Ordessus, Tiarantus.

Difficulties in the theory of Niebuhr and Ideler.

[1] iv. 101. [2] iv. 47, 48. [3] iv. 49. [4] iv. 80, 99. [5] iv. 48.

[6] These five rivers are not delineated in Niebuhr's map to his Dissertation on the Geog. of Herodotus.

With respect to the identification of these rivers which fall into the Ister or Danube,[1] we have no hesitation in following Rennell and D'Anville, who recognise the Porata in the Pruth, the Ararus in the Sireth, the Naparis in the Jalomnitza, and the Ordessus in the Argisch. The Tiarantus cannot be distinctly made out, but has, however, been generally identified with the Aluta.

Identification of the five tributaries with the Pruth, Sireth, Jalomnitza, Argisch, and Aluta.

Beside the river Ister, Herodotus describes the Tyras, the Hypanis, the Borysthenes, the Panticapes, the Hypacyris, the Gerrhus, and the Tanais. The Tyras was next the Ister, and came from the north, flowing from a great lake which separated Scythia from Neuris.[2] The Hypanis was the third river, and also flowed from a large lake, which was rightly called the mother of the Hypanis, and around which wild horses of a white colour were everywhere grazing. This river flowed in a small and sweetly tasting stream for a five days' voyage from its source. Farther onwards, however, to the sea, which was nine days' voyage distant, the water was exceedingly bitter; for though the Hypanis was here of a considerable size, yet a small bitter fountain, called in the Scythian language "Exampaeus," and in the Hellenic, "the sacred ways," discharged itself into it, and completely impregnated its stream. The Tyras and Hypanis almost approached in the country of the Alazones, but after that bent their course away from each other.[3]

Seven independent rivers.

The Tyras.

The Hypanis.

The fourth river was the Borysthenes, which was the largest next to the Ister, and in the opinion of Herodotus the most productive, not only amongst

The Borysthenes.

[1] It is said that Danubius was the Thracian and Ister the Celtic name of this river; but it seems most probable that Dan is the same word which is found in Eridanus, Rhodanus, Tanais, and the more modern names of Don, Dnieper, and Dniester, and signifies water. Adelung says, that Dan-ubius means "the upper water," and Dan-ister "the lower water," and in the later Roman period it was common to apply the name of Danubius to the upper course of the river, and the name of Ister to the lower course. According to Klaproth the word "don," signifying water, is still retained in the language of the Ossetes, in Caucasus, who are a remnant of the Alans of the middle ages.

[2] iv. 51. [3] iv. 52.

the Scythian rivers, but of all others, excepting the Aegyptian Nile. It possessed most beautiful pastures, which were exceedingly nutricious for the cattle, and contained abundance of the very finest fish. Its waters were most sweet to drink, and its stream flowed clear and pure in the midst of muddy rivers. The best corn grew along its banks, and where the land was not sown the grass grew to a great height. Abundance of salt was crystallized spontaneously at its mouth, and it also supplied for pickling great water-animals without any spinal bones, which the natives called Antacaei, together with much more that was curious and wonderful. As far as the region of Gerrhus, which was forty days' voyage from its mouth, this river was known to flow from the north, and was also navigable,[1] but beyond Gerrhus no one was able to tell through what people it flowed, though it appeared to come through a desert to the country of the agricultural Scythians, who dwelt near its banks,[2] for the space of a ten or eleven days' voyage. The sources of the Borysthenes, as well as those of the Nile, Herodotus was unable to describe, nor did he think that any Greek could do so. It continued flowing near to the sea, where the Hypanis mingled with it, and discharged itself into the same swamp.[3]

The Panticapes.

The fifth river was named the PANTICAPES, and also flowed from the north, and out of a lake, through the woody region called Hylaea.[4] It discharged itself into the Borysthenes.[5]

The Hypacyris.

The sixth river was the HYPACYRIS, which flowed from a lake through the Scythian nomades, and after passing Hylaea and the place called the Course of Achilles on the right, discharged itself near the city of Carcinitis.[6]

The Gerrhus.

The seventh river was the GERRHUS, which was separated from the Borysthenes near the place at which the latter river was first known. It had the same name as the country which was called Gerrhus.

[1] iv. 71. [2] iv. 18. [3] iv. 53. [4] See page 152. [5] iv. 54. [6] iv. 55.

Subsequently it flowed towards the sea, dividing the Nomad from the Royal Scythians, and at last discharged itself into the Hypacyris.[1]

The eighth river was the TANAIS, which flowed from a large lake, and fell into the farthest recess[2] of a still larger lake, namely, the Maeotis. It received the waters of the river Hyrgis, and formed the eastern boundary of Scythia, dividing the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatae.[3]

The Tanais.

The Hyrgis.

Such, according to our author, were the celebrated rivers which watered the territory of Scythia Proper: it is now necessary to identify them on the modern map.

Modern names of the rivers.

The Tyras is evidently the river Dniester, and is still called Tyral near its mouth. The lake from which Herodotus says it takes its source may be identified with a small lake on the Miedoborczek, one of the north-eastern declivities of the Carpathian mountains, lying in the circle of Sambor, in the Austrian kingdom of Gallizia, and in about 49° north latitude.

The Dniester.

The Hypanis is the river Bog, which rises in the elevated plateau which extends from the Carpathian mountains to the Russian province of Kieff, and discharges itself into the aestuary or liman of the Dnieper, about twenty miles below the river port of Nicolaeff. Its current is extremely gentle, and the waters of its lower course, between Nicolaeff and the sea, are still of a saline taste. Our author must have been well informed concerning this river. He describes it as nearly approaching the Dniester, but afterwards turning away; and it is certain that these two rivers do approach near to each other in the government of Podolia, whilst their lower courses diverge considerably as they approach the sea. The Bog is between 470 and 480 miles in length, or, according to the computation of Herodotus, nine days' sail down the stream.

The Bog.

The Borysthenes is the river Dnieper, and was known to Herodotus 40 days' sail from its mouth, a

The Dnieper.

[1] iv. 56. [2] iv. 100. [3] iv. 57.

measurement which it is difficult to understand, especially as we cannot form any estimation of the rate of navigation against the stream.[1] The river really rises in the northern part of the government of Smolensk, and winds along with a prodigious bend towards the east for about 1000 miles, until at length it forms, in conjunction with the Bog, a large liman or swampy lake, by which it discharges itself into the Black Sea. In the upper part of its course it is navigable from Smolensk to Kieff, but below Kieff the navigation is interrupted for about 40 miles by thirteen cataracts. Below these cataracts the river is again navigable, but the distance to the sea is only 260 miles. This latter space is all that could have been known to Herodotus.[2] The river abounds in fish, particularly the sturgeon, carp, pike, and shad. Those without bones mentioned by our author were undoubtedly sturgeons, which possess a cartilaginous skeleton.

Difficulty in identifying the Panticapes, Hypacyris, and Gerrhus: probably the Samara, Kalantchak and Tastchenik.

The Panticapes, the Hypacyris, and the Gerrhus, cannot be reconciled to modern geography; and we are inclined to believe, with Rennell, that they were small branches of the Borysthenes, which have since been filled up by the depositions of its waters.[3] No such series of rivers are represented in modern maps in the like positions and under the like circumstances as our author describes. The Panticapes, I would suggest, may to some extent be identified with the Samara, a small river which falls into the Dnieper at the cataracts.[4] The Hypacyris has been identified

[1] Larcher wishes to read fourteen instead of forty, whilst Bobrik reads ten. Scymnus of Chios and Pomponius Melas, however, have repeated Herodotus's statement, that the river was known and navigable for 40 days' sail from its mouth, and it has therefore been thought advisable to leave our author's calculation unaltered.

[2] Strabo correctly describes its navigable course, (i. e. from its mouth to the cataracts,) as 600 stadia, or 60 geographical miles.

[3] Rennell, vol. i. p. 86.

[4] Heeren thinks that the Panticapes may be recognised in the Sula or Psol, and Gatterer would even look so far north as to identify it with the Desna. It is however doubtful whether Herodotus knew the Dnieper as far as the cataracts, and he certainly could not have known much of the country above them. Sailing up the river the cataracts commence at Alexandrofsk and end at Ekaterinoslaff, and it is near this latter point

by Rennell with the small stream of Kalantchak, which falls into the gulf of Perekop; and the same learned geographer is also inclined to recognise the Gerrhus in the Tastchenik, one of the small rivers which fall into the lake Molotchna.[1] I cannot however but think that we ought to look much farther eastward.

The Don and Hyrgis.

The TANAIS is the river Don, and the Hyrgis, which discharged itself into it, has been generally identified with the river Donetz, but without sufficient reason. It evidently was an eastern tributary, as Herodotus does not reckon it amongst the Scythian rivers, and if we identify it with the Syrgis,[2] we must suppose it to have risen amongst the Thyssagetae. There are two or more rivers of the name of Irgis in modern geography, but they flow east of

that the Samara falls into the Dnieper. See also account of the Scythian Georgi, p. 153.

[1] The tract in which we should look for these rivers seems to be full of stagnant pools and lakes, in which the courses of brooks terminate from the north; so that it may be suspected that the Borysthenes and its branches have wandered through this space in different ages of the world, and in consequence may have at times gained the sea by different mouths, and occasionally by more than one at the same period of time. Indeed nothing is more likely than that a great change should have taken place in the course of so vast and rapid a river as the Borysthenes or Dnieper, and which also flows through a deep alluvial country, formed doubtless either by its own deposits, or by the general subsidence of the level of the Euxine. (Pliny, iv. 12.) It may be observed on the modern map, what a vast elbow this river makes to the east, in the lower part of its course. Hence, considering some other circumstances, it is probable that at some former period it ran straight from the cataracts into the western part of the Maeotis; and that, having in the course of ages raised the ground too high for it to make its way through, it sought a lower bed in the west, but left a branch in the former channel (which it might do, although that channel could not contain the whole river); and this branch may have been the Gerrhus, which, Herodotus says, was really an emanation of the Borysthenes. Herodotus however seems to have made one mistake, when he represents the Gerrhus, which discharges itself into the Maeotis on the east of Taurica, as falling into the Hypacyris, which discharges itself into the gulf on the western side. A river, or rather several beds of rivers, whose courses fall in nearly together, are found in the position where the Gerrhus may be looked for, but they have at present to communication with the Borysthenes, and only one of their branches with the Maeotis; for they terminate in a long narrow lake, named Molotchna, very near the western part of the Maeotis, and opposite to a wide gulf which enters deeply into the land, and appears in ancient times to have joined the lake; when both together may have formed an aestuary pointing to the north. Either of the above-mentioned branches may have been the Gerrhus. Rennell, vol. i. p. 87—93.

[2] iv. 123.

the Volga. Herodotus was acquainted with the Don to its source at the lake Ivan, which however is now so very small that it is not even marked in the Russian maps. This lake is in the Russian government of Toola, and the river, which is very circuitous, is about 1000 miles in length.

Boundaries of Scythia on the modern map.

We have thus ascertained that the true figure of Scythia, both according to our author's own description and modern geography, was that of an irregular oblong.[1] The southern side was formed by the coast of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Danube to the Sea of Azoff, which Herodotus calls the lake Maeotis, or rather Maictis. The eastern side was formed by the Sea of Azoff and the river Don, (or Tanais,) from the point near the modern town of Kaffa, where the slave-trench was dug to cut off the Taurian acte, upward either to the lake Ivan, from whence the Tanais had its rise, and which was evidently known to Herodotus, or else only to that part of the Tanais which was crossed by the caravan

[1] Every remark of the learned Niebuhr ought to be received with the utmost respect, and none of his theories ought to be set aside, unless after the most severe investigation, and convincing proof to the contrary. When however he supposes Herodotus to mean that Scythia was a perfect square, it will at once be seen, from what has gone before, that his theory lacks foundation, for though Herodotus describes no Scythian nation westward of the Pruth, yet we have proved that he considered the country as extending to the Carpathian mountains and river Aluta. He called Scythia a square in the same spirit that Gibbon calls Arabia a triangle, and we have really no more authority for considering his Scythia as a quadrate, than we should have for mapping out the Arabia of Gibbon as an equilateral triangle. We could almost suppose, that in Niebuhr's eager adoption of the Ideler theory, that the Ister descended from the north so very exactly the same as the Nile descended from the south, he has been carried away somewhat by the same fondness for symmetry which he ascribes to our author, and proceeds on the same kind of arbitrary hypotheses which he attributes to Herodotus. The latter was exceedingly fond of taking the geography of one place as an illustration of the geography of another, but he must have known, as well as any man, that no two places in this world are exactly like. Basing a map upon his measurements, which are frequently very loose, and given in round numbers for the sake of the memory of his readers, to which indeed he paid particular attention, is at all times a very unsatisfactory task; and especially it is difficult to believe that an honest old man like Herodotus, who is so decided in limiting geography to actual observation, should nevertheless proceed like an empiric to frame a map of the earth as fanciful as that of Hecataeus, whom he most especially and emphatically condemns. Cf. also Bobrik, *Geog. des Herodotus*, § 47.

route. The northern boundary was formed by a line drawn from this lake Ivan, or else from the ford eastward to that lake, out of which the Dniester (or Tyras) flows, that is, to the circle of Sambor in Gallizia, about the 49th degree of latitude.[1] Lastly, the western boundary was a line from thence to the Danube.[2] The modern countries included within these boundaries we have already described at page 138.

Scythian nations.

The map of Scythia with its boundaries and rivers is now before us; it only remains to fix the territories of the different tribes. Eight of these are mentioned by Herodotus, viz. Callipidae, Alazones, Aroteres, Georgi, Nomades, Royals, Tirytae, and Tauri;[3] and it is to be noticed that our author commences his description at the Greek port of Olbia,[4] at the mouth of the river Borysthenes, because he considered it to be the most central point of the Scythian sea-coast.[5]

West of the Borysthenes or Dnieper.

The Scythian nations on the west of the Borysthenes are first noticed, and then those to the east of the river.

I. Callipidae.

I. The CALLIPIDAE, or Hellenic Scythians,[6] were the first nation, after leaving the port. They occupied the lower course of the river Hypanis, (or Bog,) and

[1] Herodotus, as we have already seen, was acquainted with Lake Ivan at the source of the Don, though the caravan route into the interior crossed the river much nearer to its mouth.

[2] By a rough measurement on a modern map, we find that this entire tract of country was about 750 miles from east to west, and 300 or 400 miles from north to south, in straight lines: a very different result from that based by our author upon the number of days occupied in the winding route along the coast, and the caravan route towards the Ural mountains. See p. 139.

[3] For a description of the nations which surrounded Scythia, see chap. viii.

[4] Olbia stood on the right bank of the Hypanis, (Bog,) about six miles above the junction of that river with the Borysthenes, (Dnieper,) near the village of Ilinsky, and about 70 miles from Odessa, which has succeeded to its commercial importance. The site of the ancient city is called Stomogil, or the Hundred Mounds, from the numerous sepulchral tumuli scattered around. See Cooley's valuable edition of Larcher's Notes, vol. ii. p. 10.

[5] iv. 17.

[6] A decree of the Olbiopolitae has been found, in which allusion is made to the Μιξέλληνες, or half-bred Greeks, dwelling in the vicinity. Köppen, *Nordgestäd. d. Pontus*, pp. 92—95, quoted by Cooley.

followed the usages of the other Scythians; only they sowed wheat, and also used it themselves for food, as well as onions, garlic, lentils, and millet.[1] Their country, according to modern geography, appears to have been included in the government of Kherson, between the Bog and the Dnieper. They were apparently a mixture of Greeks and Scythians. Eichwald changes their name[2] to Callipidae, i. e. having handsome horses.

II. Alazones

II. The ALAZONES lay above the Callipidae, and led the same kind of life.[3] In their territory the rivers Tyras and Hypanis (Dniester and Bóg) inclined towards each other:[4] they must therefore be placed in the government of Podolia, and perhaps the southern part of Kieff. Eichwald supposes that their name was not a Scythian proper name, but a Greek epithet signifying "the wanderers."

III. Aratores.

III. The ARATORES, or "tillers," dwelt above the Alazones. They also cultivated wheat, but not so much for the supply of their own wants as for the sake of the profits they derived from its sale.[5] As the nation beyond them is stated to be the Neuri, we may fix them on the Scythian frontier to the north-west; perhaps in the government of Volhynia, and the northern part of Kieff.

Exampaeus.

Between the Aratores and the Alazones was the bitter spring Exampaeus, already mentioned, which also appears to have given its name to the surrounding district;[6] and between the mouths of the Hypanis and Borysthenes (Bog and Dnieper) was a projecting piece of land called the promontory of

Hippoleon.

Hippoleon, upon which was a temple of Demeter.[7] Crossing the Borysthenes to its eastern bank near

Hylaea.

the course of Achilles lies the woody district, called Hylaea, which is full of trees and watered by the river Panticapes.[8] This tract is that part of the steppe between the Dnieper and the Sea of Azoff which the Nogai Tartars call Yambogluk.[9]

[1] iv. 17. [2] Eichwald, *Alte Geograph.* p. 299, note. [3] iv. 17.
[4] iv. 52. [5] iv. 17. [6] iv. 52, 81. [7] iv. 53. [8] iv. 54, 76.
[9] The country is now quite destitute of wood, although the fact of its

IV. The GEORGI, or agriculturalists, were named Borysthenitae, by the Olbiopolitae Greeks settled on the Hypanis, (Bog,) but called themselves Olbiopolitae. They occupied the country above Hylaea, and extended three days' journey eastward as far as the river Panticapes, and eleven days' northward along the Borysthenes (or Dnieper).[1] According to their own account, they were descended from Milesians, and we learn that their city had walls and gates and a tower, together with suburbs outside the walls. Here also the Scythian king Scylas built a large and magnificent palace, surrounded by griffins and sphinxes made of white marble; but the building was struck by lightning and burnt down.[2] Beyond the country of the Georgi was a desert.[3] IV. Georgi.

V. The NOMADES occupied a tract beyond the river Panticapes, and both sides of the river Hypacyris;[4] stretching fourteen days' journey[5] eastward as far as the river Gerrhus. They neither sowed nor ploughed. All their country, excepting Hylaea, was destitute of trees.[6] V. Nomades.

VI. The ROYAL SCYTHIANS inhabited the parts beyond the Gerrhus. Their country extended southward to Taurica, (or Crimea,) then (through the isthmus of Perekop) eastward to the slave-trench; also to the port on the lake Maeotis called Cremni; and some of them reached to the river Tanais. They were the most valiant and numerous of all the Scythians, and regarded all the other Scythians as their slaves.[7] VI. Royal Scythians.

The country of these Georgi, Nomades, and Royal

having once existed is preserved in the popular traditions of the country. Some old maps present the name of the Black Forest near the same place, and this may have had a much wider extent in earlier times. The wood country now does not occur until we come to the banks of the Don. The forest commences near Tcherkask on the Don, and extends to the Dnieper near Tchernigoff, in 52° 30′ north lat., having the appearance of a long black line on the horizon; it is here succeeded by a steppe, which continues to the Black Sea, and presents a considerable number of monumental mounds. Cf. Heeren, *Asia*, vol. ii. p. 8.

[1] iv. 18. [2] iv. 78, 79. [3] iv. 18. [4] iv. 55.

[5] Here Herodotus contradicts his own statement, that Scythia only extended for ten days' journey from the Borysthenes eastward to the lake Maeotis. Bobrik suggests that we should either change the 14 to 4, or else for ἐπὶ read ἀνὰ, "they dwelt 14 days' journey along the Gerrhus."

[6] iv. 19. [7] iv. 20.

EUROPE. CHAP. VII.

Scythians may be included in the modern governments of Taurida, Ekaterinoslaff, and a part of the Don Cossacks; but the impossibility of identifying the rivers renders it equally impossible to fix the boundaries.

VII. Tyritae.

VII. The TYRITAE ought scarcely to be reckoned amongst the Scythian tribes, as they were an Hellenic colony, who dwelt at the mouth of the river Tyras.[1]

VIII. Tauri

VIII. The TAURI, whose peculiarly barbarous customs we shall have hereafter to describe, occupied the Chersonesus called after them Taurica, and appear to have inhabited the mountains along the southern coast.[2] This Chersonesus is the modern Crimea.

Carcinitis.

Herodotus also notices the city of Carcinitis to the right of Hylaea, and near the mouth of the Hypacyris. In the vicinity was the district named the

Course of Achilles.

Course of Achilles,[3] which is recognised in two long and exceedingly narrow slips of land named Teutra, which extend in opposite directions into the sea, forming together the shape of a sword or scimetar.[4]

History of Scythia. Anciently occupied by Cimmerians.

We shall now give a brief sketch of the history of Scythia. In ancient times, according to the account most credited by Herodotus, Scythia was occupied by the Cimmerians, whilst the Scythians[5] dwelt in

[1] iv. 51. [2] iv. 20, 99. [3] iv. 55.

[4] Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12, quoted by Rennell, who identifies these slips with the Course of Achilles.

[5] That the Scythians were a Mongolian tribe is placed beyond a doubt by the descriptions of the two great contemporaries, Hippocrates and Herodotus. Hippocrates describes their gross and bloated bodies, their joints buried in fat, their swollen bellies, and their scanty growth of hair.* This is a picture of the native tribes of Northern Asia, for whom there is no more generally suitable name than that of Mongols. The Chinese Mongolian remedy of burning,† which the Scythians universally employed, the state of their bodies, as well as their mode of life and customs,—all point to this race of mankind. The adoration of the god of war under the figure of a holy scimetar, (Herod. iv. 62,) which took place at the time of Attila, and again at the elevation of Genghis Khan, is a Mongolic custom; the milking of mares, the huts made of skins, the swinish filthiness, the paste with which the women plastered themselves (Herod. iv. 75) in order from time to time to remove the filth which closely adhered to their bodies, their sluggish listlessness,—all these are Siberian features, and neither Sclavonian nor Germanic. Again, intoxication from the vapour of hemp seeds placed on red-hot stones and confined

* De Aere, Aquis, et Locis, p. 292, ed. Foes. † Ibid.

Asia.[1] The Scythians having been driven from their abodes by the Massagetae, crossed the Araxes, (or Volga,[2]) and entered the Cimmerian territory. The Cimmerians then resolved on retreating, but their kings were desirous of fighting to the last. Accordingly they quarrelled amongst themselves, and a battle was fought, in which the royal party were defeated and slain. The Cimmerians buried their kings near the river Tyras, where the sepulchre was still to be seen in the time of Herodotus. They then abandoned their country to the invaders,[3] and entered Asia pursued by a large army of Scythians, under their king Madyes. The Cimmerians entered Asia Minor by the shore of the Euxine, and through the Colchian Gates, now called the Pass of Dariel, in the western portion of the Caucasian range; but the Scythians missed their way, and after proceeding eastward along the north side of Caucasus, they passed through the defiles of Derbend, at the eastern extremity between Caucasus and the Caspian, and thus entered Media.[4] The Cimmerians entered Asia Minor in the reign of Ardys, king of Lydia, ravaged the country, and established themselves on the peninsula where the city of Sinope[5] afterwards stood, but were at length driven out by Alyattes.[6] Mean-

Scythian invasion.

Sepulchre of the Cimmerian kings.

Scythian pursuit of the Cimmerians.

Cimmerians in Asia Minor.

under close coverlets (ibid.) is Siberian; only Herodotus confounds this with the vapour-baths which the barbarians in those parts enjoyed, and perhaps carried to a luxurious excess. Moreover, Hypocrates remarks that all the Scythians resembled each other, and this universal resemblance will apply neither to the Tartars nor to the Sclavonians or Germans. That the Scythians had no connexion with the latter nations is proved by the Scythian words mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 6). Whether these, or something like them, occur in any languages of Northern Asia, Niebuhr cannot determine. He, however, ventures to affirm that in no Tschudian dialect are there even apparent resemblances, which can favour the hypothesis, that the Scythians belonged to the Finnish race; and that there is no conceivable connexion between the name of Scythians (which had perhaps belonged to an earlier people before it was applied by the Pontic Greeks to the Scoloti, Herod. iv. 6) and *Tschud*, a contemptuous name, arising from the hereditary hatred of the Russians to the Fins. See Niebuhr, *Researches into the History of the Scythians, Getae, etc.*, pp. 46—48. Oxford, 1830.

[1] iv. 11.

[2] Three different rivers are mentioned by Herodotus under the same name of Araxes, namely, the Volga, the Aras, and the Jaxartes. See the account of the river Araxes in chap. viii.

[3] iv. 11. [4] i. 103, 104. [5] iv. 12. [6] i. 15, 16.

time the great Scythian army under Madyes overcame the Medes, and became masters of all Upper Asia for twenty-eight years. From thence they advanced upon Aegypt, but Psammetichus met them in Palestine and persuaded them to return. In their retreat some of them plundered the temple of the heavenly Aphrodite (or Astarte) at Askalon, for which they and their descendants were punished by the goddess with a feminine disease. Several so afflicted were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus: the Scythians called them Enarees.[1] The Medes, under Cyaxares, at length expelled these invaders.[2] Some of them however were still retained at court, and after-

Scythians masters of Upper Asia. Plunder the temple of Aphrodite at Askalon.

[1] Notwithstanding the mass of commentary which has been written upon this disease, it is best explained by the following passage of Hippocrates, which I shall give at full length from Larcher. "Their continual exercise on horseback occasions to the Scythians acute pains in the joints; they then become lame; and if the disorder augments, the hip falls backwards. In the commencement of the malady, they cure themselves by cutting the vein which runs behind each ear. When the blood ceases to flow, they fall asleep from exhaustion; and on awaking, some are cured, and some are not. This remedy appears to me fatal to the Scythian people. If certain veins behind the ears are cut, impotency is the result. The Scythians must experience this effect. When they afterwards proceed to intercourse with their wives, and find themselves incapable of enjoying it, they pay little attention to the circumstance on its first occurrence; but if after repeated efforts they find the same want of power, they imagine that they have offended some god, and attribute their deficiency to him. They then clothe themselves in a woman's garment, acquire the habits of women, and join them in their employments. They are the rich and powerful classes who are most subject to this malady, which proceeds from excessive exercise on horseback; the lower orders, not using horses, are less subject to it." Mr. Cooley in his note upon this passage remarks, that "if we do not believe with Herodotus that the disease in question was the infliction of Venus, neither need we believe that it was hereditary in the families of those who had violated the shrine of that goddess." We may therefore infer that Herodotus and Hippocrates both referred to the same malady. Herodotus describes it in the character of an historian, and attributes it to the anger of Aphrodite; whilst the prince of physicians has recourse to natural causes, and explains it upon scientific principles.

Reineggs was the first, in modern times, to make known the existence of this disease in the regions occupied by the ancient Scythians. He asserts, that among the Nogais cases are frequent of males losing the strength and physiognomy of their sex, and assuming the dress and habits of women. This account, which received little credit, has been confirmed in all essential points by Count Potocki, who saw one of those metamorphosed individuals among the Turkmans at the Red Wells, in the sands of Anketeri between the rivers Couma and Terek. Persons so afflicted are called Kos; and the traveller adds, that the disease is not unknown in Turkey. See Larcher's Notes, Cooley's edit. vol. i. p. 121.

[2] i. 106.

wards fled to Alyattes, king of Lydia;[1] but the great body returned to Scythia, where they found themselves opposed by a race of youths who had sprung from a union of the Scythian women and their slaves. The youths threw up a broad trench from the Taurian mountains to the lake Maeotis, but the Scythians at last gained the ascendency, by attacking them with whips instead of warlike weapons, and thus overcoming their slave natures.[2]

Return to Scythia.

That Scythia was really anciently occupied by the Cimmerians, is proved by the many names of places which were still preserved in the time of Herodotus. There was a district named Cimmeria, and a Cimmerian Bosphorus,[3] also a Cimmerian Fort and a Cimmerian Ferry.[4] The Cimmerian Ferry was probably the name of the place where the Bosphorus might be crossed, and was situated at the narrowest part. The district called Cimmeria may therefore be placed where Bobrik fixes it, namely, to the south of the Scythian Nomades. Some have declared that the Massagetae, like the Sacae, belonged to the Scythian race.[5] The Sacae were indeed Amyrgian Scythians, but received their other name of Sacae because the Persians applied it to the Scythians generally.[6]

Proofs of the ancient occupation of Scythia by the Cimmerians.

District of Cimmeria.

Cimmerian Fort and Ferry.

Cimmerian Bosphorus.

Massagetae and Sacae of Scythian race.

The climate of Scythia is thus described by Herodotus. All the country was subject to such a severe winter, that during eight months of the year the cold was intolerable; and if at this period a person poured water on the ground, it would not make mud, but would freeze; whereas if he lit a fire mud would be made. Even the sea froze, and the whole Cimmerian Bosphorus; and the Scythians who dwelt within the slave-trench, led their armies and drove their waggons over the ice to attack the Sindians on the other side, i. e. the country south of the river Kuban, at the western extremity of Cir-

Climate of Scythia. Eight months' winter, during which the sea freezes.

[1] i. 73. [2] iv. 3, 4. [3] iv. 12.

[4] The Cimmerian Fort is supposed to have occupied the site of the modern Eski-Krim: the Ferry was near the mouth of the Maeotis.

[5] i. 201. [6] vii. 64.

cassia. The remaining four months were also very cold. The Scythian winter however differed in character from the winter of all other countries. No rain worth mentioning fell there in the usual season, whilst during the summer it never ceased. There were no thunder-storms in the winter, but in the summer they were violent; and an earthquake there, whether in summer or winter, was accounted a prodigy.

Four months of cold summer, constant rains, and violent thunder-storms.

Effects of cold on the horses and cattle.

The Scythian horses endured this cold, whilst the asses and mules could not hold out; and yet elsewhere horses that were exposed became frost-bitten and wasted away, whilst the asses and mules were able to withstand the cold.[1] Herodotus thought that it was this cold which prevented any horns from growing on the Scythian cattle, and he quotes the following line from the Odyssea of Homer in proof of his opinion:

"Καὶ Λιβύην, ὅθι τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραιὸι τελέθουσι."

—"And Libya, where the lambs soon shoot their horns."[2] And here he says Homer is quite correct in saying that the horns of cattle shoot out very quickly in hot climates; but in these very cold countries the cattle either do not produce horns at all, or else very slowly.[3]

Scythian story of the air filled with feathers.

With respect to the feathers which the Scythians said filled the air and prevented their seeing the country in the interior, or even their passing through it, Herodotus entertained the following opinion. He believed that it continually snowed there, only less in summer than in winter; and he adds, that whoever has seen snow fall very thick and near will know what is meant, for snow is like feathers; and that it is the severity of the winter which prevents the more northern parts of the country from being inhabited.[4]

Tradition of

As to the Hyperboreans, or "people beyond the

[1] iv. 28. [2] Homer, Odyssea, lib. iv. 85. [3] iv. 29.
[4] iv. 31.

north wind," neither the Scythians said anything, nor any other people of those parts, excepting perhaps the Issedones; though Herodotus does not think that even they said anything, or otherwise the Scythians would have repeated such relation, as they did the story of the one-eyed people.[1] Hesiod however mentions the Hyperboreans, as well as Homer in the Epignoni, if indeed Homer composed that poem.[2] But if there were Hyperboreans, or "people beyond the north wind," Herodotus thinks that there must also have been Hypernotians,[3] or "people beyond the south wind."[4] Scythia itself possessed nothing remarkable beyond the great rivers, excepting the footprint of Heracles, two cubits long, in a rock near the river Tyras,[5] and the pillars of Sesostris.[6]

the Hyperboreans.

Footprint of Heracles. Pillars of Sesostris.

Concerning the natural productions of Scythia we gather the following particulars. The grass was more productive of bile than that of any other country; and this might be easily proved by opening the stomachs of the cattle.[7] The hemp was like linseed, but surpassed it in thickness and height, and the Thracians made garments from it which could scarcely be distinguished from those manufactured from flax.[8] It grew wild and was also cultivated, and was used by the Scythians both for sweating-baths and for smearing over the body.[9] Mention is also made of wheat, onions, garlick, lentils, and millet.[10] Cranes were found during the summer, but migrated to Aethiopia for winter quarters.[11] Swine were never used, nor suffered to be reared.[12]

Natural productions of Scythia. Grass. Hemp. Wheat. Onions. Garlick. Lentils. Millet. Cranes. Swine.

The national traditions and characteristics are recorded at some length. The Scythians still preserved a myth of their own, that the first man born in their country was Targitaus,[13] son of Zeus by a

National mythus of Targitaus and his three sons;

[1] iv. 27. [2] iv. 32.
[3] I do not here agree with Mr. Bobrik in supposing that Herodotus entirely disbelieved in the existence of Hyperboreans, Geog. § 51.
[4] iv. 36. [5] iv. 82. [6] ii. 103. [7] iv. 58. [8] iv. 74.
[9] iv. 75. [10] iv. 17. [11] ii. 22. [12] iv. 63.
[13] Identified by Von Hammer with Turk, the supposed ancestor of the Turkish race, and with the Togarmah of Scripture, Gen. x. 3.

daughter of the river Borysthenes. Targitaus had three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Colaxais. In their reign a plough, a yoke, an axe, and a bowl, all made of gold, fell from heaven upon the Scythian territory. The oldest of the brothers wished to take them away, but as he drew near the gold began to burn. The second brother approached them, but with the like result. The third and youngest then approached, upon which the fire went out, and he was enabled to carry away the golden gifts. The two eldest then made the youngest king,[1] and henceforth the golden gifts were watched by the kings with the greatest care, and annually approached with magnificent sacrifices.[2] From Lipoxais, the oldest, were descended the Auchatae; from Arpoxais, the second, were descended the Catiari and Traspies; and from Colaxais, the youngest, came the royal race, which were called Paralatae. But all the hordes were called Scoloti, from the surname of their king; the Greeks however called them Scythians.[3] [4]

Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Colaxais.

The Auchatae, Catiari, and Traspies.

General name of Scoloti.

[1] iv. 5. [2] iv. 7. [3] iv. 6.

[4] Wesseling remarks that they were not called Scythians because the name was Greek, but because the Hellenic colonists on the Pontus Euxinus observed that they were very much distinguished for their archery, and therefore gave them the name Scythæ, having learnt that in the language of the country this word denoted archers. Efforts have been made to connect the Scythians with some modern race by means of this derivation. The old Norse word "skyta," the Swedish "skiuta," and the English "shoot," all point out, according to this etymology, the meaning of the name Scythian, given to the inventors of the bow and arrow. "But the resemblance," says Mr. Cooley in his additions to Larcher's Notes, "between 'skyta' and Σκύθης is more apparent than real. The letter k in the northern languages is generally softened before e, i, and y: thus, in our language, the word 'skirt' was originally pronounced 'shirt;' 'skiff,' in like manner, was identical with 'shipf,' or 'ship;' and 'kirke' with 'church.' There is no reason for believing that the Greek κ ever lost its hard sound, whatever may have been the case with the χ. To derive Σκύθης from 'skyta,' is to reason, therefore, on as false an analogy as we should exhibit in deriving 'Scot' from, 'shot.'

"Eichwald identifies Scythian, or Scyth, with Tschúde, or Chude, which is the name given by the Russians to the ancient possessors of Siberia, or to a supposed great people, the reputed authors of the barrows and other rude monuments found throughout that country. A people of Finnish race called Tschúd still exist in the north-west of Europe; but the Russian epithet being of comparatively modern date, might be suspected of being derived from the ancient name of Scythia." Compare also note to page 154.

The Hellenic colonists on the Pontus preserved a myth of a very different character. Whilst Heracles was driving away the herds of Geryon from the island of Erytheia beyond the Pillars, he reached Scythia and there lost his mares. The serpent maiden Echidna offered to restore them on condition of becoming his mistress, and three sons were the result, Agathyrsis, Gelonus, and Scythes. The youngest alone was subsequently able to bend the bow of his father, and was therefore made king of Scythia, and also received the belt of Heracles, upon which hung a golden cup at the extremity of the clasp. The royal dignity was afterwards held by the descendants of Scythes, and the Scythians wore cups in their belts down to the time of Herodotus.[1] A third tradition, referring to the expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Scythian nomades of Asia, has already been noticed.

Greek mythus of the three sons of Heracles, and the serpent-maiden Echidna.

All the nations bordering on the Euxine were grossly ignorant, and Herodotus is unable to mention a single nation on the European side[2] that had any pretensions to intelligence, excepting the Scythians and the unfortunate Anacharsis.[3] Though he does not admire the customs of the Scythians generally, yet he considered them to have contrived a most wise and important device, by which no one who attacked them could escape, and no one could overtake them unless they pleased. They were a people who had neither cities nor fortifications; but were all mounted archers, carrying their houses with them, dwelling in waggons, and living not upon the fruits of the earth, but upon the cattle which they grazed:[4] how then was it possible for them to have been otherwise than invincible, and unapproachable?[5] It was the fitness of the country that led them

Ignorance of the nations on the Euxine.

Wise device of the Scythians against invasion.

Their houses carried with them.

[1] iv. 8—10. A small statue or figure of amber was found at Kertch a few years ago, representing a man in the Scythian dress, holding in one hand a quiver full of arrows, and in the other a drinking-cup shaped like a horn. M. de Blaremberg, "Notice sur quelques Objets d'Antiq.," quoted by Cooley.

[2] iv. 46. Herodotus merely says ἐντὸς τοῦ πόντου, on this side of the Euxine. He must therefore have written this passage at Thurium.

[3] iv. 76. [4] iv. 2. [5] iv. 46.

to practise this device, and the rivers aided them in it; for the land was a steppe rich in grass and well watered; and the rivers that flowed through it were almost as numerous as the canals of Egypt.[1]

Scythian deities: Hestia, Zeus, Ge, Apollo, Aphrodite, Heracles, and Ares.

Poseidon.

The Scythians worshipped only the following deities: Hestia, whom they propitiated most of all; then Zeus, and Ge whom they deemed to be his wife; and lastly, Apollo, the heavenly Aphrodite, Heracles, and Ares. These were acknowledged by all the Scythians, but the Royals also sacrificed to Poseidon. In the Scythian language,

Hestia	was called	Tabiti,
Zeus	. . .	Papaeus,
Ge	. . .	Apia,
Apollo	. . .	Oetosyrus,
Aphrodite	. .	Artimpasa,
Poseidon	. . .	Thamimasadas.

Mode of sacrifice.

They built no altars, images, and temples, excepting to Ares.[2] They all sacrificed in the same way to each deity. The victim stood with its forefeet tied. The sacrificer was placed behind the animal, and threw it down by pulling the rope. As it fell he invoked the god to whom he was sacrificing. He then twisted a halter round the neck and tightened it with a stick until the beast was strangled. He kindled no fire and performed no preparatory ceremonies or libations, but directly after the flaying he proceeded to cook the meat.[3] This was managed by the following contrivance, which the people had invented because their country was wholly destitute of wood. Having drawn off the skin from the sacrificed animal, they stripped the flesh from the bones and placed it in large cauldrons, which very much resembled the Lesbian mixing-vessels, only they were much larger; and they cooked this flesh by making a fire underneath with the bones of the victim. If they had no cauldron at hand they crammed all the flesh into the belly of the beast, then poured in water and burnt

[1] iv. 47. [2] iv. 59. [3] iv. 60.

the bones underneath.[1] These bones burnt exceedingly well, and the belly easily contained the flesh. After the cooking the sacrificer consecrated the first pieces of the flesh and entrails, and threw them before him. Grazing cattle were generally selected for these sacrifices, and especially horses.[2]

Enormous piles of faggots sacred to Ares.

The sacrifices to Ares were conducted in a different manner. At each of the places appointed for the magistrates to assemble in the several districts, there was a sanctuary to Ares of the following kind. Bundles of faggots were heaped together to an extent of 3 stadia in length and breadth, but less in height. On the top was a square platform. Three of the sides were perpendicular; the fourth was sufficiently sloping to admit of persons getting up. Every year 150 fresh waggon loads of faggots were heaped upon it to compensate for the continual sinking brought about by the weather.[3] Upon this heap each tribe placed an ancient iron scimetar, which was the sacred symbol of Ares.[4] Cattle and horses and the hundredth man of all the prisoners taken in war were sacrificed annually to these scimetars. The human victims were offered in a different way from the cattle. A libation of wine was poured on their heads, and their throats were cut over a bowl, which was carried up the heap, and the blood poured over the scimetar. The right arm was then cut off and thrown into the air, and after the performance of the remaining sacrifices the people departed, leaving the body and arm remaining at the spot where they

Human sacrifices.

[1] Wesseling remarks, that before the invention of pots and kettles, barbarous people used skins in which to cook their food; and that the Bedouin Arabs, the Greenlanders, and several tribes of Tartary, still continue the same custom. It may be added, that in countries where wood is very scarce, they use the bones of animals for fuel. "Take the choice of the flock, and burn also the bones under it, and make it boil well," Ezek. xxiv. 5.

[2] iv. 61.

[3] The reader will readily agree with Wesseling, that a pile of small wood, 3 stadia in length and in width, and little less in height, is quite inconsistent with the general scarcity of wood which our author himself mentions.

[4] Ammianus Marcellinus says of the Huns: "Nec templum apud eos visitur aut delubrum . . . sed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Marteno . . . colunt."

fell.[1] In all their sacrifices this people abstained from the use of swine.[2]

Enemies' heads presented to the king.

A Scythian drank the blood of the first enemy he conquered, and presented the king with the heads of all those whom he slew in battle, for if he brought no head he received no share of the booty. The head was flayed by making a cut near the ears all round, and shaking out the skull. The operator then scraped off the flesh with the rib of an ox, and softened the skin with his hands. When he had made it supple he used it as a napkin, and hung it over the bridle of his steed as a trophy; for he who had the greatest number of these skin napkins was regarded as the most valiant man. Many made mantles of the skins by sewing them together like the skin clothes worn by shepherds. Many also drew off the skin together with the nails from the right hands of their slain enemies, and used it as coverings for their quivers; and many indeed flayed their enemies whole, and stretched the skin on wood and carried it about on horseback.[3] The skulls of their bitterest enemies they used as drinking-bowls, first cutting away all below the eyebrows, and then cleansing them and covering the outside with leather; and sometimes they gilded the inside, if they were rich enough. They also treated the skulls of their relatives in the same way, if they had quarrelled and one had overcome the other in the presence of the king. When they received visits from honoured guests, the host placed these skulls before his visitors, and related how he had been attacked, and how he had gained the victory.[4] Once, also, in the year, every monarch, each in his own district, mixed wine in a bowl, from which all the Scythians drank who had previously killed an enemy. Those who had not been successful in so doing were not allowed to taste the wine, but remained seated in dishonour at a distance off, and this was accounted to be the greatest disgrace. On the other hand, those who had killed a great many men, drank from two vessels at once.[5]

Mode of preparing the skulls, and other trophies.

[1] iv. 62. [2] iv. 63. [3] iv. 64. [4] iv. 65. [5] iv. 66.

Soothsayers were very numerous amongst the Scythians. They brought large bundles of willow rods, which they laid on the ground and shook together. They then placed each rod apart, and at last uttered their predictions whilst they gathered up the rods again one at a time. This was the national mode, but the Enarees, or Androgyni, who have been already alluded to, say that Aphrodite has given to them the power of divining. Accordingly, they split the bark of a linden tree into three pieces, twisted it round their fingers, and then untwisted it, whilst they uttered their prophecies.[1]

Soothsayers and manner of divining.

As often as the king of Scythia fell ill, he sent for three of the most famous soothsayers, who thereupon prophesied in the way described. Upon this occasion they usually declared that some Scythian, whom they named, had sworn falsely by the royal hearth, an oath which was regarded as the most sacred of all. The person accused was then brought forward and charged by the prophets with having sworn falsely and caused the king's illness. The prisoner of course denied it, and complained bitterly. Six more soothsayers were then summoned, and if they also taxed him with perjury, his head was immediately cut off, and the first three prophets divided his property between them. If, however, the six prophets acquitted him, others were called in, and others after them, and if the majority still acquitted him, the first prophets were put to death themselves,[2] after a peculiar fashion. A waggon was filled with faggots and oxen yoked to it. The prophets were next gagged and tied hand and foot, and placed in the midst of these faggots, which were set on fire, and the oxen being terrified were suffered to run where they pleased. Many of the oxen were therefore burnt with the prophets, and others only escaped after the pole had been burnt asunder and they had been very much scorched. The king also executed the male children of all whom he put to death, but preserved the females.[3]

Ceremonies at the illness of a king.

[1] iv. 67. [2] iv. 68. [3] iv. 69.

Manner of making contracts.

Solemn contracts were made amongst the Scythians in the following manner. Wine was poured into a large earthen vessel and mixed with blood, taken by a bodkin or dagger from the parties contracting. The parties then dipped a scimetar, some arrows, a battle-axe, and a javelin into the vessel, and made many solemn protestations, and at last drank it, together with the most distinguished of their followers.[1]

Sepulchres of the Scythian kings.

Funeral ceremonies.

The sepulchres of the Scythian kings were in the country of the Gerrhi, on the Borysthenes, as far as that river was navigable. There, when the king died, a large square grave was prepared. Meantime the corpse was covered with wax, and the stomach cut open and embowcled, and filled with bruised cypress, incense, parsley, and anise-seed, and sewn up again. The body was then placed in a chariot and carried from one tribe to another, the people of each following it as it was brought them, and wounding themselves in the same way that the Royal Scythians did, namely, by cutting off part of their ear, shaving off their hair, wounding their arm, lacerating their forehead and nose, and driving arrows through their left hand. When the corpse had been thus carried through the several provinces, it was at last taken to the burying-place amongst the Gerrhi, who were the most remote people under the Scythian rule. Here the Scythians placed the body in the square grave on a bed of leaves; and fixing spears on each side of the corpse, they laid pieces of wood over it and covered it with mats. In the remaining space of the excavation they buried one of the king's concubines, whom they strangled; also his cup-bearer, cook, master-of-horse, body-servant, messenger, and horses; together with golden goblets, and the firstlings of all his other property, except silver and brass, which, indeed, they never used. Over the whole they heaped up a large mound, which they tried to make as big as possible.[2] When a year had elapsed, they took fifty of those of the remaining servants who had been the most closely

Favourite concubine, servants, and goods buried with the king.

Fifty attendants killed and placed on

[1] iv. 70. [2] iv. 71.

attendant upon the departed monarch, and who were all native Scythians; for the king had no servants bought with money, but was served by whoever he chose to select. These fifty they strangled, together with fifty of the finest horses. They then emboweled both men and horses, and stuffed them with chaff, and sewed them up again; and a stake was run through each horse from the tail to the neck, and another through each man. The men were placed upon the horses, the stakes inside them fitting into a hole made in the horses' stakes. The figures were at last mounted on the insides of two half-wheels, and elevated on posts, so that the legs were all suspended in the air. The two half-wheels supported the horse's stomach, one under his shoulders, and the other under his hinder parts. Each of these figures was fastened to another post, and all were thus arranged round the tumulus.[1] [2]

horseback round the tumulus.

The common people were buried in a somewhat different manner. The corpse was laid in a chariot and carried about by the nearest relatives amongst their friends, who each in turn entertained the attendants, and set the same things before the dead body as before the others. This was done for forty days, after which the body was buried, and the relatives and friends purified themselves in the following manner. Having first washed and thoroughly cleansed their heads, they made a tent by stretching thick woollen cloths over three sticks fixed in the ground, and inclining towards each other. They then threw red-hot stones into a vessel placed underneath this tent,[3] and creeping under the woollen covering, which was kept very tight and close, they placed some hemp seed on the hot stones. A smoke and steam now arose, which no Greek vapour-bath could surpass; and the Scythians, intoxicated with

Burial of private Scythians.

Manner of purification.

[1] iv. 77.

[2] Barrows or tumuli are found all over New Russia, but are most numerous in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Azoff. The Tartar name for them is Kurgan. The Calmucks are still in the habit of burying horses, arms, etc. with their chiefs.

[3] iv. 73.

the vapour, soon began to shout aloud; and this served them in the place of washing, as they never bathed their bodies in water. The women, on the other hand, used to pound pieces of cypress, cedar, and frankincense against a rough stone, and smear this paste over their face and bodies, and this not only gave their skin a pleasant odour, but when taken off the next day left them clean and shining.[1]

Hatred of foreign customs.

Costume.

The Scythians most studiously avoided all foreign customs, and especially those of Hellas, and both Anacharsis and Scylas lost their lives in endeavouring to introduce Hellenic usages.[2] As to their costume, they appear to have carried a bow and horsewhip,[3] and to have worn a girdle with a small cup attached.[4] The Sacae, who were a Scythian nation, and whom Herodotus calls Scythian Amyrgians, wore loose trousers, and felted caps terminating in a point; they also carried the bows which were peculiar to their country, together with daggers, and battle-axes called sagares.[5]

Blinding of slaves.

Mode of milking cattle.

The Scythians were accustomed to blind their slaves, to prevent their skimming off the best of the milk. This milk was their chief drink, and in milking they operated in a very peculiar fashion; for they inserted bone tubes like flutes into the vulva of the animal, and one blew up this tube whilst another milked. They themselves declared that they adopted this method because, by inflating the veins of the mare, the latter become filled, whilst the udder is depressed. The milk was directly afterwards poured into wooden measures, and the blind slaves stirred it; and the cream which settled on the top was afterwards skimmed off, and considered to be the most valuable.[6]

Habit of taking unmixed wine and drinking very hard.

The Scythian nomades, Herodotus says, used to take unmixed wine and drink hard. The Spartans said that their king Cleomenes learnt this habit from the Scythians, and became insane: hence it was usual in Lacedaemon, when they wished for stronger drink, to

[1] iv. 75. [2] iv. 76—80. [3] iv. 3. [4] iv. 10. [5] vii. 64. [6] iv. 2.

say, "Pour out like a Scythian.[1]" The people resembled the Aegyptians, inasmuch as they held those citizens in the least respect who carried on trade or handicraft.[2]

Contempt of trade.

The population of Scythia Herodotus could never learn with accuracy, for he heard very different accounts. Some thought the Scythians were very numerous, and others the contrary. Near the bitter spring Exampaeus, however, he saw a large brazen cauldron, six digits in thickness, and capable of holding 600 amphorae, which was said to have been entirely made of arrow-heads; for King Ariantas, wishing to know the number of his subjects, commanded every Scythian, upon pain of death, to bring him one point of an arrow, and these he melted together, and left in the shape of this vast cauldron as a monument behind him.[3]

Difficulty in ascertaining the population of Scythia.

Cauldron made from arrowheads, one being furnished by every Scythian.

Of the Scythian language only a few trifles can be gathered. The Scythian names of their deities are already given at p. 162. Besides, Arima in the Scythian language signified "one," and Spou, "the eye:" thence the Arimaspi, or "one-eyed men."[4] Also Aior, "a man," and Pata, "to kill:" hence Aiorpata, "manslayers," which was the name by which the Greeks called the Amazones.[5]

Meagre remains of the Scythian language.

The Tauri, who inhabited the acte of Taurica,[6] practised the following customs. They sacrificed to the virgin Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, all who suffered shipwreck on their coasts, not excepting the Hellenes. According to some, after performing the preparatory ceremonies,[7] they struck the victim on the head with a club. According to others, they threw the body down the precipice upon which their temple was built, but impaled the head upon a stake. Others, again, agreed as to what was done to the head, but said that the body was not thrown

Barbarous customs of the Tauri.

[1] vi. 84. [2] ii. 167. [3] iv. 81. [4] iv. 27. [5] iv. 110. [6] iv. 99.

[7] The preparatory ceremonies consisted in sprinkling the victim with the lustral water, cutting the hair from his head, which was burned, and scattering on his forehead the sacred barley mixed with salt. Eurip. *Iph. in Tauris*, 40.

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from the precipice, but buried in the earth. When these people had subdued any of their enemies, each one cut off a head and stuck it upon a long pole, and placed it above his house, usually above the chimney; and these heads they said were to be the guardians of their whole household. The Tauric nation lived by war and pillage.[1] This account of the Tauri completes Herodotus's geography of Scythia.

[1] iv. 103.

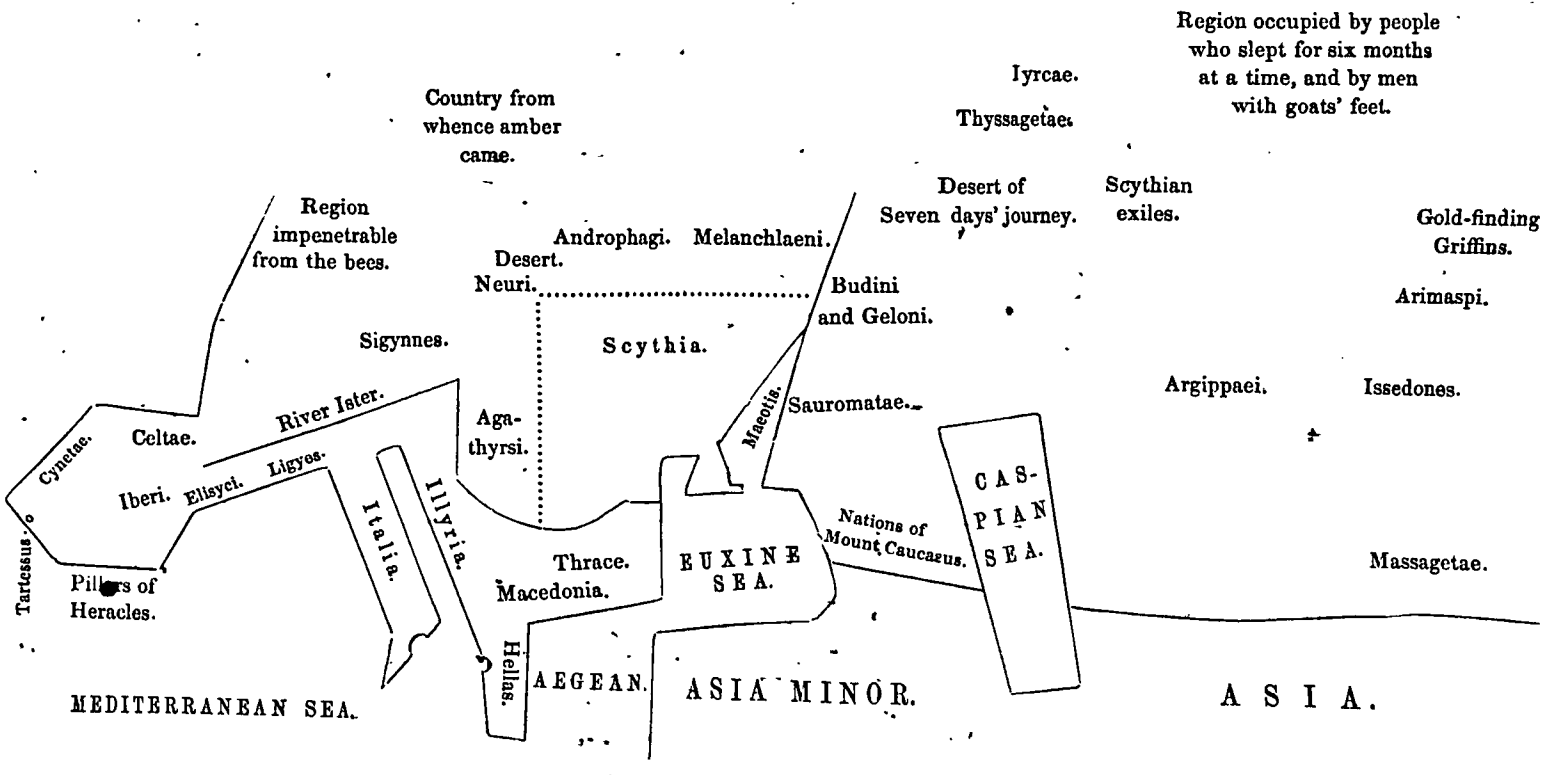
CHAPTER VIII.

REMAINDER OF EUROPE.

Character of Herodotus's knowledge of the remainder of Europe.—Divisions. — I. WESTERN EUROPE. — Region beyond the Pillars of Heracles.— Tartessus.— Erytheia.— Gadeira.—Celtae.—Cynetae.— Account of the river Ister or Danube.—Causes of its equal stream.—Explanation of Herodotus's description of the Ister, and account of the Cynetae and Celtae.—The Iberi, Ligyes, and Elisyci.—Italy, singular omission of Rome.—Northern Italy, the Ombrici and Tyrseni.—Southern Italy, occupied by Greek colonies, viz. Rhegium, Taras, Agylla, Hyela in Oenotria, Croton, Metapontium, Sybaris, Siris, Iapygia, Brundusium, Hyria, and Epizephyrian Locrians.—II. NORTHERN EUROPE.—Region impenetrable from bees or frost.—The Sigynnes, a Medic colony fond of chariot-driving.—Nations bordering on Scythia.—1. Agathyrsi, occupying Transylvania.—2. Neuri, occupying Poland and Lithuania.—3. Androphagi, occupying Smolensk.—4. Melanchlaeni, occupying Orloff.—5. Sauromatae, occupying the country of the Don Cossacks and part of Astracan.—6. Budini and Geloni, occupying Saratoff.—III. EASTERN EUROPE.—Great caravan route.—Character of the commerce.—Olbia, the emporium.—Trade in corn.—Slaves.—Furs.—Gold from the Ural and Altai mountains.—Route northward from the Budini.—Desert of seven days' journey, occupying Simbirsk and Kasan.—Route towards the east.—Thyssagetae, occupying Perm.—Jyrcae on the Ural mountains.—Scythian exiles occupying Tobolsk.—Argippaei at the foot of the Altai mountains.—Identification of the Argippaei with the Calmucks.—Unknown region north of the Argippaei occupied by men with goats' feet, and people who slept for six months at a time.—Identification of the Altai.—Eastern route continued.—Issedones.—Arimaspi.—Gold-guarding griffins.—Nations on the frontier towards Asia.—General description of Mount Caucasus.—Herodotus's account of the mountain and people.—The Massagetae.—Herodotus's description of the river Araxes.—Explanation of the apparent contradictions.—Manners and customs of the Massagetae.

Character of Herodotus's knowledge of the rest of Europe.

THE countries of Europe which we have already noticed include all that was really known to Herodotus, and answer to the modern kingdom of Greece, the provinces of European Turkey, and the governments of southern Russia. Beyond these limits his information loses his distinctness; and if he himself could be supposed to have ever arranged his geogra-


Region occupied by people who slept for six months at a time, and by men with goats' feet.
Iyrcae.
Thyssagetae.
Country from whence amber came.
Desert of Seven days' journey.
Scythian exiles.
Gold-finding Griffins.
Region impenetrable from the bees.
Androphagi.
Melanchlaeni.
Desert.
Neuri.
Budini and Geloni.
Arimaspi.
Sigynnes.
Scythia.
Argippaei.
Issedones.
River Ister.
Agathyrsi.
Sauromatae.
Maeotis.
Cynetae.
Celtae.
Iberi.
Ellsyci.
Ligyes.
Italia.
Illyria.
CASPIAN SEA.
Nations of Mount Caucasus.
Tartessus.
Pillars of Heracles.
Thrace.
Macedonia.
EUXINE SEA.
Massagetae.
Hellas.
AEGEAN.
ASIA MINOR.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA.
ASIA.

phy upon a similar principle, and under similar headings to those adopted in the present volume, the words "Traditionary Europe" would most probably have been affixed as the title to the present chapter; for his knowledge of the countries therein described was derived, not from personal experience and travel, but from hearsay and tradition. A glance at the modern map of Europe will be sufficient to show how vast a proportion of this great continent was thus veiled from his mental vision. On the other hand, a careful consideration of his statements will strike the reader with astonishment, not only at his knowledge of regions which are even now but imperfectly known, but also at his ignorance of countries whose future inhabitants have taken such an important part in the history of the world.

Divisions.

The territories thus characterized naturally separate into three divisions, viz. 1. Western Europe, including Spain, France, and Italy, which were but very little known, for the Celtae are merely named, and no mention whatever is made of Rome. 2. Northern Europe, including the countries bordering on Scythia, which our author knew by the light of such information as he could gather whilst residing at the Greek port of Olbia at the mouth of the Dnieper. 3. Eastern Europe, which extended far away over the Ural chain to the foot of the Altai mountains and banks of the Jaxartes. This last division is the most important, if not the most interesting; for the description of the country is apparently derived from Greek merchants, who had opened a line of communication between Olbia and the golden regions of the far east, and it evidently included a description of the nations traversed by the caravan route, which passed northward through the interior of Russia in Europe, and then eastward through the steppes of Russia in Asia and Independent Tartary.[1]

1. WESTERN EUROPE.

I. To begin with WESTERN EUROPE. The Pillars of

[1] It has already been seen that the river Phasis (or Rhion) and the Araxes (or Jaxartes) formed, according to our author, the line of division between Europe and Asia.

Region beyond the Pillars of Heracles. Tartessus.

Erythcia. Gadeira. Celtae. Cynetae.

Account of the river Ister or Danube.

Causes of its equal stream.

Heracles—or the rocks of Calpe and Abyla, upon which Gibraltar and Ceuta now stand—formed by no means the most extreme western point of the Europe of Herodotus. Beyond lay the rich port of Tartessus,[1] which was most probably situated on the island of Isla Major, at the mouth of the Guadalquiver. Also the island Erytheia near Gadeira, where Geryon dwelt;[2] and lastly, the Celtae, and beyond them the Cynetae, who were the most westerly people of Europe. Amongst the Celtae, and near the city of Pyrene,[3] the river Ister took its rise. This was the greatest of all rivers, and flowed equally strong in summer and winter. It was greater than the Nile, from the number of its tributaries; for though the Nile surpassed the main stream of the Ister in quantity, yet it was enlarged by no additional streams. The general equality of the Ister waters in winter and summer is thus accounted for by Herodotus. During the winter its stream, he tells us, is very little swollen, because the country is very little moistened by rain, but entirely covered with the snow. On the other hand, during the summer, the vast quantities of snow dissolve on all sides and flow into the river, whilst frequent and violent rains fall into it; and these additions compensate for the increased mass of water which the sun draws up to him during the summer season. The Ister flowed through all Europe and entered the borders of Scythia,[4] and at last discharged itself into the Pontus through five arms,[5] between Thrace and Scythia, having its mouth turned towards the east.[6] It thus fell into the Pontus near the Milesian colony at Istria,[7] and somewhere opposite to Sinope.[8]

[1] iv. 152.

[2] iv. 8. Gadeira was probably the island now called I. de Leon, on which stood the city bearing the same name of Gadeira or Gades, and situated on or near the site of the modern Cadiz. Erytheia has been identified with the smaller island of S. Sebastian, or Trocadero, between the I. de Leon and the main-land.

[3] ii. 33. [4] iv. 47—50. [5] iv. 47.

[6] iv. 99. We have already, in chap. vi., described the modern state of the mouths of the Ister.

[7] ii. 33. [8] ii. 34.

Here, as Bobrik properly remarks, we must not be too exact about the word "opposite;" for Herodotus, in another place, calls the Messenian Asina "opposite" to the Laconian Cardamyle,[1] and yet we surely may presume that the true position of both places must have been well known to him.[2]

Explanation of Herodotus's description of the Ister,

Herodotus's description of the Ister is partly based upon conjecture. He had but little means of knowing anything of its source, and readily adopted the notion of its rising near the city of Pyrenè, by which he doubtless referred to the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, in order to place the fountain of the Ister somewhat over-against the spot where he considered that the Nile took its rise.[3] His knowledge of the Celtae and Cynetae seems to have been derived from some Phoenician Periplus of the coasts of France and Spain.[4] The Celtae, or Gauls,[5] may have crossed the Alps, and Celtic tribes might have been found in the heart of Spain; yet they had no connexion with the civilized or commercial world, nor did they join the Carthaginian armies, like the Elisyci, the Ligyes, and the Iberi. It was probably from the Phoenicians, who navigated the Atlantic and Bay of Biscay on their way to the tin mines of Britain, that Herodotus derived his knowledge of their name and situation. The Cynetae must have lived in the extreme west, on the coasts of Portugal, Gallicia, and Asturias; whilst the Celtae occupied the whole northern coast eastward of the Cynetae.

and account of the Cynetae and Celtae.

[1] viii. 73. [2] Geog. des Herod. § 58.

[3] The Ister (or Danube) in reality originates in two streams, Brigen and Pregen, which have their sources on the eastern declivity of the Black Forest in the grand duchy of Baden. These streams unite at Danaueschingen, and some have endeavoured to connect their names with that of Pyrene.

[4] See Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 491.

[5] The Celtae and Galatae are undoubtedly only different forms of the same name. The first was the form with which the Greeks were earliest acquainted: the second and more correct form, "Galatae," was introduced by the great Gaulish migration of the fourth century before Christ. Many subsequent writers however continued to use the old orthography, and in fact, with the exception of the Galatians of Asia Minor, the other Gauls in all parts of the world are generally called by the Greeks according to their old form of the name, not Galatae, but Celtae. See Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 522.

The Iberi. Ligyes. Elisyci.

Iberia and the Iberi[1] seem to have extended along the south-eastern coasts of Spain. The Ligyes dwelt above Massalia,[2] which was situated on the site of the modern Marseilles. Between these and the Iberi we ought to place the Elisyci.[3] These three nations appear in the Carthaginian army against the Sicilian Gelon.[4]

Italy, singular omission of Rome.

Herodotus is more communicative respecting Italy,[5] though he knew but little beyond the southern portion, and, singular to say, makes not the slightest mention of Rome. It is difficult to account for this omission. We have already seen that he joined the colonists who migrated to Thurium about B. C. 444. And though Rome was at that time the scene of continued internal struggles between the patricians and plebeians, yet her arms were kept in constant activity by the wars with Fidenae, and with the Aequians and Veii.[6]

Northern Italy, occupied by the Ombrici and Tyrseni.

Of northern Italy, Herodotus mentions the Ombrici and the Tyrseni. From the Ombrici flowed the rivers Carpis and Alpis,[7] towards the Ister.[8] The Tyrseni were colonists from Lydia, who embarked at Smyrna under the guidance of Tyrsenus,[9] and at last settled amongst the Ombrici. Here they built many towns,[10] and carried on

[1] i. 163. [2] v. 9.

[3] Niebuhr places the Elisyci in the middle of Italy, but Herodotus only mentions them in connexion with the Iberi and Ligyes, whilst Hecataeus (Hecat. fragm. 20, ed. Klausen) mentions Narbo (the modern Narbonne) as their chief town. Cf. Bobrik, § 59.

[4] vii. 165. [5] i. 24.

[6] It is doubtful whether the Roman name was generally known amongst the Greeks prior to the expedition of Alexander, a century after the period of our author. Cf. Arrian, *Exped. de Alex.* lib. vii. c. i.

[7] These two rivers cannot be identified on the modern map. They may refer to the Drave and the Save, but if so the Ombrici must have extended beyond Lombardy and the Julian Alps, which seems doubtful.

[8] iv. 49.

[9] Atys king of Lydia had two sons, Lydus and Tyrsenus. The former remained in Asia Minor, and gave his name to Lydia. The latter migrated to Italy and gave his name to Tyrsenia.

[10] Herodotus throws a very doubtful light upon the origin of the Etruscan race. A review of the subject would be out of place here, but a summary of the more important hypotheses that have been advanced, and derivations that have been found, for this remarkable people is included in the article on "Etruria," in Dr. Smith's Dict. of Geog.

a considerable trade with the Phocaeans, and were dwelling here in the time of Herodotus.[1]

Many Greek colonies are mentioned as occupying the more southern coasts of Italy. There were the towns of Rhegium,[2] and Taras, afterwards called Tarentum.[3] Agylla, which joined the Carchedonians and Tyrsenians in devastating the Phocaean territory in Cyrnus. Subsequently the inhabitants of Agylla inquired at Delphi how they should atone for the deed, and were told to institute gymnastic and equestrian contests, which they observed with great magnificence down to the time of Herodotus.

Southern Italy, occupied by Greek colonies, viz. Rhegium. Taras. Agylla.

In the country of Oenotria some Phocaeans from Rhegium had colonized the town of Hyela by the advice of a certain Poseidonian.[4] The town of Croton was the native place of Democides,[5] the celebrated physician, through whom the Crotonian doctors were considered to be the best in all Hellas, and even to excel those of Cyrene.[6] The Crotonians were the only Hellenic people, westward of the Thesprotians, who joined the allied fleet at Salamis, and they only sent one ship. They were Achaeans by extraction.

Hyela in Oenotria. Croton.

In Metapontium a statue of Apollo was erected in the market-place, and next to it was another of Aristeas, the author of the Arimaspea; and laurel trees were planted around the two statues. The Metapontines said that Aristeas himself appeared in their country, and commanded them to erect an altar to Apollo, and to place beside it a statue bearing the name of Aristeas of Proconnesus; for he said that theirs was the only country of all Italy that had been visited by Apollo, and that he himself had then accompanied the god in the form of a raven. After this communication Aristeas was said to have vanished. The Metapontines sent to inquire at Delphi what was meant by the apparition, but were merely ordered to obey it, and accordingly they executed the orders of the poet.[8]

Metapontium

[1] i. 94, 163. [2] i. 166. [3] i. 24. [4] i. 167. [5] iii. 125. [6] iii. 131. [7] viii. 47. [8] iv. 15.

Sybaris.

The town of Sybaris was in a very flourishing condition in the time of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, and was the native place of Smindyrides, the most voluptuous man that ever lived.[1] It was situated on the river Crathis, which derived its name from a stream in Achaia which flowed near Aegae.[2] In the time of Herodotus the Sybarites were settled in Laos and Scydrus,[3] for their town had been destroyed by the Crotonians. The Sybarites said that the Crotonians were assisted by Dorieus, the Lacedaemonian adventurer;[4] and in proof of their assertion they pointed to the sacred precinct, and temple near the dried-up course of the Crathis which was erected by Dorieus, and dedicated by him to the Crastian Minerva after he had assisted in taking the city. On the other hand, the Crotonians said that no foreigner assisted them excepting Callias the Elean seer, and proved their statement by pointing to the several pieces of public land which were given to Callias in return for his assistance, and which were in the possession of his descendants in the time of Herodotus, and of which a great deal more would have been given to Dorieus had he joined them in the war.[5]

Siris.

From the town of Siris, Damasus went as a suitor to the court of Cleisthenes at Sicyon.[6] It was to this place that Themistocles threatened the Spartan, Eurybiades, he would sail with all the Athenian fleet, if the other left him at Salamis.[7]

Iapygia. Brundusium. Hyria.

Besides the foregoing we have notices of Iapygia[8] with the port of Brundusium;[9] and of the city Hyria, which was founded by some Cretans who were shipwrecked on the coast. These Cretans changed their name to Messapian Iapygians, and from this point founded other cities which are not named.[10] The Epizephyrian Locrians[11] are also mentioned, and that is all.

Epizephyrian Locrians.

II. NORTHERN EUROPE.

II. NORTHERN EUROPE, or the region north of the

[1] vi. 127. [2] i. 145. [3] vi. 21. [4] v. 44. [5] v. 45.
[6] vi. 127. [7] viii. 62. [8] iii. 138. [9] iv. 99.
[10] vii. 170. [11] vi. 23.

upper course of the Ister, was unknown to Herodotus. According to the Thracians, the parts beyond the Ister were so infested with bees, that no one could penetrate them. This however appeared impossible to Herodotus, as bees were known to be very impatient of frost. He was more inclined to believe that those regions were uninhabitable through the extremity of the cold,[1] and therefore he described them as an endless desert. Of one people, however, beyond the river Herodotus was able to learn a little. These were the Sigynnes, and their territory extended nearly to the Eneti on the Adriatic. Their horses were shaggy all over, having hair five digits long; at the same time they were small, flat-nosed, and unable to carry men, but when harnessed to chariots were very fleet, and therefore the Sigynnes were in the constant practice of chariot-driving. The people wore the Medic costume, and said that they were a colony of the Medes, which Herodotus could not comprehend, but, as he says, anything might happen in the course of time.[2] The Ligyes who lived above Massalia called traders Sigynnes, whilst the Cyprians gave the same name to spears.[3] The Hyperboreans in the far north, and the river Eridanus from whence amber came, have already been noticed.[4]

Region impenetrable from bees or frost.

The Sigynnes, a Medic colony fond of chariot driving.

We now reach the nations bordering on Scythia, namely, the Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlaeni, Budini and Geloni, and the Sauromatae.

Nations bordering on Scythia.

1. The Agathyrsi, from whose country the river Maris (or Marosch) flowed into the Ister,[5] were a most luxurious people, and wore a profusion of gold. They had a community of wives, in order that all the people might regard each other as brethren, and being all of one family, might not entertain hatred

1. Agathyrsi, occupying Transylvania.

[1] v. 10.

[2] Some have supposed that the Sigynnes were the forefathers of the modern Zingani or gipsies, called by the Germans, Zigenner. The account of their horses answers to the description of the Swedish ponies, which are still found wild in the woods of Gothland. Cooley, *Hist. of Maritime and Inland Discovery*, vol. i. p. 29.

[3] v. 9. [4] See pages 16, 22, 159. [5] iv. 49.

against each other. In other respects their customs resembled those of the Thracians.[1] Herodotus evidently regarded them as being closely related to the Scythians, and according to a tradition which he preserves, they seem to have been descended from Agathyrsus, the eldest son of Heracles and Echidna.[2] We may place this people in modern Transylvania, which is watered by the upper course of the Maris, (or Marosch,) and not very distant from the Thracians. Being separated from Scythia on the east by the Carpathian mountains, they were enabled to refuse the Scythians, who were retreating from before Darius, an entrance into their country.[3] They probably obtained their gold from the Carpathian mountains, but we need not suppose that they were at the trouble of working mines, as the metal was most likely found in the sand washed down by the rivers.

2. Neuri, occupying Poland and Lithuania.

2. The Neuri observed Scythian customs. One generation before the expedition of Darius their land produced so many serpents, and so many more came down from the desert region above, that they were compelled to leave their dwelling and settle amongst the Budini, but appear to have subsequently returned. The men appeared to Herodotus to be magicians, for the Scythians and the Hellenic settlers in Scythia both said, and even supported their assertion by an oath, that once a year every Neurian became a wolf for a few days, and then re-assumed his former shape. Herodotus however refused to believe it.[4] North of the Neuri was a desert.[5] Their territory may be placed in the centre of Poland and Lithuania,[6] bounding the Agathyrsi on the north-east, and separated from them by the Carpathian mountains.

3. Androphagi, occupying Smolensk.

3. The Androphagi followed the most savage customs, and were without justice and without law. They were nomades, and wore the same costume as

[1] iv. 104. [2] iv. 7—10. [3] iv. 125. [4] iv. 105. [5] iv. 17.
[6] Lithuania comprises the modern Russian governments of Grodno, Wilna, and Minsk.

the Scythians, but they spoke a peculiar language, and were the only people amongst these tribes who were accustomed to eat human flesh.[1] They were separated from Scythia by a desert, and beyond them was another desert.[2] Heeren fixes them as far north as the Russian government of Smolensk; and though Herodotus was prevented by the cataracts from being acquainted with the upper course of the Dnieper, yet this is no reason why he should not refer to a people dwelling even beyond its sources.

4. Melanchlaeni, occupying Orloff

4. The Melanchlaeni wore black garments and followed Scythian usages.[3] Above them were lakes and an uninhabited desert as far as Herodotus's knowledge extended.[4] They may be placed in the government of Orloff, between the Dnieper and the Don. The names of both the Androphagi and the Melanchlaeni were evidently not the peculiar appellations of the tribes to which they belonged, but were derived from their customs and dress—Androphagi, or "men-eaters," and Melanchlaeni, or "black-clothed."

5. Sauromatae, occupying the country of the Don Cossacks and part of Astracan.

5. The Sauromatae dwelt eastward of the Tanais (or Don). Their territory commenced three days' journey eastward from the Tanais and three days' journey northward from the Maeotis,[5] and occupied the country northward for fifteen days' journey, reckoning from the farthest recess of the Maeotis. The country was completely destitute of trees.[6] The people were said to have been descended from the offspring of Amazons and Scythian youths, of which Herodotus relates an account evidently amplified from some old tradition.[7] The women in his time still retained their ancient customs, such as hunting on horseback either with or without their husbands, and joining in the wars and wearing the same dress as the men.[8] The Sauromatae spoke the same language as the Scythians, but always corruptly, because the Amazons never learnt it correctly. According to their matrimonial laws, no virgin was permitted to

[1] iv. 106. [2] iv. 18. [3] iv. 107. [4] iv. 20.
[5] iv. 116. [6] iv. 21. [7] iv. 110—115. [8] iv. 116.

marry until she had killed an enemy, and consequently some lived unmarried all their days because they could not satisfy the law.[1] It is clear from our author that the Sauromatae occupied the steppe which is now inhabited by the Cossacks of the Don, and perhaps a part of Astracan besides; and they probably extended northward to the point where the Don and the Volga approach the nearest to each other.

6. Budini and Geloni, occupying Saratoff.

6. The Budini dwelt above the Sauromatae, in a country very thickly covered with all sorts of trees.[2] They were a great and numerous people, with clear blue eyes and red hair.[3] In their country was a square wooden town called Gelonus, surrounded by a high wooden wall, which was thirty stadia long on every side. The houses and sanctuaries were also made of wood; and the town contained temples of the Hellenic gods, adorned after the Hellenic manner with wooden images, altars, and shrines.[4] The Geloni celebrated a festival to Dionysus with Dionysiac accompaniments every three years. Herodotus considered them to have been originally Greeks, who having been expelled from the Hellenic trading marts, had subsequently settled amongst the Budini; and indeed their language was partly Scythian and partly Hellenic.[5] On the other hand, the Budini spoke a different language, and led altogether a different kind of life. They were aborigines of the country, and nomades, and were the only people in those regions who were accustomed to eat lice; whereas the Geloni were tillers of the soil, fed upon bread, and differed from the Budini both in form and complexion. In spite however of these points of difference,

[1] iv. 117. [2] iv. 21.

[3] Commentators hold different opinions upon this passage. Baehr and others understand that the Budini painted their bodies a vivid blue and red. Others, amongst whom are Mannert, Heeren, and Bobrik, suppose that the blue eyes and red hair, characteristic of the north, are referred to; and this latter opinion I have followed.

[4] This establishment was no doubt founded by the Hellenic colonists on the Pontus as a staple for the fur trade. Cf. Heeren, *Asiat. Nat.* vol. ii. p. 28.

[5] iv. 108.

the Budini were still called Geloni by the Greeks.[1] The country, as already said, was covered with trees, and in the thickest wood was a large and spacious lake surrounded by moorland and reeds. Otters and beavers were caught here, and other animals with four-sided faces,[2] whose skins were sewn round the borders of cloaks, and whose testes were useful in curing diseases of the womb.[3]

The settlements of the Budini evidently began where the territory of the Sauromatae ended, and we may therefore place them in the government of Saratoff, and they may have extended to the river Don at Voronez. Herodotus calls them a great and numerous people, and there is no doubt but that their territory was very considerable.[4]

III. EASTERN EUROPE.

III. On entering EASTERN EUROPE we find ourselves in the track of the caravan route, which probably commenced at Olbia, and went over the Tanais into the country of the Budini on the banks of the Volga; and perhaps a preliminary sketch of the pro-

Great caravan route.

[1] Ritter refers back their Hellenic customs, and their worship of Dionysus, to their Asiatic originals; and deriving their name from Buddha, boldly brings them to the support of his theory respecting the great primeval migration from India and central Asia to the shores of the Macotis, and to northern Europe.

[2] Sea-dogs (phocae vitulinae) inhabit the lakes of Siberia, and Heeren has no doubt but that these are the animals which Herodotus had in view, as the surprising size of their heads justifies the expression he has employed in defining them. There is however no more occasion for our here making τετραγώνος to signify a quadrate than in the case of Scythia. Some people wear peculiarly fashioned boots, which earn for them the title of "square toes;" in the same way possibly that the angular expression of these animals induced our author to describe them as τετραγωνοπρόσωπα.

[3] iv. 109.

[4] Heeren remarks, that if we admit it to have been equal in extent to the territory of the Sauromatae, it will comprise the present governments of Penza, Simbirsk, Kasan, and a part of Perm, and terminate in the vicinity of the southern branch of the Ural mountains. These provinces now abound in forests of oak, which are the magazines of Russian naval architecture; but the lake cannot be discovered, though, as he describes it almost as a morass, it may be observed that the place where we should expect to find it, is occupied by marshy grounds, which at certain periods turn the land into a vast lake. (Heeren, *Asiat. Nat.* vol. ii. p. 12.) This learned author however appears to be himself doubtful whether the Budini extended so far north, and would rather place their northern confines, as I have done, at 54 deg. north lat., so as to leave room for the seven days' journey across the desert, and then for the country of the Thyssagetae between the Budini and the Ural chain. See p. 185.

bable character of the commerce, may throw additional interest around the geography of these regions.

Character of the commerce.

The Greek colonies on the Black Sea had, by their bold enterprise and commercial activity, opened a line of communications with the distant interior, and at length monopolized all the productions of the north and east. The city of Olbia, situated at the mouth of the Dnieper, (or Borysthenes,) near the site of the modern Kherson, was the most considerable settlement, and probably the emporium of trade. The Scythians of the Ukrain, of whom Herodotus especially mentions the Alazones, cultivated corn not only for food, but for the purposes of commerce,[1] and this necessary commodity would be in great demand at Athens, whose territory was over-populated for its means of supply. Again, the countries on the north and east of the Euxine were inexhaustible magazines for the slave trade. The name of Scythian became synonymous with the word slave, and amongst the nations of Mount Caucasus prisoners of war were invariably sold in the Greek markets. Another lucrative branch of commerce was the trade in furs. The use of furs was nearly general amongst the Thracian tribes and the nations bordering on the Euxine,[2] and a considerable trade was likewise carried on amongst the people east of the Caspian, and inhabitants of northern Asia. Furs have indeed been considered in all times as articles of necessity in the inclement regions of the north, and as articles of luxury and ornament in the warmer climes of the voluptuous south. Cloaks of fur were worn in Babylon, and furs are to be seen amongst the presents of the Persian governors to the great king, as represented on the relief of Persepolis. The Budini, whom we have already noticed, and the Thyssagetae and Jyrcae, whom we have yet to mention, are all described as nations of hunters, and from them, with-

Olbia the emporium.

Trade in corn.

Slaves.

Furs.

[1] iv. 17.

[2] The Thracians wore caps of fox-skin and boots of fur (iv. 17). The Scythians and Melanchlaeni used cloaks of the same material. Cf. Heeren, *Asia*, vol. ii. p. 23.

out doubt, the Greek merchants obtained this commodity. But the traffic in corn, slaves, or furs, would never alone have induced the Greeks to take such long and perilous journeys into the interior as are described by our author. There was another article, which in all ages has excited the cupidity of mankind, and exercised the most potent rule. Gold was procured in great quantity and with little difficulty from the Ural mountains and those of Altai; and we find many of the barbarous nations possessing this metal in great abundance.

Gold from the Ural and Altai mountains.

The great caravan route will be best described by exactly following in the order of our author's narrative, first recording his observation, that the Scythians who performed the journey carried on their affairs in seven different languages, and therefore required the same number of interpreters.[1]

Route northward from the Budini.

Further north beyond the Budini was first a desert of seven days' journey in extent,[2] which we may presume extended through the governments of Simbirsk and Kasan as far as the southern confines of Viatka.

Desert of seven days' journey, occupying Simbirsk and Kasan.

Beyond the desert the route turned somewhat towards the east, and entered the country of the Thyssagetae, a numerous and distinct people who lived by hunting.[3] Four great rivers rose amongst the Thyssagetae, and flowed into the lake Maeotis, namely, the Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, and Syrgis.[4] [5] On the river Oarus Darius commenced building eight large forts,[6] each sixty stadia distant from the other, but he left them half finished, and there the ruins

Route towards the east.

Thyssagetae occupying Perm.

[1] iv. 24. [2] iv. 21. [3] iv. 22. [4] iv. 123.

[5] It is impossible, with the exception of the Tanais or Don, to identify these rivers in modern geography. The Oarus was perhaps the Volga, and perhaps one of the others was the Ural, but then both of these rivers discharge themselves into the Caspian, and not into the Maeotis, which Herodotus distinctly states, though he could not have been so well acquainted with the coast and with the lower courses of the rivers as he was with the upper courses. Mannert supposes the Lycus, Oarus, and Syrgis to be respectively the Volga, Uzen, and Ural: Rennell supposes the Oarus to be the Volga, and the Lycus and Syrgis to be the Medveditza and Khoper, which fall into the Don.

[6] Dahlmann has pointed out the difficulty in believing that Darius really advanced as far as the river Oarus, and whether we identify this river

remained until the time of Herodotus.[1] The country of the Thyssagetae must have been included in the government of Perm.

Jyrcae on the Ural mountains.

Contiguous to the Thyssagetae, and in the same region, which was very thickly wooded, dwelt the Jyrcae, a nation who lived by hunting, and practised it in the following manner. The huntsman climbed a tree, and stood there in ambush, whilst his horse and dog were ready beneath, the horse having been trained to lie on its belly so that it might not be seen above the ground. When the man saw any game he shot an arrow, threw himself upon his horse, and followed the game with his dog.[2] Eastward of the Jyrcae were some Scythians who had revolted from the Royal Scythians, and settled here. The whole country is described as level, and possessing a deep soil; but beyond the region becomes stony and rugged.[3] This "stony and rugged" country of the Jyrcae and Scythian colonists seems to have extended into the interior of the Ural mountains, and perhaps comprehended part of the government of Perm on the western side, and of Tobolsk on the eastern. The whole territory has been always celebrated for those animals which furnish the most valuable furs, and these are found in the greatest numbers on the eastern slopes.[4]

Scythian exiles occupying Tobolsk.

Argippaei, at the foot of the Altai mountains.

After passing through a considerable extent of this mountainous country, the caravan would reach the Argippaei, who lived at the foot of lofty mountains,[5]

with the Volga or the Uzen, it seems impossible for the Persian army in sixty days to have twice marched, and by the worst possible road, from the mouths of the Ister to the province of Saratoff, a distance of certainly not much less than a thousand English miles. The fortresses may have been standing in the time of Herodotus, but it is a very great question whether Darius built them. The Scythian accounts of this expedition, which Herodotus probably collected at Olbia, and upon which he based his own narrative, must have led him into considerable exaggeration upon the subject. This however would only affect the history of the expedition, and not the geography of the country. Cf. Dahlmann, *Life of Herod.* chap. vii. sect. 5.

[1] iv. 124. [2] iv. 22. [3] iv. 23.

[4] Heeren, quoting from Lehrberg, furnishes some useful and interesting particulars concerning the Jyrcae. *Asiat. Nat.* ii. p. 28.

[5] The caravan route now appears to have turned towards the south or south-east along the Ural chain as far as the Kirghis steppe.

and were all, both men and women, bald from their birth, and had flat noses and large chins. They spoke a peculiar language, but wore the Scythian costume. Their diet chiefly consisted of the fruit of a tree named Ponticon, which was about the same size as the fig tree. The fruit it produced was similar to beans, only with a stone inside. When this fruit was ripe the natives beat it through cloths, upon which a thick black liquor was strained out, called Aschy. This they sucked, or took mixed with milk; and from the mass of fruit remaining after this process they made a sort of cake, which formed their principal food. They had very little cattle, for their pastures were not good. Each man dwelt under a tree, over which, in the winter-time, he spread a white and thick covering of felt cloth. This tribe was accounted sacred, and no one would do them any injury, and they themselves possessed no implements of war. They arbitrated in the disputes of the neighbouring nations, and whoever took refuge amongst them had nothing to fear from any one.[1]

Identification of the Argippaei with the Calmucks.

Herodotus is here so explicit that we have no difficulty in following Heeren and others in identifying the Argippaei with part of the Calmucks, a principal branch of the Mongols. Their abodes must have been in the western part of Great Mongolia, probably in the northern part of the Khirgis steppe, between the Ural and Altai mountains. The description—"lofty mountains," scarcely suits the Ural, but we can hardly expect an author, when dealing in loose hearsay information, to be very exact in particulars of this kind. Indeed, the expression, "at the foot of lofty mountains," seems like a little poetic feeling, or fancy painting, thrown in to assist the reader in his conception of a sacred race with bald heads, a venerable tribe of peace-makers, whose primitive homes beneath the trees could afford shelter and safety to the darkest criminal. The fruit which formed their diet was probably the birds' cherry, the

[1] iv. 23.

Prunus Padus of Linnaeus, which the Calmucks still eat in almost the same manner that Herodotus describes. They dress the berries with milk, then press them in a sieve, and afterwards form them into a thick mass, which is called "moisun chat;" a small piece of which, mixed with water, makes a nutricious and palatable soup. The people still live in tents, or moveable huts, called kybitkas, but make them in a more artificial manner; and, indeed, it would almost appear that Herodotus had made some mistake about the trees which supported the felt covering, as there are very few to be found in this region.

Unknown region north of the Argippaei, occupied by men with goats' feet and people who slept for six months at a time.

The country and nations as far as the Argippaei were well known to Herodotus, and he acknowledged that he found it easy to obtain his information, both from the Scythians who went there and from the Greeks on the Pontus.[1] But of the region north of the Argippaei no one, he says, can speak with certainty; for lofty and impassable mountains (the Altai) formed their boundary. The Argippaei, however, said that these mountains were inhabited by men who had goats' feet, and that beyond them were people who slept for six months at a time; but all these stories our author rejected as incredible.[2]

Identification of the Altai.

The inaccessible mountains are evidently the Altai chain which bounds southern Siberia. The tradition of men with goats' feet is one of those stories which are often told of distant countries, and especially of Siberia;[3] whilst in the other tradition, of the men who slept for six months in the year, we can perceive a glimmering of real truth, inasmuch as we know that the polar regions continue for six months without the light of the sun.[4]

Eastern route continued. The Issedones.

But to return to the caravan route. Eastward from the Argippaei dwelt the Issedones, who observed the following customs.[5] When a man lost his father all his relations brought small cattle, killed

[1] iv. 24. [2] iv. 25.

[3] Probably the furs by which the Siberians secure their joints, and especially their knees, against the frost, may have procured for the mountaineers of the Ural the epithet "goat-footed."

[4] Cf. Heeren, *Asiat. Nat.* vol. ii. p. 15. [5] iv. 25.

them, and cut up the flesh, together with the dead body of the parent, and then mingled the whole together and had it served up for a dinner. The head of the corpse, however, was stripped, cleaned, and gilded; and the relatives afterwards regarded it as a most sacred object, and performed great sacrifices to it every year; for the Issedones, like the Greeks, celebrated the anniversary of their father's death. The people generally were accounted to be just in their dealings, and they gave to their women equal power and authority with the men.[1] The Issedones said that above them were the people with one eye, called the Arimaspi, which account was repeated by the Scythians, and from them adopted by the Greeks, who called these one-eyed people by the Scythian name of Arimaspi: arima being Scythian for "one," and spou for "eye." There also were the gold-guarding grypes, or griffins.[2] Herodotus here takes occasion to remark, that towards the northern part of Europe there was certainly a great quantity of gold, but how it was procured he was unable to state with certainty, though some people said that the Arimaspi stole it from the griffins. Herodotus, however, did not believe that there were men born with one eye and yet in other respects resembling the rest of mankind.[3] The Hyperboreans in the far north we have already noticed.[4][5]

Arimaspi.

Gold-guarding griffins.

[1] iv. 26. [2] iv. 27. [3] iii. 116. [4] See p. 159.

[5] Heeren places the Issedones in that part of Mongolia now occupied by the Sungarees, and extends them to the ancient Serica. On the other hand, the recent discoveries of gold in the Ural mountains have induced some commentators to follow the opinion of Reichard, that the seat of the Issedones must be referred to the Ural and not to the Altai. A disquisition on this subject would, however, lead to no satisfactory result. Doubtless a vast quantity of gold must have been obtained both from the Ural and the Altai, for how otherwise are we to account for the prodigious quantities of this precious metal which have existed in central Asia both in ancient and modern times. The thrones of princes, the furniture of palaces, the vessels for the royal table, have all been fashioned of massive gold, from the days of Solomon downwards; and we might almost suppose that monarchs must have bought up the gold in every part of their dominions to dazzle the eyes of their subjects, did we not find satraps and inferior officers, together with private individuals, possessed of immense wealth (Herod. i. 192; vii. 27). We shall presently find that a pastoral nation of eastern Asia (the Massagetae) made its utensils chiefly of gold. (i. 215. Cf. also Heeren, *Asiat. Nat.* vol. i. pp. 26—31.)

EUROPE. CHAP. VIII.

Nations on the frontier towards Asia.

Such then is the information we can gather concerning this ancient route. We now approach the continental frontier towards Asia. Here were settled two nations, namely, the people of Mount Caucasus north of the river Phasis, or Rhion, and the Massagetae on the northern bank of the river Araxes, or Jaxartes, and over-against the Issedones. A description of these barbarous tribes will conclude the geography of the Europe of Herodotus.

General description of Mount Caucasus.

The Caucasus is an extensive mountain range running from the north-eastern shore of the Black Sea to the western coast of the Caspian. It is 750 miles in length, and therefore about as long as the Alps, and its breadth varies from 65 to 150 miles. The central portion forms some of the highest mountains in the world. The huge rocky mass of Elburz rises to an elevation of 16,800 feet, whilst that of Kasbek, which is nearer the Caspian, is about 14,400 feet in height. The snow line varies from 10,000 to 11,000 feet above the sea. One-third of Elburz is therefore always covered with ice and snow, and a considerable portion of the other summits and ridges. Glaciers are common, as in the Alps, and there is a strong resemblance between the scenery of both mountain systems, excepting that the Caucasus does not possess the great mountain lakes which distinguish the Alpine range. Two roads traverse the Caucasian chain, namely, the Pass of Derbend and the Pass of Dariel, which were both known to Herodotus.[1]

Herodotus's account of the mountain and people.

Mount Caucasus was the largest and loftiest of all the mountains known to Herodotus. It was inhabited by numerous tribes, who mostly lived on the produce of wild fruit trees. Other trees grew there whose leaves, if rubbed and mixed with water, served for dyeing. The natives used the dye for painting figures on their garments; and the colours could never be washed out, but were as fast as if they had been woven in with the woollen material. Their manners must have been brutalized in the extreme, for

[1] See the account of the Scythian pursuit of the Cimmerians, p. 155.

we are told that they were as insensible as cattle to all laws of decency or morality.[1]

The Massagetae.

Eastward of the Caspian Sea was the vast plain or steppe at present inhabited by the Kirghis Tartars. The greatest portion of this steppe belonged to the Massagetae,[2] a tall and valiant people, who lived towards the east beyond the river Araxes, (or Jaxartes —the modern Sirr-deria,) and over-against the Issedones.[3] Under this name of Massagetae our author seems to include all the nomade tribes of Independent Tartary eastward of the lake Aral, and extending into Mongolia southward of the Issedones.

Herodotus's description of the river Araxes.

By some persons the Araxes was said to be larger, but by others to be smaller, than the Ister. Persons said also that it surrounded many islands, of which some were nearly as large as Lesbos,[4] and that these islands were inhabited by men, who during the summer fed upon roots which they dug out of the ground, and at the same time gathered the ripe fruits from the trees, and stored them up for winter consumption. One species of this tree fruit possessed wonderful qualities, which were thus exhibited. The people used to assemble together in parties, and kindle a fire, and sit in a circle round it; they then threw the fruit into the flames, and became as intoxicated with the fumes as the Greeks were with wine, and finally begun to dance and sing.[5] The river rose from forty springs in the mountains of Matiene, all of which lost themselves in fens and swamps, except one that flowed on to the Caspian, in the direction of the rising sun.[6] These swamps were said to be inhabited by men who lived upon raw fish and clothed themselves in the skins of sea-calves.[7]

[1] i. 203. [2] i. 204. [3] i. 201.

[4] The Araxes was probably considered larger than the Ister, because it contained such large islands; but smaller, because Herodotus apparently thought that it did not flow through so great an extent of country as the Ister. See Niebuhr, *Diss. on the Geog. of Herod.* p. 26. I would suggest that it was the western Araxes, or the Aras, which was thought to be smaller than the Ister, and the eastern and northern Araxes, or the Jaxartes and Volga, which were supposed to be larger than the Ister.

[5] i. 202. [6] iv. 40. [7] i. 202.

Explanation of the apparent contradictions.

The term Araxes was probably a general appellation, meaning simply any "rapid" stream. The description seems in most cases to apply to the river now called Aras, which rises in the mountains of Armenia, and flows in an easterly direction into the Caspian. Two other rivers are also evidently noticed by Herodotus under the same name of Araxes. The Massagetae are described as living with the Araxes on their southern frontier, and Cyrus had to cross this river before he could invade their country.[1] At the same time this people had another river called Araxes, to the north of their territory, for when they drove out the Scythians who had anciently occupied this region, the latter had to cross the Araxes, on their way round the northern shores of the Caspian, before they could reach Cimmeria, afterwards Scythia Proper.[2] The southern Araxes is therefore generally identified with the Jaxartes, or modern Sirrderia, whilst the northern Araxes may be supposed to be the Volga. The confusion which always attends the use of any general name, unless some distinguishing mark is adopted, has not only perplexed many modern commentators, but also probably led to some confusion on the part of Herodotus himself, for his description, already given at length, although generally applying to the Aras, would yet seem, from its being included in the geography of the countries east of the Caspian, to apply to the river Jaxartes. Rennell thinks that Herodotus has confounded the Jaxartes with the Oxus, as he applies the particulars to one river, which refer to both.[3] We are, however, more disposed to think that the confusion lay between the Aras and Jaxartes, especially as Heeren has pointed out that Herodotus distinctly refers to the river Oxus under the name of the river Aces.[4]

Manners and customs

The Massagetae were said by some to be a Scy-

[1] i. 201, 205. [2] iv. 11.

[3] Rennell, *Geog. of Herod.* vol. i. p. 270. The Jaxartes certainly did not discharge itself into the Caspian, but into the Aral, whilst, at that period, the Oxus did perhaps empty itself into the Caspian, as described by Herodotus. This part of the description may however refer to the Aras.

[4] iii. 117. Cf. Heeren, *Asia*, vol. ii. p. 20.

thian nation,[1] whom they resembled in their dress and manner of living. They had both cavalry and infantry, archers and spear-men; and also carried battle-axes. They employed gold and brass, of which they had great abundance, for everything they used. Spears, arrow-heads, and battle-axes, they made of brass, but they decorated their helmets, belts, and shoulder-pieces with gold. The breastplates on their horses were also made of brass, but the bridle bit and cheek pieces were ornamented with gold. Silver and iron they never used, for neither of these metals could be found in their country.[2] Each man married a wife, but they all totally disregarded the marriage tie. The custom which the Greeks incorrectly attributed to the Scythians, was practised by this nation without shame. Whenever a Massagetan desired the company of a female, he merely hung up his quiver in front of a chariot or waggon, to prevent any interruption. The people fixed no prescribed limit to the extent of human life, but when a man grew to be very old, his kindred assembled and sacrificed him, together with cattle of various kinds; and having hashed the whole together, they boiled the flesh and feasted upon it.[3] This death they universally accounted to be the happiest, and those who died of disease were buried in the earth, lamenting in their dying hour that they could not live long enough to be sacrificed. The Massagetae sowed no grain, but entirely subsisted upon their own herds of cattle, and upon the fish which the river Araxes abundantly supplied. Their principal, if not their sole, drink was milk. Of gods they worshipped only the Sun, to whom they sacrificed horses, thinking it right to offer the swiftest of creatures to Helios, the swiftest of gods.[4]

The Massagetae and Issedones both belonged to the great Mongol race, and were undoubtedly Scy-

[1] i. 201. [2] i. 215.

[3] This custom seems to have been nearly the same as that followed by their neighbours the Issedones, only it is differently described. The Issedones ate their fathers, who however died a natural death; but the Massagetae killed and then feasted upon all their old men. [4] i. 216.

thians. The principal points of similarity between the Massagetae and the Scythians, so called by Herodotus, were their dress and living;[1] their abode in waggons or carriages;[2] their fighting on horseback;[3] and their sacrifices of horses to their deities.[4]

[1] i. 215. [2] i. 216. Comp. iv. 46, 121.
[3] i. 215. Comp. iv. 46, 136. [4] i. 216. Comp. iv. 61.

ASIA.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY.

Two great mountain ranges of Asia: the Altai, and the Taurus or plateau of Iran.—Rivers of Asia.—Separation of the continent into three divisions. —Extent of the Asia of Herodotus.—Discoveries of Scylax of Caryanda. —Herodotus's own map of Asia.—The four central nations.—The two western Actae: Asia Minor; Syria and Libya.—Ancient division of Asia between the Lydians, Babylonians, and Medes.—Establishment of the Persian empire of Cyrus.—Division into twenty satrapies by Darius Hystaspes.—Extent of Herodotus's travels in Asia.—His general acquaintance with Phoenicia and Asia Minor.—Visit to Babylon.—Travels along the great highway between Sardis and Susa.—Visit to Ecbatana very doubtful.—Examination of the list of twenty satrapies.—Reasons for including distant tribes in the same satrapy.—General want of geographical order arising from Herodotus's ignorance of the more distant satrapies. —Catalogue of nations in the army and navy of Xerxes.—Value of a comparison of the catalogue with the list of satrapies.—Catalogue to be further digested in a future chapter.—Topography of the languages of Asia.—Languages of Asia Minor from the Aegean to the Halys.—Semitic dialects between the Halys and Tigris.—Persian dialects between the Tigris and Indus.—Conclusion.

THE continent of Asia, according to the division of modern geographers, comprises an area five times greater than that of Europe, and nearly a fourth larger than that of Africa. It is divided into three parts by two vast mountain ranges, which stretch across it from west to east, and form by their ramifications to the north and south the skeleton of the whole country. The first of these ranges is called the Altai chain, and begins at the sources of the rivers Sirr-deria and Irtish,[1] and traverses southern

Two great mountain ranges of Asia.

The Altai.

[1] Heeren thought that the Altai was connected with the Ural (*Asia*, vol. i. p. 4); but an immense mass of low country separates the western extremity of the former from the southern ranges of the latter.

The Taurus or plateau of Iran.

Siberia to the shores of the Pacific, becoming wider and sending out more considerable ramifications as it approaches the east. The other range, under the general name of Taurus, was far better known to the ancients.[1] It commences in Asia Minor, and stretches through Armenia and the countries south and south-east of the Caspian, until it approaches the sources of the Indus. Here it divides into two principal branches, one running towards the north-east, and the other towards the south-east, thus enclosing the great sandy desert of Gobi or Shamo.[2] The northern branch formed part of the ancient Imaus, and now goes by the name of Belur-tagh,[3] or mountains of Kashgar, and at length unites itself with the Altai chain on the borders of Siberia. The southern branch was comprehended by the ancients, as far as known, under the general name of Paropamisus, and was probably also considered as a part of the Imaus; at present it is known as the Hindoo Koosh and Himalayas. It protects Hindostan on the north, and, passing through Thibet, loses itself in central China near the shores of the Pacific.

Rivers of Asia.

The courses of these great chains also determine those of the rivers. From the southern slopes of Taurus the Euphrates, Tigris, and Indus flow towards the Persian and Indian Oceans; whilst from the northern declivities the Jihoon or Oxus, and the

[1] Strabo says that the Taurus chain extended through the whole continent from west to east, with a breadth in many places of 3000 stadia. This seems to indicate the great plateau of Iran, which we shall have occasion to describe in the third chapter of the present division; the courses of the Taurus Proper and the Anti-Taurus will be distinguished in the chapter on Asia Minor.

[2] Gobi in the Mongolic language signifies "a desert:" Shamo is the Chinese for "sand-sea."

[3] The name of Bolor or Belur Tagh is a corruption of the Turkish words Beloot Tagh, or "cloudy mountain." The writer in the Penny Cyclopaedia (art. *Bolor*) says that it is called by the natives Tartash Tagh; but Elphinstone, in his account of Cabul, says that he knows of no general name applied by the people of Turkestan to this range. The name of Belur-Tagh rests on the authority of Marco Polo, and the Arabian geographer Nasir Eddin, but an examination of the passages in which it is referred to, renders it evident that the name is imperfectly applied, and it is uncertain whether it can be applied to any mountain range at all.

Sirr-deria or Jaxartes, take a westerly direction through Independent Tartary into the Sea of Aral, though it is certain that the Oxus, and perhaps the Jaxartes also, formerly reached the Caspian.

Separation of the continent into three divisions.

The two mountain chains separate Asia into three grand divisions. First, the northernmost portion, under the name of Siberia, extends from the back of the Altai ridge to the Arctic Ocean, and was unknown to the ancients, except by the dim light of traditionary legend.[1] Secondly, the vast and elevated tract of level steppes enclosed between the Altai and Tauric ranges, and partly filled up by those mountains, extends from the Caspian to the Pacific under the names of Mongolia and Tartary.[2] Thirdly, the great southern division, comprehending the plateau of Iran, and including Asia Minor, extends in the form of a vast continent as far south as the tropic of Cancer, and then terminates in the three great peninsulas of Arabia, Hindostan, and Malacca.

Extent of the Asia of Herodotus.

The Asia of Herodotus comprised but little more than a fourth of the entire continent. The northern half was assigned to Europe, and the eastern half of the remainder was totally unknown. On the north, as we have already seen,[3] it was bounded by the river Phasis, the Caspian Sea, and the eastern Araxes or Jaxartes;[4] and on the east by the great desert of Gobi, and the sandy waste stretching from Moultan to Guzerat.[5] On the south it was washed by the Erythraean. The western boundary, which separated it from Libya, or rather from the modern con-

[1] The story of the men who lived on the Altai mountains and had goats' feet, (Herod. iv. 25,) and the tradition of the people who slept for six months in the year, (ibid.) evidently refer to this Siberian region. The former story possibly referred to the warm boots of fur and extraordinary activity of the mountaineers of the Altai; whilst in the latter we can perceive a ray of truth, inasmuch as we know that the polar regions continue for six months, more or less, without having the light of the sun.

[2] The confusion between the names of Tartars and Mongols has been already pointed out by Heeren. They are distinct races. The principal territory of the former lies to the north, and that of the latter to the south, of the Sirr-deria or Jaxartes, which thus forms the proper limit of the two races.

[3] See pp. 16, 17. [4] iv. 45. [5] iv. 40.

tinent of Africa,[1] requires some little explanation. By a reference to the geography of Arabia in the present volume, it will be seen that Herodotus considered the Arabian Gulf to be little more than a river, being probably misled by supposing that the entire gulf was nowhere broader than at the western arm, or Gulf of Suez, which was the only part with which he was apparently acquainted. Judging, therefore, from the physical character of the soil, he considered Arabia to include a territory on both sides of the Arabian Gulf, and to embrace the mountainous ridge which extends from north to south along the eastern side of the valley of the Nile. The western boundary of Asia would thus be formed by the Aegyptian frontier, near Suez, and the Arabian frontier, along the eastern edge of the Nile valley.

Discoveries of Scylax of Caryanda.

The discoveries in eastern Asia were the results of an exploring expedition sent out by Darius Hystaspes. This monarch was desirous of knowing the spot where the river Indus, the second river that produces crocodiles,[2] discharges itself into the sea. He accordingly fitted out some ships, and sent some scientific men, on whom he could rely for bringing back a true report. Scylax of Caryanda appears, from the especial mention of his name, to have been at the head of the expedition. Scylax and his companions embarked at the city of Caspatyrus (or Cabul) and the country of Pactyica. They sailed from the river eastwards until they reached the open sea, at which point they changed their course, and proceeded in

[1] It will be seen in the introduction to the geography of Africa, that the name Libya appears to have two significations: 1. *Libya Proper*, or the nations of northern Africa westward of Aegypt. 2. *The Libyan continent*, which embraced all that was known of the continent of Africa, and included Aegypt and Aethiopia as well as Libya Proper.

[2] The Nile was considered to be the first river that contained crocodiles. It is related that when Alexander the Great saw crocodiles in the Indus, he conceived a notion that this river was connected with the Nile, and that its navigation downwards would conduct into Aegypt. This anecdote however is hardly credible, though frequently repeated. The general arrangement of his plans both in Aegypt and India bespeak a share of geographical information totally irreconcilable with such a blunder. Cooley, *Hist. of Maritime and Inland Discovery*, vol. i. p. 59.

a westerly direction, and at length, in the thirtieth month of their voyage, reached the port from whence the Aegyptian Neco despatched the Phoenicians to circumnavigate Libya.[1] This city of Caspatyrus, Heeren considers to be the same as Cabul, which is situated on a western tributary of the Indus,[2] and this tributary does really flow in an easterly course for some distance, as Herodotus describes. We need scarcely add that our author was mistaken in supposing that the Indus itself flowed from west to east. Perhaps Scylax reported that the entire river took this course for the sake of enhancing the merit of his voyage by increasing its supposed distance. How the ships were carried to Caspatyrus Herodotus does not inform us.

Herodotus's own map of Asia.

Our author's notions of Asia generally may be best derived from the following survey. Between the Erythraean on the south and the Pontus Euxinus of the north, he describes four great nations, which he evidently regarded as the kernel of Asia, viz. the Colchians on the north, then the Saspeires, next the Medes, and lastly the Persians.[3] From this central territory two actae[4] projected toward the west. One

The four central nations.

[1] iv. 44.

[2] Heeren, *Asia*, vol. i. p. 189. This author also considers that the name of Pactyica is preserved in that of Pokua, though he thinks that the limits of the ancient territory may have extended northwards as far as Budakshan, and southwards as far as Pakholy. The writer of the article on Caspatyrus in Dr. Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog. follows the opinion that this city refers to Cashmere; because the Sanscrit name of Kashmir is Kasyapa pur, which, condensed to Kaspapur, gives us the form κασπάπυρος, which is found in Hecataeus; and in this case Scylax would have started on the Jelum tributary, and probably at the lake Ooller. If, however, we were to adopt this view we should find no portion of the river flowing from west to east; but perhaps the most fatal objection to this theory would lie in the extreme improbability that Scylax should not have stopped at the Indus, but have crossed over the main stream, and still held on his journey over-land to the Jelum.

[3] iv. 37.

[4] An acte is a piece of land jutting out a considerable distance into the sea, and having only one side joining the main-land. A chersonesus is a peninsula properly so called. This is Niebuhr's definition, but Dahlmann makes some exceptions to it. The peninsula of Athos, which is joined to the continent only by a narrow strip of land, is commonly called Acte (Thucyd. iv. 109). But Herodotus calls that mountain Chersonesus (vii. 22). The Thracian peninsula on the Hellespont (in what respect different from the other?) is commonly called Chersonesus.

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acte, the modern Asia Minor, began on the north at the river Phasis, and stretched along the Euxine and Hellespont to the Trojan Sigaeum; on the south it commenced at the Mariandrian Gulf, now called the Gulf of Scanderoon, near Phoenicia, and stretched into the sea, as far as the Triopian promontory. This tract was occupied by thirty different nations.[1] It was almost divided from the great central territory by the river Halys, (or Kizil-Irmak,) which flowed nearly across the isthmus or neck of the acte, between the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, opposite Cyprus, and the Pontus Euxinus. Herodotus calculates the isthmus to be five days' journey across if taken by a well-girt man,[2] or about 1000 stadia, reckoning the day's journey at 200 stadia.[3]

The two western Actae, viz. Asia Minor,

The other acte reached to the Erythraean Sea, and comprised Persia, Syria, and Arabia, and then, according to one statement, it terminated at the Arabian Gulf;[4] but if it is extended farther it may be made to include Libya also.[5] From Persia as far as Phoenicia this acte was wide and open, but at Phoenicia it began to stretch out into the Mediterranean.[6][7]

Syria and Libya.

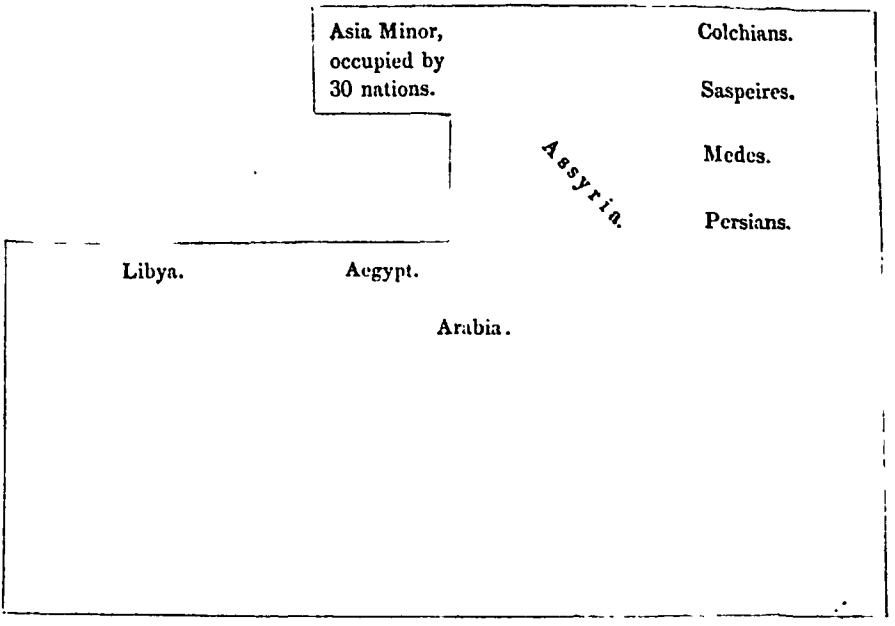
The following little ground plan will perhaps serve to illustrate the idea of Herodotus.

[1] iv. 38. [2] i. 72.

[3] iv. 101. Herodotus (ii. 34) repeats this assertion, and supposes a straight line to be drawn from Cilicia to Sinope, which is by no means the narrowest part. But the distance across Asia Minor from sea to sea is at least 300 English miles: a very long distance to be walked over in five days. Ukert, Niebuhr, and others accordingly represent the Herodotean Asia Minor as very narrow at the part where it joins the mainland. Niebuhr, however, cannot but be surprised that Herodotus should make so great an error respecting a country which lay so near his native city; and he thinks it not improbable that, in order to unite the Euxine with the commercial stations on the Cilician shore, a post of couriers, like that of the Tartars in Turkey, was established between these sea-ports and Sinope; and that the regular conveyance of letters in five days was mistaken for the speed of a common foot messenger. Dahlmann thinks it probable that the journey was once achieved in five days by a trained pedestrian as an experiment. It is more satisfactory to take the plain statement of Herodotus, and treat it as an error.

[4] iv. 39. [5] iv. 41. [6] iv. 39.

[7] The Arabian Gulf was but very little regarded by Herodotus, and in his present description he is inclined to overlook it altogether.



Ancient division of Asia, between the Lydians, Babylonians, and Medes.

Previous to the conquests of Cyrus three great powers existed in Asia, who had compelled the remaining nations to pay tribute; namely, the Lydians of Asia Minor, and the Babylonians and Medes of central Asia.[1] The Lydians, under their king Croesus, had extended their conquests over all Asia Minor westward of the river Halys, (or Kisil-Irmak,) with the exception of the mountainous territory occupied by the Lycians and Cilicians. The Babylonians and Medes, at a much earlier period, had swept away the ancient Assyrian empire over central Asia, and divided it between themselves. The river Tigris became the boundary line between these two powers. The dominion of the Babylonians extended westward from the Tigris to the Mediterranean; whilst that of the Medes extended eastward from the Tigris to the river Indus.[2] This general territorial

[1] The Babylonians included the Chaldaeans: Herodotus calls them Assyrians, but the old Assyrian empire of Nineveh had been long before destroyed by a powerful combination of the Babylonians and Medes.

[2] The river Tigris certainly bounded Media on the west, for it was fortified by a line of strong places, of which Mespila and Larissa are mentioned by name. (Xenoph. *Anab. Op.* pp. 308, 309.) At the same time

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arrangement was upset by the revolutions which attended the establishment of the Persian empire. The mountainous territory of Persis had originally belonged to the old Assyrian empire, but had subsequently been subjugated by the Medes. It was inhabited by nomad hordes, who, with the celebrated Cyrus at their head, rushed from their native fastnesses, and overwhelmed all the nations of southern Asia, except the Arabians. The empires of the Medes, the Babylonians, and the Lydians were in their turn swept away. Cyrus was succeeded by Cambyses, and Aegypt was subjected to this new dominion. Darius Hystaspis at length ascended the throne. His rule extended over all the Asiatic nations known to Herodotus, with the exception of the Colchians in the north, the Indians in the east, and the Arabians in the south. This immense empire he divided into twenty satrapies for the purposes of taxation; nineteen being included in Asia, and one in the continent of Libya.[1] A list of the satrapies, with the amount of tribute paid by each, has been preserved by Herodotus,[2] and was probably taken from the Persian archives; but before we examine this valuable document, it will be necessary to inquire into our author's own actual knowledge of the countries therein noticed.

Establishment of the Persian empire of Cyrus.

Division into twenty satrapies by Darius Hystaspis.

First of all, we may state boldly that the regions

it is plain from the lamentations of contemporary Jewish writers, (Isaiah xiii. 17, 18,) and from a passage in Herodotus, (i. 103,) that the Medes sometimes advanced their conquering armies beyond the Tigris, and even as far westward as the Halys; and it does not seem probable that the Chaldee Bbaylonians ever extended their conquests so far to the north in this quarter. The eastern boundary of Media is uncertain; apparently it was of different extent at different epochs. From the books of the Zendavesta it would appear that the Medes anciently possessed Aria and Bactriana, as far as the Oxus and the Indus. Cf. Heeren, *Asia*, vol. i.

[1] In the book of Esther (i. 1) it is stated that there were 127 provinces of the Persian empire, which extended from India to the Libyan Aethiopia: There is no occasion however for supposing that these provinces were satrapies, but tribes or nations, of which several were included in each satrapy; and by a comparison with chap. viii. verse 9, this would appear to be the case.

[2] iii. 90—93.

beyond the cities of Susa and Ecbatana[1] were certainly unknown to Herodotus. Westward of these limits he was more or less acquainted with the country by ocular observation. He resided some time at the city of Tyre in Phoenicia,[2] and was not only well informed respecting the western coast of Asia Minor, which he so minutely describes,[3] but had apparently penetrated the interior. Lydia and its city of Sardis were undoubtedly known to him.[4] He saw also the Euphrates and Tigris, and visited Babylon in its reduced splendour.[5] That he reached Susa seems certain, for he mentions the so-called Indian ants preserved in the royal palace,[6] and evidently saw the curious well at Ardericca, which was only 210 stadia,[7] or about 26 English miles, distant from the city. Probably he travelled along the royal high-road which led from Ephesus by Sardis to Susa, for he was well acquainted with all its stations, and describes the distance as being exactly ninety days' journey.[8]

Extent of Herodotus's travels in Asia.

General acquaintance with Phoenicia and Asia Minor.

Visited Babylon.

Travelled along the great highway between Sardis and Susa

Whether he got as far as Ecbatana is doubtful. Dahlmann seems to think that he must have visited this city, or he would not have so minutely described the fortifications, or have said that the outermost wall was as large in circumference as the city of Athens.[9] It must however be confessed that the tone of the narrative, and especially the vagueness of the description of the site and dimensions of the city, seem all to imply that Herodotus derived his information from others, and not from a personal survey. One thing seems positive, that he did not travel beyond these two cities; otherwise he would have spoken of the Persian Gulf and river Araxes in a different manner, and especially would have done greater justice to the actual extent and size of Asia.

Visit to Ecbatana very doubtful.

[1] Herodotus calls this city Agbatana. Its site has been identified by Col. Rawlinson with the ruins of Takhti-Soleiman in northern Media, or Atropatene. This subject however will be further discussed in a future chapter.

[2] ii. 44, 104. [3] i. 142—149. [4] iii. 5. [5] i. 178—193.
[6] iii. 102. [7] vi. 119. [8] v. 52—54.
[9] i. 98. Comp. Dahlmann, *Life of Herod.* chap. iv. sect. 5.

This then is all we can learn of our author's personal knowledge of Persian Asia; it now remains for us to ascertain how far these results will illustrate or explain the list of satrapies.

Examination of the list of twenty satrapies.

In the document preserved by Herodotus we see an attempt made, apparently for the first time, to provide for the regular collection of tribute throughout the Persian empire. In the reign of Cyrus indiscriminate plunder probably supplied the place of systematic taxation, and even at a later period taxes were arbitrarily imposed under the name of offerings or presents, which were not the less oppressive from being indefinite. Darius Hystaspes was the first to institute a regular system, and to divide the empire at large into provinces or satrapies, but his arrangement is not a geographical division of districts, but merely a rude classification of the different subject nations. Herodotus even tells us that remote tribes were occasionally included under the same satrapy,[1] and this in some instances is most certainly the case, though it is next to impossible to divine the reasons for it.[2] Great difficulty however must have been experienced in mapping out correctly large masses of territory, which in many cases could have been only half explored, and we may wonder that Herodotus did not notice more serious errors.[3] Particular attention was also most likely paid in the classification to the easiest mode of collecting the tribute; and the arrangement may therefore to some extent have depended upon the situation of defiles through mountains, or roads along valleys or the banks of rivers. This seems the more likely, as it is certain that several of the mountain tribes often made themselves independent, and were enabled to defy or avoid the collectors of tribute, and therefore the getting at them would be

Reasons for including distant tribes in the same satrapy.

[1] iii. 89. [2] Heeren, *Asia*, vol. i.

[3] We need not for a moment suppose that Herodotus was himself able from his own geographical knowledge to *detect* the errors in the classification of the tribes into satrapies, but it is most probable that he was made acquainted with them by the officers who had the care of the Persian archives.

considered of more importance than geographical exactness. A more minute and correct knowledge of central Asia will probably explain many a discrepancy.

General want of geographical order arising from Herodotus's ignorance of the more distant satrapies.

Another difficulty in the list is the order of the several satrapies, which is even less in accordance with actual geography than the satrapical arrangement of tribes. Many unsuccessful attempts have been made to explain this difficulty: it can however only be solved by a consideration of our author's actual knowledge of the country. In this case there is no reason for supposing that Herodotus copied his list exactly from one original document, but we may believe that he compiled and abridged it from a variety of authorities. Accordingly those countries with which he was acquainted he placed in tolerable geographical order, beginning at the western coast of Asia Minor; but those of which he was ignorant he put down indiscriminately.[1] The relative situations of Asia Minor, Syria, and Aegypt he knew perfectly well, and accordingly we find the first six satrapies, which embraced those countries, given in exact order. His journey to Susa however, and even his notions respecting the four great nations of central Asia, could but little assist him in forming any definite notions of the relative bearings of the other satrapies. He considered the city of Susa to lie to the south of Babylon, and therefore the 8th, 9th, and 10th satrapies come in

[1] Herodotus catalogues the twenty satrapies in the following order. 1. Ionians, Asiatic Magnesians, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians. 2. Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians. 3. Asiatic Hellespontines, Phrygians, Asiatic Thracians, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syri-Cappadocians. 4. Cilicians. 5. Phoenicia, Palestine, and Cyprus. 6. Aegypt and Libya. 7. Sattagydae, Gandarians, Dadicae, and Aparytae. 8. Susa and the rest of the Cissians. 9. Babylon and the rest of Assyria. 10. Ecbatana and the rest of Media, and Paricanians and Orthocorybantes. 11. Caspians, Pausicae, Pantimathians, and Dareitae. 12. Bactrians as far as the Aeglae. 13. Pactyica and Armenians, and neighbouring people as far as the Euxine. 14. Sagartians, Sarangae, Thamanaeans, Utians, Mycians, and islands of the Erythraean. 15. Sacae and Caspians. 16. Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians. 17. Paricanians and Asiatic Aethiopians. 18. Matienians, Saspeires, and Alarodians. 19. Moschians, Tibarenians, Macrones, Mosynoecians, and Marsians. 20. Indians.

something like order; though why he should place the nations wearing the same armour as the Bactrians in the seventh satrapy, and the Saspeires in the eighteenth, instead of the satrapy immediately after the Medes, defies all attempts at explanation. As to the others, they seem to have been put down just as they came, with the exception of the Indians, who being regarded as the farthest nation towards the east, are accordingly included in the twentieth satrapy. In the following chapters we shall classify the satrapies of Persian Asia under three separate heads, viz. 1. Lower Asia, or Asia Minor, including Sat. i.—iv. 2. Upper Asia as far as was personally known to Herodotus, including Sat. v., ix., and viii. 3. Unexplored Asia, including Sat. vii., x.—xx., or regions north and east of the second division.

For convenience of reference we append the following table, with the diagram on the accompanying page, of the nineteen satrapies of Persian Asia in geographical order, but numbered according to Herodotus's own arrangement; and for the sake of clearness we have embodied many of the results of the following chapters, so far as they give geographical precision to the localities of the satrapies.

I. ASIA MINOR.

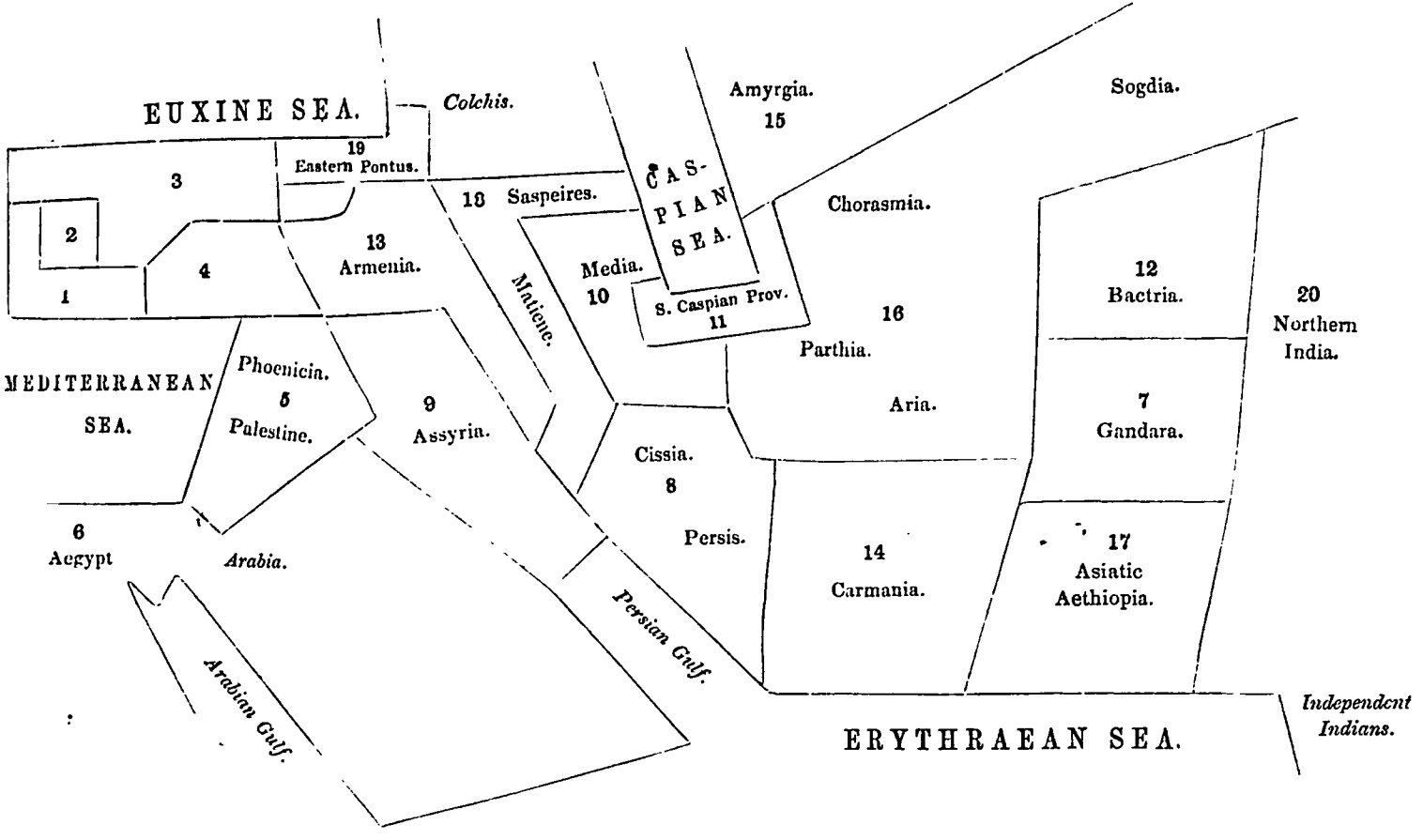
1. Western and south-western Asia Minor, or Aeolis, Ionia, Doris, Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia.
2. Lydian Asia Minor, or Lydia and Mysia.
3. Northern Asia Minor, or Hellespont, Phrygia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia.
4. South-eastern Asia Minor, or Cilicia.

II. UPPER ASIA.

5. Syria Proper, or Phoenicia, Palestine, and Cyprus.
9. Assyria, including Babylon.
8. Cissia [and Persis].

III. UNEXPLORED ASIA.

19. Euxine districts, answering to Trebisonde,



TWENTY SATRAPIES OF DARIUS.

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and comprising the Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynoeci, and Mares.

13. Armenia and Pactyica, answering to Erzroum and Kurdistan.

18. Matieni, on the mountains of Kurdistan; Saspeires in the valley of the Aras; and Alarodii.

10. Media, including the Paricanii and Orthocorybantii.

11. South-Caspian districts, comprising the Caspii, Pausicae, Pantimathi, and Dareitae.

16. Parthia, Chorasmia, Sogdia, and Aria.

15. East-Caspian districts, comprising the Sacae and Caspii.

12. Bactria, including the Aeglae.

7. Gandara, or eastern Afghanistan, comprising the Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae, and Aparytae.

14. Carmania or Kerman, comprising the Sagartii, Sarangae, Thamanaei, Utii, Myci, and Erythraean Isles.

17. Asiatic Aethiopia, or Gedrosia, including the Paricanii.

20. Northern India, or the Punjab.

Catalogue of nations in the army and navy of Xerxes.

The geography of the twenty satrapies will receive still further illustration from another valuable document preserved by Herodotus. This is no less than a catalogue of all the nations who served in the army and navy of Xerxes, with a description of their various dresses and arms, and the names of their leaders. Our author himself tells us, that when Xerxes reviewed his army he passed through the ranks in his chariot, and inspected the several battalions in person; and that especially he made a variety of inquiries of each separate nation, and all the answers he received were written down by his secretaries. In a similar manner also he reviewed the different ships in his fleet, asking questions and having the replies committed to writing.[1] Now, unless all historical probability be a delusion, Herodotus was enabled to obtain a sight of these

[1] vii. 100.

writings, and from them he drew up his account of the numbers and equipment of the Persian forces. Heeren, who first made this suggestion, seems also to think that the catalogue in Herodotus is an actual copy of the Persian muster-roll; but this seems impossible, for it includes none of the Orientalisms or vivid colouring which would inevitably have found their way into a translation from a Persian original, and in fact merely consists of a plain and straightforward statement of the equipments of each nation, to which Herodotus himself has added an account of the traditionary origin of each people as far as he knew it.

Value of a comparison of the catalogue with the list of satrapies.

A comparison of these two documents is exceedingly interesting, and enables us to give life and colouring to our author's picture of Persian Asia. The nations march before us in every variety of costume, which in most cases is strikingly illustrative of their different modes of life and geographical positions. We shall therefore now endeavour to classify the satrapies under the three great divisions of the country already laid down, and incorporate under each head such information as can be derived from the catalogue of nations; but in a subsequent chapter, when we have completed our geography of Asia, we shall return to this catalogue, and endeavour to arrange it in such order as may be considered best adapted for the requirements of the student.[1] Such a digest before the reader is familiarized with the geography of the several races would only confuse; when, however, the satrapies are fairly mapped out before his view, it will throw a renewed light upon the entire history and geography of the almost unknown nations of ancient Asia.

Catalogue to be further digested in a future chapter.

Topography of the languages of Asia.

In concluding the present chapter, we would take a brief survey of the topography, as it may be termed, of the different languages of the Asia of antiquity, in which we shall be greatly assisted by the researches of the learned Heeren.[2] First of all we

[1] See chap. vi.

[2] Cf. Heeren, (*Asiat. Res.* vol. i.,) to whom I must refer the student as my authority for the following statements.

may remark, that small mountainous or maritime districts frequently embraced several languages, because the former were occupied by numerous independent tribes, and the latter by foreign settlers of various origin. On the other hand, throughout the vast plains of central Asia extensive regions might be traversed where a single language was spoken, with only occasional variations in its dialects. We may also notice that the same mountain chains, or mighty rivers, which formed the boundaries of different kingdoms, became also the boundaries of different languages. One speech prevailed from the Aegean to the Halys; another from the Halys to the Tigris; and again, another from the Tigris to the Indus and the Oxus.

Languages of Asia Minor, from the Aegean to the Halys

In the interior of Asia Minor, as far as the Halys, the prevailing speech seems to have been the ancient Phrygian, which was probably a branch of the Armenian. In the Greek colonies which lined the western coast the Greek language was habitually spoken, but the original speech of the country was apparently the Carian and its dialects, the Lydians, Mysians, and Carians all speaking dialects of the same general language. The northern half of the peninsula was occupied by colonies from Thrace, who settled in Bithynia and spoke their native tongue; their territory extending as far as the river Parthenius, (or Chati-su,) which separated them from the Paphlagonians, who spoke a language of their own, if indeed it were not a dialect of the Phrygian. In the southern half a still greater variety of languages appears to have prevailed, but with respect to these we possess no accurate information.

Semitic dialects between the Halys and Tigris.

Eastward of the Halys commenced the empire of a mighty language, which was spoken as far to the east as the Tigris, and from the heights of Caucasus to the most southern coasts of Arabia. This was the Semitic. Its dialects were, the Cappadocian, on the right bank of the Halys; the Syrian, between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates; the Assyrian, on the farther side of the Tigris in Kurdistan, or the

ancient Adiabene;[1] the Chaldaean, in Babylonia; the Hebrew and Samaritan, in Palestine; the Phoenician, in the ports and colonies of Phoenicia; and lastly, the Arabic, which extended not only over the whole of the Arabian peninsula, but also over the steppes of Mesopotamia, which in all ages have been traversed by wandering hordes of Arabs. Thus we cannot doubt but that at some period anterior to recorded history, "one mighty race possessed these vast plains, varying in character according to the nature of the country they inhabited; in the deserts of Arabia pursuing a nomade life; in Syria applying themselves to agriculture and taking up settled abodes; in Babylonia erecting the most magnificent cities of ancient times; and in Phoenicia opening the earliest ports, and constructing fleets, which secured to them the commerce of the known world."

Persian dialects between the Tigris and Indus.

Lastly, between the Tigris and the Indus were spoken the Persian dialects, which differed from the Semitic not only in their vocabulary and phraseology, but also in their elements and construction. Of these we may mention the Zend, or language of ancient Media, in which the books of Zoroaster were originally composed; the Pehlvi, spoken in the southern districts bordering on Assyria and Babylonia; and the Parsi, or ancient Persian, which appears to have swallowed up the others.

Conclusion.

Here then we finish our general survey of Asia, and now proceed to develope in detail the geography of its several divisions, devoting the next three chapters to an examination of Persian Asia, and then concluding the description of the continent by an account of those nations who were independent of the Persian rule.

[1] This must not be confounded with the Assyria of Herodotus, who applies the name of Assyria to Babylonia. Herodotus included Assyria Proper, or Kurdistan, in the satrapies of Armenia and Matiene. See chaps. iii. and iv.

CHAPTER II.

ASIA MINOR.

Physical geography of the peninsula.—Different political divisions.—Natural separation into an eastern and western division by the river Halys.—Divided into four satrapies by Darius Hystaspis.—Difficulty in dividing the towns.—1. AEOLIS, IONIA, DORIS, CARIA, LYCIA, and PAMPHYLIA.—Aeolians, their eleven cities on the continent, and seven on the islands.—Ionians, their twelve cities.—United in the Panionian confederacy.—Mixture of the Ionians with other races.—Worship of the Heliconian Poseidon in the Panionium.—Miscellaneous notices.—Asiatic Magnetes.—Dorians, their five cities of the Triopian confederacy.—Worship of Apollo at Triopium.—Exclusion of Halicarnassus.—Carians, originally expelled from the islands by the Ionians and Dorians.—Their inventions.—Believed themselves to be autochthones.—United with the Lydians and Mysians in the worship of the Carian Zeus.—Topography of the interior.—Labranda, Termera, Cnidus, Pedasus.—Caunus, its inhabitants really autochthones.—Topography of the coast.—Priene, Myus, Miletus, Limeneïon, Assesus, Sanctuary of the Branchidae, river Maeander, Caryanda, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, the Isthmus, Calydna the Carian town, and Calydna the Dorian town.—Lycians, sprung from Crete.—Anciently named Termilae.—Their customs.—Heroic resistance to the Persians.—Oracle at Patara.—Phaselis.—Lycian costume.—Milyans.—Pamphylians.—2. MYSIA and LYDIA.—Mysians, also named Olympieni.—Extent of the Mysia of Herodotus.—Topography of Mysia.—River Caicus, Mount Canae, Atarneus, Malene, Carina, Adramyttium, Thebes, Antandrus, Lamponium, Cape Lectos, river Scamander, Cape Segeium.—Ilium, inhabited by the Aeolians and Gergithae, Rhoetium, Ophryneium, Dardanus, Abydos, Percote, Lampsacus, Paesus, Parium, Placia, Scylace, Dascyleium, Cius, islands of Cyzicus and Proconnesus.—Lydians, their ancient empire.—Sardis, the capital.—Rivers Hyllus and Hermus.—Gold-dust brought from Mount Tmolus by the river Pactolus.—Tumulus of Alyattes.—Roads from Caria and Lydia to Phrygia.—Beautiful plane tree on the Lydian road.—Depraved manners of the Lydians.—Invented the art of coining money, retail dealing, and games of dice, knuckle bones, and ball.—Topography of the coast.—Phocaea, its maritime enterprise and heroic resistance to Cyrus.—Magnesia, Smyrna, Clazomenae, Erythrae, Teos, Lebedos, Colophon, Ephesus, Coressus, Mycale.—Sculptures of Sesostris found in Ionia.—Identification of the monument between Sardis and Smyrna by modern travellers.—Its Aegyptian origin doubted.—Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians.—3. HELLESPONT, PHRYGIA, BITHYNIA, PAPHLAGONIA, and CAPPADOCIA.—Hellespontines.—Phrygians, more ancient than the Aegyptians.—Called Bryges when dwelling in Macedonia.—Topography of Phrygia.—Tract occupied by the Paeonians.—Gordium, Celaenae, sources of the Maeander and Catarrhactes

river Marsyas, white columns.—Course of Xerxes from Celaenae to Lydia. — Anana, salt lake, Colossae, river Lycus, Cydrara, boundary pillar between Phrygia and Lydia, Conium, Alabanda. — Thracians from the Strymon called Bithynians.—Mariandynians.—Paphlagonians. —Syrians or Cappadocians.—River Halys.—Extent and limits of the Cappadocia of Herodotus.—Canal of Thales. — Pteria. — Critalla.—4. CILICIA.—Cilicians, anciently named Hypachaeans.—Extent and limits of the Cilicia of Herodotus.

Physical geography of the peninsula.

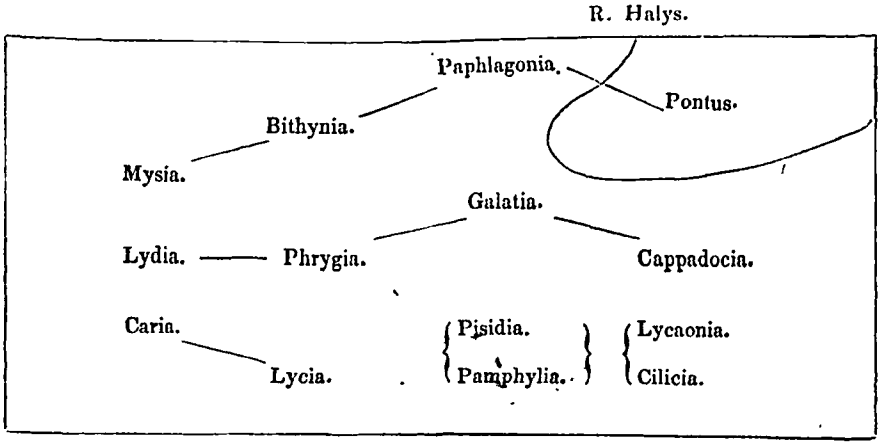
THE great peninsula of Asia Minor is bounded on the north by the Euxine, west by the Aegean, and south by the Mediterranean, and we may extend its eastern frontier to Armenia and the river Euphrates. The interior is a high plateau, bounded on the south by the chain of Mount Taurus, and on the north by ranges of hills which, under the name of Anti-Taurus, extend along the southern shores of the Euxine; and thus two mountain walls connect the plateau with that of Armenia. On its western side the plateau descends gradually to the shores of the Archipelago, forming several long and narrow valleys, watered by the Macander, Caicus, Scamander, Hyllus, and Hermus, and these are the most beautiful and fertile portions of the peninsula. The western coast is as jagged and irregular as the opposite shore of Greece, and bold projecting promontories run out in the same manner far into the sea, and re-appear in numerous islands of more or less importance. On the other hand, the northern and southern coasts are characterized by few indentations, but present irregular outlines formed by huge semicircular sweeps. The western coasts were studded with Greek colonies, and included the territory of the luxurious Lydians; whilst the central highlands were occupied by a number of distinct nations, who, as contrasted with the Greeks, may be regarded as aborigines of the country.

Different political divisions.

Few subjects in ancient geography are more perplexing than the divisions of Asia Minor at different periods. Under the Persians it was separated first into four satrapies, and subsequently into ten. The later Greeks however divided it into fourteen provinces. And as this arrangement has been generally

ASIA. CHAP. II.

followed by geographers, it will be necessary to use it for the illustration of the division into four satrapies made by Darius Hystaspes. The names and relative positions of the fourteen provinces will be best learnt from the following diagram.[1]



Natural separation into an eastern and western division by the river Halys.

Asia Minor as thus described may be separated into an eastern and western division by the river Halys, (or Kizil Irmak,[2]) which we have already seen was supposed by Herodotus to flow through nearly the entire breadth of the peninsula.[3] Prior to the Persian conquest, the eastern division was included in the empire of the Medes, whilst the western division, as far as the shore of the Aegean, formed the Lydian empire of Croesus. The Lycians in the south however still remained unsubdued, together with the independent kingdom of Cilicia.[4]

Divided into four satrapies by Darius Hystaspes.

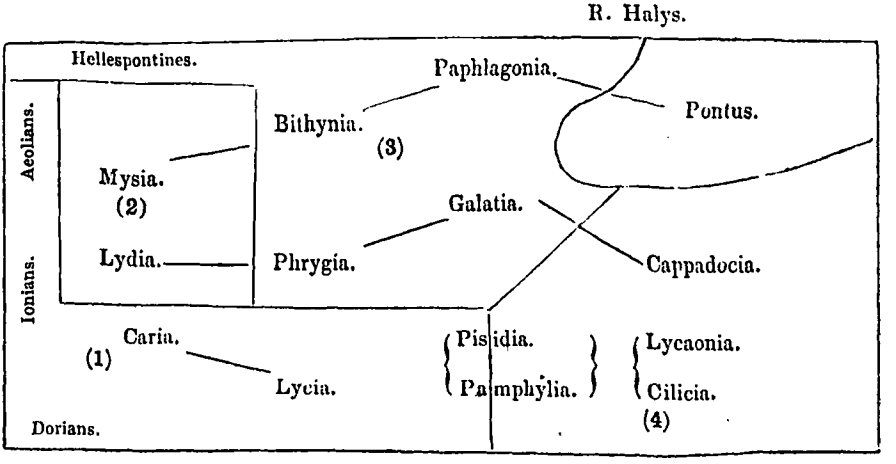
This entire country was divided by Darius Hystaspes into four satrapies, and is said by Herodotus to have been occupied by thirty different nations.[5]

[1] This diagram has been taken, with some slight alteration, from that of D'Anville.

[2] The Greek name of Ἅλυς is derived from the salt country through which the river passes. Strabo says that its waters are of a salt and bitter taste. The Turkish name is Kizil, (Red,) such being the colour of the soil throughout much of its course. See Col. Chesney's Survey of the Euphrates and Tigris, to which I shall have frequent occasion to refer in developing the geography of Persian Asia.

[3] See page 200. [4] i. 28, 74. [5] iv. 38.

The first satrapy embraced the slips of territory along the west and southern coasts, which were colonized by the Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians, and also included the later provinces of Caria, Lycia, and part of Pisidia and Pamphylia. The second embraced all the territory afterwards known as the provinces of Lydia and Mysia, with the exception of the maritime district on the west, occupied by the Aeolians and Ionians of the first satrapy, and that on the north held by the Hellespontines of the third. The third satrapy included the coast territory of these Hellespontines, and extended eastward to Armenia, thus embracing the northern provinces of Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, and the central ones of Phrygia and Galatia, and that part of Cappadocia which was northward of the Halys. The fourth satrapy included Cilicia, and that part of Pisidia and Pamphylia left out of the first satrapy, and extended eastward to the Euphrates. The extent of the Cappadocia and Cilicia of Herodotus, in comparison with the later provinces bearing the same names, will be pointed out in the separate geography of the satrapies. The following diagram will perhaps explain the satrapical division of Darius.



But though we have thus pointed out the probable frontiers of each satrapy of Asia Minor, yet in the

Difficulty in dividing the towns.

first three another difficulty presents itself in the topography. Herodotus distinctly catalogues the eleven cities of Aeolia, the twelve cities belonging to the Panionian confederacy of Ionia, and the Pentapolis belonging to the Triopian confederacy of Doris, yet he mentions several other towns without stating in which satrapy they are to be included, and we do not know whether to call them Lydian or Ionian, Mysian or Aeolian. It is however necessary, for the sake of a clear comprehension of the satrapical arrangement, to draw a sharp line of division between each satrapy, and this can be done as far as the races are concerned, but not if all the towns are to be taken into consideration. We shall therefore describe the three satrapies according to the several races mentioned in the catalogue of Herodotus, but shall include the entire topography of these districts in the geography of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, without reference to the satrapy to which we might fancy the towns would strictly belong. We shall thus be able to give due prominence, first, to the accounts of the several races, and secondly, to the topography of western Asia Minor.

I. Aeolis, Ionia, Doris, Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia.

I. AEOLIS, IONIA, DORIS, CARIA, LYCIA, and PAMPHYLIA were included in the first satrapy, which thus composed the Ionians, the Asiatic Magnesians, the Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians:[1] the Dorians also evidently belonged to it, as they are not mentioned anywhere else. The satrapy paid a yearly tribute of 400 talents.[2] We shall describe the nations in geographical order as follows; viz. Aeolians, Ionians, Magnesians, Dorians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians.

Aeolians, their eleven cities on the continent, and seven on the islands.

The AEOLIANS originally possessed twelve cities on the continent, but Smyrna having been taken by the Ionians, there only remained eleven, viz. Cyme, (also called Phriconis,) Larissae, Neon-teichos, Temnos, Cilla, Notium, Aegiroëssa,[3] Pitane, Aegaeae,

[1] iii. 90. [2] Ibid.

[3] This Aeolian town of Aegiroessa is not mentioned anywhere else; but a small town named Aegeirousa is named by Strabo as being situated

Myrina, and Grynеia. The country was more fertile than the Ionian territory, but not equal to it in climate.[1] The Aeolians also possessed some settlements on Mount Ida, but these were altogether distinct. Also some cities on the islands, viz. five in Lesbos, where there were originally six, but the sixth, named Arisba, was enslaved by the Methymnaeans, although the latter were of kindred blood; another city in Tenedos, and another in what were called the Hecatonnesi, or "hundred islands."[2] The Aeolians furnished 60 ships to Xerxes, and were equipped in the Hellenic costume. According to the Hellenic traditions they were of Pelasgian origin.[3]

Ionians, their twelve cities.

The IONIANS possessed twelve cities, which were built under the fairest sky and in the finest climate of all the known world. Their language included four varieties of dialect, and Herodotus names the twelve cities according to these points of difference, beginning from the south. One dialect was spoken in the cities of Miletus, Myus, and Priene, which were situated on the coast of Caria; a second in the towns of Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae, and Phocaea, on the coast of Lydia;[4] a third in the island town of Chios and the continental one of Erythrae; and a fourth in the island town of Samos only.[5] When Cyrus was preparing to subvert the Lydian empire, he sent heralds to persuade the Ionians to revolt from the Lydian rule.[6] Miletus, however, was the only city which accepted the invitation and made an alliance with Cyrus, being, as Herodotus says, well aware of the weakness of the Ionian race, which at that time was the least powerful of all the Hellenic nations,[7] and possessed no city

in Megaris. Some, therefore, have conceived that Elaea was meant, for Herodotus leaves that out, whilst Strabo and Steph. Byz. mention it. Schweighauser wished to write Arginoessa, one of the Arginusae islands, but Herodotus says, and the passage does not escape Schweighauser, that that town was a continental one. See Baehr's note to i. 149, quoted by Bobrik.

[1] i. 149. [2] i. 151. [3] vii. 95.

[4] A description of these towns will be found in the geography of Lydia and Caria.

[5] i. 142. [6] i. 76. [7] i. 143.

of note excepting Athens. After the downfal of Croesus, all the Ionians tendered their submission to Cyrus, but this was now rejected, and accordingly they surrounded their cities with walls and prepared for the desolating war which followed.[1]

United in the Panionian confederacy.

The inhabitants of the twelve cities were the only members of the Ionian race who gloried in the name; for all the others, not excepting the Athenians, shunned the title, and refused to be called Ionians. They founded their great common sanctuary, called the Panionium, and after the secession of Miletus, received Smyrna in her place, for they appear to have been very exact in always having twelve cities in the Panionian confederacy. Herodotus thinks that their reason for this was, because in ancient times, when they lived in that part of the Peloponnesian territory afterwards called Achaia, they occupied exactly twelve towns or districts, being the same as those which were held by the Achaeans at a later period.[2] No other town but Smyrna was therefore ever admitted into the Panionium; and in the same way the Dorians of the Pentapolis, previously called Hexapolis, refused to admit any of the neighbouring Dorians into the Triopian confederacy.[3]

Mixture of the Ionians with other races.

The inhabitants of the twelve Ionian cities were, however, by no means of purer blood than the other Ionians. A great many from other tribes were mingled with them, such as the Abantes from Euboea, the Minyae from Orchomenus, the Cadmeians, the Dryopes, the Phocians, the Molossians, the Pelasgians of Arcadia, the Dorians from Epidaurus, and many others. Even those who set out from the Prytaneium of Athens, and who considered themselves to be the most noble of all the Ionians, carried no wives with them to Asia, but seized a number of the native Carian women, after first killing their husbands and fathers; and from this massacre the women took an oath never to eat with their husbands, and handed down the same custom to their

[1] i. 141. [2] i. 143. See also page 44. [3] i. 144.

daughters.[1] The real Ionians, properly so called, were those who derived their origin from Athens, and celebrated the Apaturian festival.[2]

Worship the Heliconian Poseidon in the Panionium.

The sanctuary of Panionium was a sacred spot at the northern extremity of Mycale, and consecrated by the Ionians in common to the Heliconian Poseidon;[3] and here the Ionians assembled from the twelve cities and celebrated the Panionian festival. Mycale itself is a tongue of land stretching westward towards Samos.[4]

Miscellaneous notices.

The Ionians were always reproached by the Scythians for not having loosened the Ister bridge and cut off the retreat of Darius at the close of his Scythian expedition; indeed, the Scythians regarded them as either the most base and cowardly of free-men, or else as the meanest and most faithful of slaves.[5] The Ionian females wore a costume evidently borrowed from that of the native Carians; for in ancient times all the women of Hellas wore the Dorian costume.[6] It is curious that the crocodiles, which in Aegypt were called champsae, should have been named crocodiles by the Ionians, because they appeared to resemble a species of lizard of that name which was to be found under the hedges of Ionia.[7] The Ionians furnished 100 ships to Xerxes; and were equipped in the Hellenic fashion. Whilst they inhabited that part of the Peloponnesus named Achaia, they were called Pelasgian Aegialees, or Pelasgian "coast-men," but subsequently Ionians, from Ion the son of Xuthus.[8]

Asiatic Magnetes.

The ASIATIC MAGNETES are only named by Herodotus in his catalogue of satrapies, and we find no further mention of them. They appear to have formed part of the ancient inhabitants of the mountainous territory of Magnesia in Thessaly, between Ossa and Pelion, from whence they migrated to

[1] i. 146. [2] i. 147.

[3] So called from Helice in Achaia. The Ionians had originally built there a temple of Poseidon, and at their migration had carried his worship with them and built the sanctuary here referred to.

[4] i. 148. [5] iv. 142. [6] v. 87. [7] ii. 69. [8] vii. 94.

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western Lydia, and founded two cities, each bearing the name of Magnesia.

Dorians, their five cities of the Triopian confederacy

The DORIANS possessed a confederacy which originally included six cities, and was therefore called Hexapolis, but in Herodotus's time it only embraced five cities, and was therefore named Pentapolis. This confederacy was connected with the worship of Apollo in the sanctuary at Triopium, in the same way that the Ionian confederacy was connected with the worship of Poseidon at the Panionium. The Dorians would not admit any of their neighbours into this temple, and excluded such of their own community as violated the sacred laws. In the games in honour of the Triopian Apollo brazen tripods were formerly given to the victors, not however to be carried away, but to be dedicated in the temple. Agasicles, a native of Halicarnassus, having obtained the victory, disregarded this custom; and carried away the tripod to hang up in his own house; and for this offence the city of Halicarnassus was excluded from participation in the Triopian worship, and only five cities (the Pentapolis) remained, viz. Lindus, Ialyssus, Cameirus, Cos, and Cnidus.[12] These Dorians furnished 30 ships to Xerxes and wore Hellenic armour. They originally came from the Peloponnesus.[3] Their ancient kings were, according to the more correct genealogy of the Hellenes, of Aegyptian descent, but on the maternal side included the ancestors of Perseus.[4] The Ionian sigma was called san in the Dorian dialect.[5]

Worship of Apollo at Triopium.

Exclusion of Halicarnassus.

Carians originally expelled from the islands by the Ionians and Dorians.

The CARIANS originally came from the islands to the continent, being driven out by the Ionians and Dorians. They were anciently subjects of Minos, (of Crete,) and called Leleges, but paid no tribute, as far as Herodotus could discover, but manned the fleet whenever they were required. In consequence

[1] i. 144.

[2] Cnidus and Halicarnassus were on the continent; Cos, on the small island of the same name; and Lindus, Ialyssus, and Cameirus were in the island of Rhodes.

[3] vii. 93. [4] vi. 53. [5] i. 139.

of the successful conquests of Minos, the Carians became the most famous nation of the time. They introduced three inventions, which were also adopted by the Hellenes, namely, the crests upon helmets, devices upon shields, and shield handles; for previously shields had been fixed with leathern straps round the neck and left arm. This however was the Cretan account; the Carians themselves said that they were autochthones, or original inhabitants of the continent, and that they always bore the later name of Carians.[1] A part of them were settled in Aegypt.[2] As a proof of their being autochthones they pointed to an ancient temple of the Carian Zeus in Mylasa, which was also shared by the Lydians and Mysians, as relations to themselves, Lydus and Mysus being the brothers of Car. Many however, who spoke the same language, were not admitted because they belonged to a different race.[3]

Their inventions.

Believed themselves to be autochthones.

United with the Lydians and Mysians in the worship of the Carian Zeus.

The Carians furnished Xerxes with seventy ships, and were armed in the Hellenic fashion, only they carried falchions and daggers.[4]

The towns of Caria, Labranda or Alabanda, contained a sacred grove of plane trees, in which was a sanctuary to Zeus Stratius, where the Carians, who were the only people who sacrificed to this deity, took refuge after being defeated by the Persians on the river Marsyas.[5] Termera[6] and Cnidus[7] are also named. Likewise Pedasus, which was situated above Halicarnassus, but more in the interior. The priestess of Athene at Pedasus had a long beard on two different occasions, and a third time in the reign of Cyrus. The Pedasians were the only people in Caria who offered a protracted resistance to the Persian general Harpagus, and they gave him some trouble by fortifying Mount Lyda.[8] They subsequently occupied the mountainous parts round Miletus which were assigned to them by the Persians.[9] The Pass of Pedasus is also mentioned as

Topography of the interior. Labranda. Termera. Cnidus. Pedasus.

[1] i. 171. [2] ii. 62. [3] i. 171. [4] vii. 93. [5] v. 119.
[6] v. 37. [7] v. 118. Cf. vii. 195. [8] i. 175; viii. 104. [9] vi. 20.

leading to the city, where the Persians were cut to pieces by an ambuscade of Carians.[1]

Caunus. Its inhabitants really autochthones.

The city of CAUNUS[2] and its inhabitants are especially noticed by Herodotus. The Caunians he considered to be really autochthones, but they themselves said that they came from Crete. They either spoke the Carian language, or else the Carians spoke the Caunian. Their customs were totally different from those of all other nations, not excepting the Carians. Thus, for instance, they accounted it a great pleasure to assemble together, both men, women, and youths, in order to get drunk. In ancient times they built sanctuaries to foreign deities, but afterwards determined upon restricting themselves to their own national gods. Accordingly they all, old and young, armed themselves, and fighting the air with their spears marched to the Calyndian confines, and said they were expelling the stranger deities.[3]

Topography of the coast.

We will now trace the principal Hellenic towns on the Carian coast, beginning at the north.

Priene. Myus. Miletus.

Priene[4] sent twelve ships to Lade[5] and Myus[6] sent three.[7] Miletus in the time of Darius was at the height of its prosperity, and accounted the jewel of Ionia. Previously throughout two generations it had been distracted by sedition, but at length, having chosen the Parians as arbitrators,[8] the latter surveyed the whole country, and then gave the government of the city into the hands of those who had kept their estates in the best order, and thus the different factions became reconciled.[9] The power and extensive commerce of the Milesians is shown in their furnishing eighty ships at Lade;[10] their colonies on the Pontus, at Istria,[11] and on the Borysthenes;[12] and in their building for themselves a separate sanctuary to Apollo in the Aegyptian city of Naucratis.[13] They were the only people of Ionia who did not

[1] v. 121. [2] v. 103. [3] i. 172. [4] i. 15, 142. [5] vi. 8. [6] i. 142. [7] vi. 8. [8] v. 28. [9] v. 29. [10] vi. 8. [11] ii. 33. [12] iv. 78. [13] ii. 178.

surround their city with walls when Cyrus refused to accept the submission of Ionians; and they even contrived to conclude an alliance with him.[1] At a later period, after the suppression of the Ionian revolt, the city was taken by the Persians, and its inhabitants were transplanted by Darius to the city of Ampe on the Erythraean Sea, and near the banks of the Tigris.[2] The Persians retained in their possession the lands in the neighbourhood of the city, but gave the mountain tract to the Carians of Pedasus.[3] In the Milesian territory were Limeneïon[4] and the town of Assesus, where the temple of Athene was burnt down by Alyattes, who in a subsequent illness rebuilt two new sanctuaries in its place;[5] also the sanctuary of the Branchidae, or of the Didymaean Apollo,[6] an ancient oracle which all the Ionians and Aeolians were in the practice of consulting, and which was situated above the port of Panormus.[7] Croesus sent to consult this oracle before the Persian war,[8] and dedicated there offerings of similar weight to those he gave at Delphi.[9] Neco also consecrated to Apollo the garments he wore at his victory over the Syrians, and sent them to this sanctuary.[10] The temple and oracle were plundered and burnt by the Persians at the taking of Miletus.[11] Near the city was the river Maeander, (called Buyuk Mendereh by the Turks,) together with the plain called the Plain of Maeander, which appeared to Herodotus to have been formerly a bay of the sea.[12]

Limeneïon.

Assesus.

Sanctuary of the Branchidae.

River Maeander.

The other towns in Caria must now be described. Caryanda was the native place of Scylax.[13] Halicarnassus was inhabited by Dorians from Troezen,[14] and the native place of Herodotus,[15] and also of that Phanes who assisted Cambyses in the invasion of Aegypt.[16] Cnidus was inhabited by Lacedaemonian colonists, who settled on the Triopian promontory,

Caryanda.

Halicarnassus.

Cnidus.

[1] i. 141. [2] vi. 20. [3] Ibid. [4] i. 18. [5] i. 22.
[6] vi. 19. [7] i. 157. [8] i. 46. [9] i. 92. [10] ii. 159.
[11] vi. 19. Cf. i. 92, 158; v. 36. [12] ii. 10; i. 18.
[13] iv. 44. [14] vii. 99. [15] i. 1. [16] iii. 4.

which commences at the peninsula of Bubassus, and runs out into the sea. All the Cnidian territory therefore, excepting the narrow isthmus which joins it to Bubassus, was surrounded by water, for on the north it was bounded by the Ceramic Gulf, and on the south by the sea in the direction of Syme and Rhodus. The narrow isthmus which united Cnidia with Bubassus was only five stadia broad,[1] and the Cnidians wished to cut it through and make their territory insular as a protection against Harpagus. During the excavation the workmen were wounded in greater numbers and in a stranger manner than usual, particularly in the eyes, by the chips of the rock. Accordingly the Cnidians consulted the Pythia, which replied,

The isthmus.

> "Dig not the isthmus through, nor build a tower!
> Zeus would have made an island had he wished it;"

and from that time they gave up the work.[2] The Calydnians or Calyndians were Dorians from Epidaurus, and so also were the Nisyrians.[3] The Dorian Calydnians however are not to be identified with those people who inhabited the Calyndian territory which bordered on Caunus,[4] for this latter Calynda was apparently a Carian town east of Caunus, whilst the Calydna occupied by Dorians must have been the island off the Carian coast between Leros and Cos, which formed the principal island of the group which Homer calls Calydnae.[5]

Calydna the Carian town and Calydna the Dorian town.

The LYCIANS originally sprang from Crete, but the civil war between Sarpedon and Minos, which resulted in the ascendency of the latter, drove Sarpedon and his partisans (the later Lycians) to the land of Milyas in Asia, whose inhabitants were anciently termed Solymi. The Lycians were previously named Termilae, and they retained that name in the new country so long as Sarpedon reigned over them, and were still called so by the

Lycians, sprung from Crete.

Anciently named Termilae.

[1] A narrow neck of land at some distance to the east of the town of Cnidus. It has been identified by Captain Graves with a narrow isthmus at the head of the gulf of Syme. Smith, *Dict. of Geog.* art. Bubassus.

[2] i. 174. [3] vii. 99. [4] i. 172. [5] Il. ii. 677.

neighbouring states in the time of Herodotus. But when Lycus, son of Pandion, was driven from Athens by his brother Aegeus and settled in the same country, these Termilae obtained the name of Lycians. Their customs were partly Cretan and partly Carian, but they had one peculiarity: they took their name not from their fathers, but from their mothers, and always traced their ancestry through the female line;[1] the children of a free-born woman by a slave were therefore considered to be of pure birth, but those of a citizen, even of high rank, by a foreign wife or a concubine, were regarded as illegitimate.[2] The Lycians fought Harpagus with very inferior numbers and displayed the utmost valour.[3] Being defeated in the plain of Xanthus and driven within their city, they collected their wives, children, property, and slaves in the acropolis, and burnt the whole to the ground; and then binding themselves by the strongest oaths, they all sallied out and fought until they fell. None survived, and those of the later Lycians who were said to be citizens of Xanthus, were all strangers, with the exception of eighty families who happened at that time to be absent from the city.[4] The priestess who uttered the oracles at Patara was similar to the priestesses in the temple of Belus at Babylon, and the temple of Zeus in Thebes; she was obliged to lead a life of celibacy, but was shut up in the sanctuary all night[5] whenever the god was there.[6] The town of Phaselis in Lycia was inhabited by Dorians, and possessed a share in the Naucratian Hellenium.[7] The Lycians supplied fifty ships to Xerxes. They wore breastplates and greaves, and used bows of

Their customs.

Heroic resistance to the Persians

Oracle at Patara.

Phaselis.

Lycian costume.

[1] Probably, like the Nairs on the Malabar coast, they considered that though a man might be sometimes doubtful as to who was his father, yet he could generally be certain as to who was his mother.

[2] i. 173.

[3] The Lycians had been sufficiently powerful to defy the power of Croesus, who was unable to reduce them to submission. i. 28.

[4] i. 176.

[5] During the night she was supposed to receive the prophecy which she was to utter next day.

[6] i. 182. [7] ii. 178.

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dog-wood, (the cornelian cherry,) and cane arrows without feathers, and javelins. They also had goat-skins hanging over their shoulders, caps encircled with feathers on their heads, and daggers and falchions.[1]

Milyans.

The MILYANS were the ancient inhabitants of Lycia, but were driven into the interior by the Termilae, afterwards called Lycians, from Crete.[2] In the army of Xerxes they carried short spears, and their garments were fastened by clasps; some also carried Lycian bows, and wore helmets of tanned hides on their heads.[3]

Pamphylians.

The PAMPHYLIANS are but little mentioned: they furnished Xerxes with thirty ships, and were equipped in Hellenic armour. They were descendants of the mixed multitude[4] who returned from Troy under Amphilochus and Calchas.[5] Artemisia said that as allies to Xerxes they were good for nothing—bad slaves to a good master.[6]

II. Mysia and Lydia.

II. MYSIA and LYDIA were comprised in the second satrapy, which thus included the Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians. It paid a tribute of five hundred talents.[7]

Mysians, also named Olympieni.

The MYSIANS were colonists from the Lydians, and were also named Olympieni from the mountain of Olympus, called the Mysian Olympus.[8] Their origin was doubtless the same as both that of the Lydians and the Carians, as they observed the same religious rites.[9] Their principal pursuit appears to have been agriculture.[10] Their equipment consisted of helmets peculiar to their country, small shields, and javelins hardened by fire.[11]

Extent of the Mysia of Herodotus.

It is difficult to define the limits of the territory held by the Mysians of this second satrapy. The maritime districts of the province subsequently called Mysia were not included, for the western coast was occupied by the Aeolians of the first satrapy,

[1] vii. 92. [2] See p. 224. [3] vii. 77.
[4] Hence they derived their name Πάμφυλοι, "people of all tribes."
[5] vii. 91. [6] viii. 68. [7] iii. 90. [8] i. 36. [9] i. 171.
[10] i. 36. [11] vii. 74.

and that on the north and north-west, by the Hellespontines of the third. The Mysia of Herodotus however evidently extended much farther to the north-east than the later Mysia, for we find the city of Cius of Bithynia called a Mysian town.[1]

Topography of Mysia.

In describing the country we shall proceed from south to north. Not far from Lydia, the river Caicus[2] (now called the Akson or Bakir) flowed through the plain, called the plain of Caicus, which belonged to the Mysians.[3] On the left or western side was Mount Canae,[4] now called Cape Coloni. Next came Atarneus, which was situated opposite Lesbos, and was given to the Chians in return for their delivering up Pactyes; and for a long time afterwards, the Chians would not offer to the gods any barley-meal from this town, nor would they bake any sacrificial cakes from the fruit which came from thence, nor admit any of the productions of that country into their temples.[5] In the district of Atarneus was the town of Malene, where Histiaeus was taken prisoner by the Persians.[6] Next followed the cities of Carina; Adramyttium; Thebes, with the Theban plain; Antandrus, which was a Pelasgian city,[7] and belonged to the territory of Troas; and Lamponium.[8] Then came Cape Lectos,[9] and the river Scamander, (now called Bunarbashi,) and Cape Segeium. It was to Segeium that the Peisistratidae retired after being driven out of Athens by Cleomenes;[10] and here there was a temple of Athene, in which were hung up the arms of Alcaeus the poet.[11] In the neighbourhood was the city of Achilleïum.[12] Xerxes on leaving Antandrus had entered the territory of Ilium, keeping Mount Ida on the left.[13] On reaching the river Scamander, which was the only stream after leaving Sardis whose waters were exhausted by the Persian army, Xerxes went to see the Pergamus of

River Caicus.

Mount Canae.

Atarneus.

Malene.

Carina.

Adramyttium.

Thebes.

Antandrus.

Lamponium

Cape Lectos.

River Scamander.

Cape Segeium.

[1] v. 122. [2] vii. 42. [3] vi. 28. [4] vii. 42. [5] i. 160.
[6] vi. 29. [7] vii. 42. [8] v. 26. [9] ix. 114. [10] v. 65.
[11] v. 95. [12] v. 94.
[13] Herodotus here seems to make a mistake. Mount Ida must have been on the right of the route taken by Xerxes.

Priam,[1] and there sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Athene of Ilium, whilst the Magi poured out libations in honour of the heroes.[2] The Ilia nterritory was inhabited by the Aeolians, among whom were the Gergithes, who were regarded as a remnant of the ancient Teucrians.[3] The districts around Ilium and Teuthrania were considered by Herodotus to have been formerly a bay of the sea.[4] Further on were the Gergithes on the right, and on the left were the cities of Rhoetium; Ophryneium; Dardanus, which bordered on Abydos;[5] the city of Abydos, from whence, on a lofty throne of white marble at the summit of a hill, Xerxes reviewed his entire army and fleet on the neighbouring plains and shores;[6] Percote; Lampsacus; Paesus; Parium;[7] Placia and Scylace, both of which were built by the Pelasgians, who subsequently preserved their dialect;[8] and Dascyleium,[9] which had a district bearing the same name, and which passed for a Bithynian city, only Herodotus calls Cius a Mysian town, and the latter lay still more to the eastward.[10] Two islands are also mentioned: Cyzicus, which contained the city of Artace, and where was celebrated a great festival to the mother of the gods, which Anacharsis vowed he would introduce into Scythia;[11] and Proconnesus, which was the native place of Aristeas, the author of the Arimaspea.[12] The towns of Artace and Proconnesus were both destroyed by the Persians.[13]

Ilium inhabited by the Aeolians; and Gergithes.

Rhoetium. Ophryneium. Dardanus. Abydos.

Percote. Lampsacus. Paesus. Parium. Placia. Scylace. Dascyleium.

Cius.

Islands of Cyzicus and Proconnesus.

The LYDIANS apparently occupied all the later province of Lydia, excepting the maritime district held by the Ionians of the first satrapy. In the time of Croesus, they were the most valiant and warlike people in Asia. They were armed with long jave-

Lydians, their ancient empire.

[1] This was the name of the citadel of Troy. Herodotus adds "of Priam" to distinguish it from Pergamus on the Caicus, with which however, singularly enough, Bobrik confuses it.

[2] vii. 43. [3] v. 122. [4] ii. 10. [5] vii. 43. [6] vii. 44. [7] v. 117; iv. 138. [8] i. 57.

[9] iii. 120. We also learn from the testimony of Xenophon, that the western portion of Bithynia was attached to that of Mysia, whose satraps took up their habitual residence in the Bithynian town of Dascyleium. Xenoph. *Anab.* quoted by Heeren.

[10] v. 122. [11] iv. 76. [12] iv. 13, 14. [13] vi. 33.

lins, and fought on horseback, managing their horses with admirable skill.[1] They thus became the ruling power in western Asia, and subdued all the nations westward of the river Halys, except the Lycians and Cilicians. The empire of Croesus therefore included the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, Thynian and Bithynian Thracians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, and Pamphylians.[2] Sardis the capital was situated in a large but naked plain, watered by several rivers. Amongst others, the Hyllus (or modern Demirgi-chai) flowed through it into the Hermus, (or modern Ghiediz-chai,) which was the largest river of this country, and flowed from a mountain, (the modern Morad Tagh,) sacred to the mother Dindymene, and discharged itself into the sea near Phocae.[3] The acropolis of Sardis was very steep and inaccessible on the side which faced Mount Tmolus, (or Musa Tagh,) but was nevertheless scaled at this part by Hyroeades, a Mardian in the army of Cyrus, when the walls at every other point were impregnable.[4] Most of the houses were built entirely of reeds or canes; others with brick walls were also thatched over with reeds. At the time of the Ionian revolt, a soldier set fire to one of these houses, and the flames quickly spread from house to house, and consumed the entire city.[5] Even the temple of the national goddess Cybele fell in the general conflagration, and the Persians subsequently burnt the sanctuaries of Greece in revenge for this destruction.[6] Through the centre of the agora or market-place flowed the river Pactolus, (or Sarabat,) bringing grains of gold from Mount Tmolus, and subsequently discharging itself into the Hermus.[7] Sardis and Ephesus appear to have been the principal markets of the country, especially for the sale of eunuchs, who were more valued than other slaves on account of their extreme fidelity.[8]

Sardis the capital.

River Hyllus and Hermus.

[1] i. 79. [2] i. 6, 28. [3] i. 80. [4] i. 84. [5] v. 101.
[6] v. 102. [7] v. 101.
[8] viii. 105. With the exception of a few black tents of Yuruks, or wandering Turkomans, the only habitation described by travellers as ex-

Gold dust brought from Mount Tmolus by the river Pactolus.

The Lydian territory presented few wonders, excepting perhaps the grains of gold which were washed down from Mount Tmolus, by the river Pactolus.[1] The gold was apparently obtained in considerable quantities, and we find that the treasury of the Lydian kings, like that of the Persians, was filled with heaps of the precious dust.[2] Lydia however exhibited one work which was greater than those of any other nation excepting Aegypt and Babylon. This was a monument to Alyattes the father of Croesus, and consisted of an immense mound or tumulus of earth erected on a basis of large stones. It was 6 stadia and 2 plethra in circumference, and 13 plethra in breadth, and was situated near a large lake called the Gygaean lake, which the Lydians said was fed by perpetual springs.[3] The tumulus was raised by tradesmen, mechanics, and prostitutes; and on the summit, there still remained in the time of Herodotus five columns bearing inscriptions, showing how much of the work was executed by each class, and proving that the females had done the most.[4]

Tumulus of Alyattes.

Roads from Caria and Lydia to Phrygia.

Herodotus also mentions a beautiful tree, which existed in Lydia, and prefaces his notice with a somewhat minute topographical description. The road which led from Phrygia into Lydia divided at the frontier into two ways, that on the left led to Caria,

isting at Sardis, now called Sart, is that of a Greek miller, who has taken advantage of one of the streams which flow past the acropolis to turn the wheel of his mill. Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand.*

[1] v. 101. [2] vi. 125.

[3] The Necropolis of the ancient kings of Lydia was situated, according to Strabo, about 40 stadia north of Sardis. It is described by Mr. Hamilton as standing upon a low ridge of limestone hills that rise above the reed-environed lake of Gygaeus. It is a collection of gigantic mounds or tumuli, three of which are distinguished by their superior size, but the largest of which is generally designated as the tomb of Alyattes. It took Mr. Hamilton ten minutes to ride round its base, which accordingly he computes to be nearly half a mile in circumference. We have seen in the text, that Herodotus describes the mound as made up of earth upon a stone foundation, and Mr. Hamilton found it to be composed towards the north of natural rock, a white horizontally stratified earthy limestone, cut away so as to appear part of the structure, and in the upper portion of sand and gravel, apparently brought from the bed of the Hermus. Cf. Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand.*

[4] i. 93.

and that on the right to Sardis. Travellers who went by this latter road, were compelled to cross the river Macander, (now called the Buyuk Mendereh,) and pass by the city of Callatebus, in which resided confectioners who made honey (or sugar) from tamarisk and wheat. Xerxes followed this road in his expedition against Greece, and when about a day's march from Sardis, he met with a plane tree so exceedingly beautiful, that he presented it with golden ornaments, and committed it to the care of one of the Immortals.[1]

Beautiful plane tree on the Lydian road.

The amusements and vices of the Lydians, as described by Herodotus, are strongly illustrative of the state of civilization and morals in the rich commercial cities of antiquity. Most of their customs resembled those of the Hellenes, but it is remarked that they prostituted their females;[2] and their city seems to have been the resort of a great number of wealthy strangers, for we are told that the daughters of all the common people were enabled to provide themselves with dowries by the sacrifice of their modesty, and were subsequently permitted to choose their own husbands.[3] The Lydians were also the first nation known to Herodotus that introduced the art of coining gold and silver; and they were the first retailers,[4] that is, they were the first who purchased articles from the manufacturer, or importer, and sold them separately or in small quantities to the public. According also to the Lydians themselves, they were the inventors of games of dice, knuckle-bones, ball, and all the other games which were common in Lydia and Hellas, draughts only excepted. These inventions were made during that prolonged famine in the reign of Atys, which led to the Tyrrhenian migration.[5] The Lydians, like the Aegyptians, held tradesmen and their descendants in less respect than other citizens.[6] Their earlier name was Meïones. In the army of Xerxes they carried weapons very similar to those used by the Greeks.[7]

Depraved manners of the Lydians.

Invented the art of coining money, retail dealing, and games of dice, knuckle-bones, and ball.

[1] vii. 31. [2] i. 94. [3] i. 93. [4] i. 94. [5] Ibid. [6] ii. 167. [7] vii. 74.

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Topography of the coast.

The towns on the coast of Lydia were very important, and may all be regarded as belonging to Ionia, though, for the sake of clearness, it has been considered most advisable to include the description of them under the geography of the Lydian territory. We shall describe them in regular order, proceeding from north to south. The first of these was the commercial city of Phocaea, which was situated near the mouth of the river Hermus.[1] The Phocaeans were the first of all the Hellenes who undertook long voyages. These were made not in merchant vessels, (broad boats,) but in penteconters, or fifty-oared galleys,[2] (long boats,) which, in the time of Herodotus, were used chiefly for war. Arganthonius, the king of Tartessus, received them with great kindness, and endeavoured to persuade them to abandon their own country and settle in his territory; and when they declined the offer, he gave them sufficient money to build a good city wall of large and well-fitting stone, and not a few stadia in circumference.[3] When attacked by the Persian general, they took all their families, goods, and temple-images on board their penteconters and sailed to Chios, and there tried to buy the Oenyssae islands of the Chians. Being refused, they sailed to Cyrnus, but on their way landed at Phocaea, and slew the garrison which the Persians had left to guard the city. They then sunk a mass of red-hot iron into the sea, and swore not to return until the iron should re-appear; but soon afterwards more than half of the citizens were seized with a regret and longing for their native town, and violated their oaths and sailed back to Phocaea, whilst the remainder proceeded to Cyrnus.[4] Phocaea took a part in the erection of the Hellenium, a sacred building, or temple, in the trading city of Naucratis in Aegypt.[5] The Phocaeans had three ships at the sea-fight near Lade.[6]

Phocaea, its maritime enterprise.

Heroic resistance to Cyrus.

Magnesia.

Next to Phocaea were the following: Magnesia,[7] the residence of Oroetes, the Persian satrap who

[1] i. 80. [2] i. 163. [3] Ibid. [4] i. 165. [5] ii. 178. [6] vi. 8. [7] i. 161.

crucified Polycrates;[1] Smyrna;[2] Clazomenae;[3] Erythrae,[4] which sent eight ships to Lade;[5] Teos, which was held to be the centre of Ionia,[6] and sent seventeen ships to Lade;[7] Lebedos;[8] and Colophon,[9] which was not properly a genuine Ionian town, as its inhabitants did not celebrate the Apaturian festival.[10]

Smyrna. Clazomenae Erythrae. Teos. Lebedos. Colophon.

Next came Ephesus[11] on the river Cayster,[12] containing the celebrated temple, which, with the temple at Samos, are declared by Herodotus to be the principal structures in Greece.[13] This town was also not genuinely Ionian for the same reason that Colophon was not.[14] On the other hand, the Ephesians celebrated the Thesmophoria; and once at this festival some Chians were unhappily killed as they were escaping after the battle of Lade, being mistaken by the Ephesians for banditti.[15] Ephesus and Sardis were probably the great marts of western Asia, especially for eunuchs.[16] The whole country around appeared to have been formerly a sea.[17] In the Ephesian territory was a place called Coressus,[18] and lower down was the headland Mycale, (or Samsun,) projecting towards Samos, and on which the natural sanctuary called the Panionium was built.[19] Herodotus also relates that the Persians in going to Mycale passed the temple of the Eumenides, (Demeter and Cora,) and came to Gaeson and Scolopoeis, where the temple of the Eleusinian Demeter stood; and that they there drew their ships on shore, and threw up a rampart of stone and wood, and fortified it with a palisade.[20] The mountains of Mycale are also mentioned, with the passes leading to them.[21]

Ephesus. Coressus. Mycale.

In Ionia there were two figures of Sesostris sculptured in the rocks, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and the other on the road from Sardis to Smyrna. In each place a man was carved four cubits

Sculptures of Sesostris found in Ionia.

[1] iii. 125. [2] i. 14, 149. [3] i. 16. [4] i. 18. [5] vi. 8.
[6] i. 170. [7] vi. 8. [8] i. 142. [9] i. 14, 142. [10] i. 147.
[11] i. 26. [12] v. 100. The river Cayster now bears the name of Kuchuk Mendereh, or Little Mendereh, in contradistinction to the Maeander, or Great Mendereh.
[13] ii. 148. [14] i. 147. [15] vi. 16. [16] viii. 105. [17] ii. 10.
[18] v. 100. [19] i. 148. [20] ix. 97. [21] ix. 99.

and a half high, and holding a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left. The rest of the costume was partly Aegyptian and partly Aethiopian; and across the breast between the shoulders was engraved an inscription in sacred Aegyptian characters, signifying "I have conquered this country by my own shoulders." These monuments were incorrectly supposed by some people to be images of Memnon.[1]

Identification of the monument between Sardis and Smyrna by modern travellers.

The monument on the road from Sardis to Smyrna is still to be seen.[2] It consists of a figure of a warrior carved within a large square cavity, on the side of a smooth and nearly perpendicular rock. The figure wears a tiara and holds a spear in its left hand, not in the right, as Herodotus says; but the right hand holds the string of a bow which hangs on the warrior's back. Near the head is the representation of a bird in a sort of ornamented frame. The detail parts of the figure are seen very indistinctly, and the more prominent parts, including the inscription, have been carried away by time and air. The identity is, however, unquestionable, though some

Its Aegyptian origin doubted.

modern critics have doubted the Aegyptian origin of the monument. The inscription recorded in Herodotus does not contain the king's name, which, according to Aegyptian custom, would not have been omitted. The whole costume, especially the tiara, which is very different from the Aegyptian pshent, the form of the shoes, and the clumsiness and rudeness in the proportions of the body, do not agree with other well-known monuments of Sesostris and his time, nor with Aegyptian art in general. The monument has therefore been ascribed to some one of the native nations of Asia Minor, or to some conquering invader of Scythian origin; and the latter theory seems the nearest to truth, inasmuch as Herodotus's description of the costume and armour of the Scythians, whom the Persians call Sacae, agrees

[1] ii. 106.

[2] This monument was discovered about thirty years ago by the Rev. G. C. Renouard, and has been described by Prof. Welcker, and commented on by Kiepert and others. For the present account I am indebted to two papers by Dr. Schmitz in the Classical Museum, vol. i.

exactly with the figure in the relief, with the exception of the sagaris or axe.[1] But it is difficult, as Dr. Schmitz observes, to understand how Herodotus, who had seen more Aegyptian monuments and inscriptions than any modern traveller, could have pronounced the present one to be Aegyptian, unless it had borne strong marks of its origin. The Ionians themselves evidently believed it was Aegyptian; hieroglyphics were on its breast, and the bird in the frame has only hitherto been found on Aegyptian monuments. The costume certainly presents a difficulty, but it must be remembered that it is to our author himself that we are indebted for our information respecting the Scythian equipment. The question however must still remain a subject for archaeological critics.

Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians.

Beside the Mysians and Lydians already described, the second satrapy comprised the Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians.[2] Of these people we can gain no information. It is probable that the two first formed one and the same nation, as Herodotus says in another place—"the Cabalian Meïonians, who are also called Lasonians;"—and that they were settled in Lydia on the confines of Lycia, as the Lasonians and Milyans were both under the same commander.[3] It must however be remarked, that the Cabalians were equipped like the Cilicians.[4]

III. Hellespont, Phrygia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia.

III. The Asiatic coast of the HELLESPONT, with PHRYGIA, BITHYNIA, PAPHLAGONIA, and CAPPADOCIA, composed the third satrapy, which thus embraced the Hellespontines to the right of the entrance to the straits, the Phrygians, the Asiatic Thracians, the Paphlagonians, the Mariandynians, and the Syro-Cappadocians. It paid 360 talents yearly.[5]

Hellespontines.

The HELLESPONTINES were descendants of the

[1] vii. 64. [2] i. 90.

[3] This is Valcknaer's conjecture. The objection to it is, that if Badres was commander of only two nations, viz. the Cabalian Meionians or Lasonians and the Milyans, why should Herodotus say "Badres commanded ALL these nations," — for two would scarcely justify the expression. Larcher, *note on* vii. 77.

[4] vii. 77. [5] iii. 90.

Ionians and Dorians. They contributed one hundred ships to Xerxes, and were equipped in the Hellenic fashion.[1] It is evident from this that they included the Hellenic colonies on the Propontis, whose names we have already mentioned under Mysia.[2] Besides these, the town of Calchedonia[3] on the Bosphorus, where the bridge of Darius was laid across.[4] Megabyzus, when he heard that the Calchedonians had settled seventeen years before the Byzantines, remarked that the former must have been blind for choosing the worst site for their city, when they might have had Byzantium, which was the best.[5]

Phrygians more ancient than the Aegyptians.

The PHRYGIANS were the only nation which the Aegyptians acknowledged to be more ancient than themselves. Psammetichus proved them to be anterior, by ordering a shepherd to bring up two newborn children in a solitary room, where they were suckled by goats, and could not hear the sound of any human language. After two years it was found that the children could only cry Bekos,[6] which, on inquiry, was discovered to be the Phrygian word for bread. This experiment satisfied the Aegyptians that the Phrygians were more ancient than themselves.[7] In the army of Xerxes the Phrygians appeared in almost the same costume as the Paphlagonians, who wore peculiar boots, reaching half way up their legs, and carried small shields and small spears, together with javelins and daggers.[8] According to a tradition of the Macedonians, they were called Bryges, as long as they were Europeans and dwelt with them in Macedonia, but after they were settled in Asia they changed their name with their country, and were called Phrygians. The Armenians were a Phrygian colony.[9]

Called Bryges when dwelling in Macedonia.

[1] vii. 95. [2] Page 226.

[3] Generally spelt Chalcedonia. All the coins of the place have, however, the name written καλχήδων, and this is also the way in which the name is written in the best MSS. of Herodotus, Xenophon, and other writers. [4] iv. 85. [5] iv. 144.

[6] This is explained by the Scholiast on Apoll. Rhod. iv. 262, to be merely an imitation of the bleating of goats.

[7] ii. 2. [8] vii. 72. [9] vii. 73.

The topography of Phrygia is somewhat obscure. A particular tract of land in Phrygia was occupied by the Paeonians, who had been transplanted by Megabazus from the river Strymon, but who during the Ionian revolt escaped back to their own country, leaving behind them only a few who were afraid to venture.[1] Gordium[2] was the ancient capital.[3] Celaenae was a town in Phrygia where the sources of the river Maeander[4] streamed forth; and where another river not much smaller, named the Catarrhactes, rose in the agora and discharged itself into the Maeander. In this city the skin of Silenus Marsyas was suspended, which, as the Phrygians say, was stripped off and hung up by Apollo.[5] Celaenae was also the residence of Pythius the Lydian, who gave Darius a golden plane tree and vine, and was said to be the richest man in the world next to Xerxes.[6] He possessed 2000 silver talents and four millions of gold Daric staters,[7] or nearly four millions sterling. The river Marsyas flowed from the territory of Idrias and fell into the Maeander: on one of its banks was the place called White Columns, where the Carians were defeated by the Persians in the Ionian revolt.[8] From Celaenae Xerxes in his course towards Greece went to the city called Anana, and passing by a lake from whence salt was obtained, reached Colossae, where the river Lycus disappeared under the earth for five stadia, and subsequently discharged itself into the Maeander. Farther on, at the town of Cydrara, a pillar had been erected by Croesus to mark the boundaries between Phrygia and Lydia.[9] The road here divided; that on the left leading to Caria,

Topography of Phrygia.
Tract occupied by the Paeonians.
Gordium.
Celaenae.
Sources of the Maeander and Catarrhactes.
River Marsyas.
White Columns.
Course of Xerxes from Celaenae to Lydia.
Anana.
Salt lake.
Colossae.
River Lycus.
Cydrara.
Boundary pillar between Phrygia and Lydia.

[1] v. 98.

[2] Nearly all the ancient kings of Phrygia were called either Midas or Gordius.

[3] Cf. i. 14.

[4] The Maeander is now called by the Turks Buyuk Mendereh, or the Great Mendereh, in contradistinction to the Little Mendereh, or ancient Cayster. It is joined by the Catarrhactes, and after flowing for some time in a westerly direction, is joined on the south side by the Lycus. There is some slight confusion about the Marsyas, as it is evident that the river so called by Xenophon is the Catarrhactes of Herodotus.

[5] vii. 26. [6] vii. 27. [7] vii. 28. [8] v. 118, 119. [9] vii. 30.

ASIA. CHAP. II.

and that on the right across the Maeander to Sardis.[1] Conium is also mentioned, of which town Cineas the king of Thessaly, who assisted the Peisistratidae, was a native;[2] together with Alabanda, a large Phrygian city.[3] It is however doubtful whether this should not be written "a Carian city."[4]

Conium. Alabanda.

Thracians from the Strymon, called Bithynians.

The THRACIANS, after their settlement in Asia, were called Bithynians. Previously, whilst dwelling on the river Strymon, they had been called Strymonians, but according to their own statement they were driven from the Strymon by the Teucri and Mysians. They marched in the army of Xerxes having fox-skins on their heads and tunics on their bodies, over which were coverings of various colours. On their legs and feet they wore buskins of deer-skin. Their arms were javelins, light bucklers, and small daggers.[5] The Thynian Thracians are also mentioned as forming part of the empire of Croesus.[6]

Mariandynians.

The MARIANDYNIANS accompanied Xerxes, and were equipped the same as the Paphlagonians.[7]

Paphlagonians.

The PAPHLAGONIANS also marched in the Persian army, wearing plaited helmets on their heads, and peculiar boots on their feet reaching half way up their legs. They carried small shields and small spears; also javelins and daggers.[8] They dwelt on the left bank of the river Halys.[9] When the Cimmerians were driven into Asia by the Scythians, they settled on the peninsula, (in the Paphlagonian territory,) where the Hellenic city of Sinope stood in the time of Herodotus.[10] The Paphlagonians seem also to include the people whom Herodotus describes as "the Syrians about Thermodon and the river Parthenius."[11] Here also may be placed Themiscyra, which lay on the river Thermodon, and from which city across the Pontus to Sindica was 3300 stadia.[12]

White Syrians, or

The CAPPADOCIANS, so called by the Persians,[13]

[1] vii. 31. [2] v. 63. [3] viii. 136. [4] vii. 195. See also page 221.
[5] vii. 75. [6] i. 28. [7] vii. 72. [8] Ibid. [9] i. 72.
[10] iv. 12. [11] ii. 104. [12] iv. 86. [13] vii. 72.

were named SYRIANS by the Greeks.[1] Before the establishment of the Persian power they belonged to the Median empire, but afterwards they were included in the empire of Cyrus. The river Halys formed the boundary between the Median empire and the Lydian. This river rises in the mountains of Armenia, and flows through Cilicia; then between the Matienians on its right bank and the Phrygians on its left; and afterwards runs northward with the Syrian Cappadocians on its right and the Paphlagonians on its left.[2]

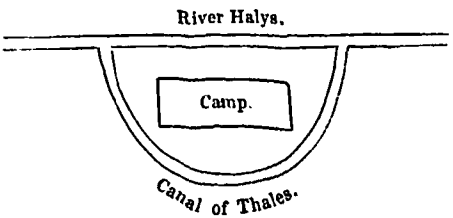
Cappadocians. The Halys.

From the foregoing description, it is evident that the territory occupied by the Cappadocians was included in very different limits to the Cappadocia of later times. As the Halys is said to flow through Cilicia, we cannot suppose the Cappadocians to have stretched southward beyond it, but may indeed consider them to be enclosed between the Halys and the Euxine.

Extent and limits of the Cappadocia of Herodotus.

When Crœsus reached the Halys he crossed the river, as Herodotus believes, by the bridges still there; but the Greeks say that Thales the Milesian made the stream fordable by carrying off the waters through a semicircular canal behind the camp.[3]

Canal of Thales.



The Cappadocians wore the same accoutrements

[1] The Cappadocians are always styled by writers contemporaneous with the Persians, Leuco-Syri, or White Syrians, to distinguish them from the Syrians properly so called. "Their complexion," says Strabo, "was fairer than that of their countrymen to the south." It is probable, however, that the Cappadocians had themselves assumed this appellation from motives of vanity. Most of the eastern nations take a pride in bearing a name significant of fairness of complexion. Hence the White Huns, the golden-horde, (among the Calmucks,) etc. Even the empress of Russia was habitually styled by her oriental subjects, the White Czarina. Heeren, *Asiat. Res.* vol. i.

[2] i. 72. [3] i. 75.

in the army of Xerxes as their western neighbours the Paphlagonians.[1] Croesus took the Cappadocian town of Pteria, which was the strongest position in the whole of this country, and situated over against Sinope; and he enslaved the Pterians and ravaged the lands of the surrounding Syrians, taking all the adjacent places and expelling the inhabitants.[2] The town of Critalla is also mentioned, as being the place where all the land forces of Xerxes assembled.[3]

Pteria.

Critalla.

IV. CILICIA

IV. CILICIA composed the fourth satrapy, which therefore comprised the Cilicians, who gave 360 white horses and 500 talents, of which latter only 360 went to Darius, as the remaining 140 were required for the cavalry guarding Cilicia.[4]

Cilicians, anciently named Hypachaeans.

The Cilicians furnished Xerxes with one hundred ships. They dwelt in a mountainous country,[5] and were formerly called Hypachaeans, but afterwards were named Cilicians, from Cilix, son of Agenor the Phoenician. On their heads they wore helmets peculiar to their country, and instead of shields they carried bucklers made of raw hides, and were attired in woollen tunics. Each man had two javelins and a sword shaped like the Aegyptian scimetar.[6] Artemisia considered them to be as useless allies of Xerxes as the Pamphylians.[7] In the Aleian plain in Cilicia, Datis and Artaphernes with the Persian land forces were joined by the navy and horse transports.[8]

Extent and limits of the Cilicia of Herodotus.

The Cilicia of Herodotus was evidently much larger than the country which went by that name at a later period. In the north and north-east it extended beyond the Halys and as far as Armenia, for Herodotus says that the Halys flowed from the Armenian mountains through Cilicia.[9] Towards the east it reached as far as the river Euphrates,[10] and probably towards the south it extended to Posideïum in Syria, as Herodotus expressly says that this city was built on the frontiers of the Cilicians and Syrians. His statement that the Marian-

[1] vii. 72. [2] i. 76. [3] vii. 26. [4] iii. 90. [5] ii. 34.
[6] vii. 91. [7] viii. 68. [8] vi. 95. [9] i. 72. [10] v. 52.

dic Gulf lies adjacent to Phoenicia,[1] does not in the least interfere with this boundary line; as the town of Mariandrus, which gave its name to the bay, might be Phoenician, whilst the land farther in the interior might be Cilician. Xenophon even expressly calls it a Phoenician place.[2]

Conclusion.

Such then was the extent of our author's knowledge of Asia Minor. The geography of the western coast is more full than that of all the remaining territory; but it would have been impossible to curtail the topographical description of the Greek colonies without omitting information of considerable importance, whilst the interior and eastern districts are almost as little known now as they were in the days of Herodotus, and we gladly leave them to enter upon the more important geography of Upper Asia.

[1] iv. 38. [2] Bobrik, *Geog. des Herod.* § 70.

CHAPTER III.

UPPER ASIA, OR SYRIA, BABYLONIA, CISSIA, AND PERSIS.

Plateau of Iran.—Traversed east and south by two great ranges.—Zagros, or mountains of Kurdistan.—Elburz and Ghur mountains.—Country watered by the Euphrates and Tigris.—Assyria.—Babylonia.—Mesopotamia.—Syria.—Media.—Cissia and Persis.—Three satrapies known to Herodotus.—5. SYRIA PROPER, or Phoenicia and Palaestine.—Distinction between the Syrians of Palaestine and the White Syrians of Cappadocia and Assyrians of Babylonia and Mesopotamia.—Face of the country.—Libanus and Anti-Libanus.—Valley of the Jordan.—Desert of Syria.—Phoenicians, their migrations from the Erythraean.—Commercial enterprise.—Naval superiority.—Equipment.—Practice of circumcision.—Figure-heads on their ships.—Palm wine.—Tyrian camp settlement in Aegypt.—Tyre: ancient temple of Heracles.—Sidon.—Aradus.—Syrians of Palaestine, or Hebrews, scarcely known to Herodotus.—Importance of Palaestine as a key to Aegypt.—Ascalon: temple of Aphrodite or Astarte.—Magdolus, or Megiddo.—Cadytis.—Identified by Prideaux with Jerusalem—by Mr. Ewing with Kadesh in Galilee—by Col. Rawlinson with Gaza.—Correctness of the latter view.—Sea-ports of Palaestine.—Arid tract between Jenysus and Lake Serbonis.—Practice of circumcision.—Pillars of Sesostris.—Cyprus.—9. ASSYRIA, or Babylonia and Mesopotamia, answering to Irak Arabi, and Algezirah.—Inhabitants called Syrians by the Greeks, and Assyrians by the Barbarians.—Great importance of this satrapy.—Want of rain supplied by the Euphrates.—Numerous canals.—Extraordinary growth of corn.—Palm trees.—Babylon, the only city described.—Site of the ruins of Babylon near Hillah.—Three mounds on the eastern bank of the Euphrates.—Mujelibe, or "the overturned."—Erroneously supposed by Rennell to be the temple of Belus.—El Kasr, or "the palace."—Amram hill.—Remains of ancient ramparts.—River embankment.—Western bank of the Euphrates.—Small scattered mounds.—Birs Nimroud, or tower of Babel and temple of Belus.—Its extreme antiquity.—Herodotus's description of Babylon: a vast square protected by a moat and wall.—Towers on the wall.—One hundred brass gates.—The city cut in two by the Euphrates.—Walls along the river-banks with brazen gates.—Inner wall.—The royal palace.—Temple of Belus: its eight towers and spiral ascent.—Statements of the Chaldaean priests.—Bridge over the Euphrates.—Sepulchre of Nitocris.—Names of the city gates.—Destruction of the fortifications by Darius.—Town of Is.—Account of the Euphrates.—Anciently overflowed the country.—Dams raised by Semiramis and Nitocris.—Course of the river rendered winding by Nitocris.—Numerous artificial canals.—Towns of Opis and Ampe.—Dress of the Babylonians.—Manners and customs.—Annual sale of maidens.—No physicians: sick persons carried into the market for advice.—Embalming.—Funeral

lamentations like those of the Aegyptians.—Burning of incense after sexual intercourse.—Disgraceful practice connected with the worship of Aphrodite.—Three tribes of Babylonian Icthyophagi.—Chaldaeans.—Babylonian sun-dial.—Gnomon.—Talent.—8. CISSIA and PERSIS, answering to Khuzistan and Farsistan.—General description of the country.—Sandy plains along the coast.—Rising of the land in terraces.—Mountains on the north the fatherland of the Persians.—Great city of Susa on the Choaspes.—The Memnonium.—Stone figure of Darius on horseback.—Identification of Susa with Shus on the river Kerkhah.—Ardericca, seat of the transplanted Erythraeans.—Well producing asphalt, salt, and oil.—Persians divided into ten tribes, viz. the Pasargadae, Maraphii, Maspii, Panthialaei, Derusiaei, Germanii, Dahae, Mardi, Dropici, and Sagartii.—Religion of the Persians.—No statues, temples, or altars.—Name of Zeus applied to the vault of heaven.—Sacrifices on high places.—Ancient worship of the sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and winds.—Later worship of Aphrodite or Mitra.—Mode of sacrifice.—Prayer of the sacrificer.—Ode sung by the Magi.—Social customs.—Celebration of birthdays.—Moderation at meals, but profusion afterwards.—Addiction to wine.—Debates when drunk and again when sober.—Modes of salutation according to rank.—Respect for neighbouring nations according to their proximity to Persia.—Attachment to foreign customs.—Polygamy, concubinage, and pederasty.—Respect for fathers of large families.—Education of sons.—Trial of criminals.—Parricide considered impossible.—Lying and getting into debt especially abhorred.—Lepers and white pigeons expelled from cities.—Veneration for rivers.—Ceremonies practised on dead bodies.—Weakness of the Persian skull.—Magi a peculiar race: unlike the Persian priests.—Persian ignorance of navigation.—Contempt for markets and traders.—Equipment.—Especial honours paid to valour.—Horrible custom of burying alive in honour of Ahriman.—Persian system of post.—Matters pertaining to the king.—Celebration of his birthday.—Those who obliged him called Orosangae, or benefactors.—Drank only of the water of the river Choaspes.—Regarded as the master of Asia.—General veneration for him.—Conduct of the harem.—Persian language.

IN the preceding chapter we traversed Asia Minor to its eastern frontiers, and we therefore now find ourselves standing on the mountains of Armenia, near the sources of the river Frat, or Euphrates. Before us is the gigantic plateau of Iran, spreading out from the base of Ararat southward towards the Persian Gulf, eastward nearly to the Indus, and sloping westward, as we have already seen, through the peninsula of Asia Minor to the shore of the Aegean. The whole of this elevated region is connected with the vast conical summits of Ararat by numerous mountain ranges. Westward the huge arms of Taurus and Anti-Taurus spread through Asia Minor. East and southward two other great ranges proceed in distinct lines to the limits of ancient Persia. First the brown bleak mountains of

Plateau of Iran.

Traversed east and south by two ranges.

ASIA. CHAP. III.

Kurdistan, anciently called the Zagros, run towards the south, and separate Assyria from Media; and then, after approaching the coast, take a bend towards the east, and gradually decrease in height until they lose themselves near the banks of the Indus. The second chain runs almost due east, and skirts the northern side of Iran. It proceeds from the plateau of Ararat along the southern shore of the Caspian under the name of Elburz, and from thence stretches through Khorassan, and entering Cabul is interrupted by the valley of Herat. Beyond this break it bears the name of the Ghur mountains or ancient Paropamisus, but afterwards joins the Hindoo Koosh, and at length reaches the Himalayas, first sending off a branch towards the north, which skirts the great desert of Gobi, or Shamo, and was known to the ancients as the Imaus, but is now called Belur-tagh, or the mountains of Bolor.[1]

Zagros, or mountains of Kurdistan.

Elburz and Ghur mountains.

From the elevated region of Armenia rise two great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, and these, after a long and devious course towards the south, at last unite and fall together into the Persian Gulf. The country on the northern course of the Tigris was called Assyria; that on the southern course of the Euphrates was called Babylonia. The large intervening space between the Euphrates and Tigris, and to the south of Babylonia, was called Mesopotamia, or "country between the rivers." The region westward of the Euphrates, and stretching to the Mediterranean, is generally known by the name of

Countries watered by the Euphrates and Tigris.

Assyria.

Babylonia.

Mesopotamia.

Syria.

[1] The plateau of Iran, with its various ridges, is evidently described by both Strabo and Arrian, who copy from Eratosthenes, under the general name of Mount Taurus. "India," they say, "is bounded on the north by Mount Taurus, which mountain retains the same name even in that country. It rises on the sea-coast near Pamphylia, Lycia, and Cilicia, and extends itself in one continued ridge as far as the Oriental Ocean, running quite through all Asia. In some parts, nevertheless, it is called by other names; for in one country it is named Paropamisus; in another, Emodus; in a third, Imaus; and it is very probable it has many more, in the various territories through which it passes. The Macedonian soldiers who accompanied Alexander in his expedition, called it Caucasus; whereas Caucasus is a mountain of Scythia, widely distant from this; but their reason was, that they might boast that Alexander had passed over Mount Caucasus." Strabo, lib. xv. Arrian, *Indica. Op.* c. ii.

Syria.[1] Eastward of Assyria was Media, and eastward of Babylonia was Cissia and Persis. Assyria Proper answers to the modern country of Kurdistan, Babylonia to Irak-Arabi, Mesopotamia to Algezirah, Media to Irak-Ajemi, Cissia to Khuzistan, and Persis to Farsistan. Syria Proper is still best known by its ancient name. It is necessary for the reader to bear these names and particulars continually in mind whilst investigating Herodotus's geography of central Asia.

Media. Cissia and Persis.

The countries thus named and mapped out embraced certainly all, and probably a great deal more than was known to our author. In the present chapter we shall confine ourselves to the region between the Mediterranean and the Tigris, answering to the provinces of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia; and to these we shall add Cissia and Persia Proper, which lie eastward of the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates. This region is bounded on the north by the mountains of Armenia and Media, and on the south by the Arabian desert and Persian Gulf, and was divided by Darius Hystaspis into three satrapies, which we shall name as follows: 1. Syria Proper, including Phoenicia and Palaestine. 2. Assyria, so called by Herodotus, although it only comprised Babylonia and Mesopotamia, as Assyria Proper, or Kurdistan, was included in the Armenian satrapy. 3. Cissia, to which we shall also add Persis. These in the arrangement of Darius form the fifth, ninth, and eighth satrapies.

Three satrapies known to Herodotus, viz. Syria Proper; Assyria; Cissia and Persis.

V. SYRIA PROPER, or the fifth satrapy, extended from the town of Poseideium which was built by Amphilochus on the borders of Syria and Cilicia, as far as Aegypt, and thus comprised all Phoenicia, Syria which is called Palaestine, and Cyprus.[2] It paid a tribute of 350 talents.[3]

V. SYRIA PROPER, or Phoenicia and Palaestine.

This territory may be called Syria Proper,[4] in con-

[1] We shall presently see that the terms Syria and Assyria were sometimes used as general names for the entire region described in the present paragraph.

[2] This satrapy could scarcely include any part of Arabia, which paid separately a yearly tribute of frankincense. [3] iii. 91.

[4] Herodotus seems to have applied the name of Palaestine to the en-

tradistinction both to the White Syrians, or Cappadocians, north of the Taurus, and the Syrians, or Assyrians, of Mesopotamia and Babylonia. From the former it was separated by the chain of Taurus Proper; from the latter by an uncertain and irregular line, which may be drawn from the southern point of the Dead Sea to the upper course of the Euphrates.[1]

Distinction between the Syrians of Palaestine and the White Syrians of Cappadocia, and the Assyrians of Babylonia and Mesopotamia.

The country may be described as consisting of two sets of highlands, formed by the ramifications of Mount Taurus, and running from north to south under the names of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, until they finally connect themselves with the rocky masses of Horeb and Sinai in Arabia Petraca. Between them is the long and remarkable valley containing the Dead Sea, the river Jordan, and a chain of lakes running northward from thence to the foot of the Taurus. Between this mountain region and the western bank of the Euphrates is the dry and gravelly desert of Syria, which however is covered with grass and wild flowers during the brief rains of winter and spring. It extends southwards into the desert of Arabia. Phoenicia was a territory along the coast of the northern half of the mountain region. Palaestine formed the southern part. The Syrians of Damascus, to the north of Palaestine and east of Phoenicia, are nowhere mentioned by Herodotus, but were doubtless included in the same satrapy.

Face of the country.

Libanus and Anti-Libanus.

Valley of the Jordan.

Desert of Syria.

The PHOENICIANS originally wandered from the Erythraean to the Mediterranean, and having settled on the sea-coast of that part of Syria[2] which is called Palaestine, began to undertake long voyages, and to export Assyrian and Aegyptian merchandise. From

Phoenicians their migrations from the Erythraean.

tire region, for, he evidently (vii. 89) considered Palaestine to include Phoenicia.

[1] Syria, or Aram, in its widest signification, denoted all the countries inhabited by the Aramaeans or Syrians, and embraced not only the region between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, but frequently also Mesopotamia and Babylonia, or the region between the Euphrates and Tigris, and even sometimes Assyria Proper, or Kurdistan, to the east of the latter river. On the other hand, Assyria was frequently made in its turn to include the same territories, and we find the terms Syria and Assyria often interchanged by Greek and Roman authors. Herodotus says (vii. 63) that the people who were called Syrians by the Greeks were termed Assyrians by the Barbarians.

[2] vii. 89.

the city of Argos they carried off Io, an outrage which is said to have been the original cause of the Persian wars;[1] and they are also especially mentioned as having taken to Greece the frankincense, which they imported from Arabia.[2] Their maritime power was very considerable, and without them the Persians could never have achieved any conquests at sea.[3] In conjunction with the Syrians of Palaestine, they furnished Xerxes with three hundred ships,[4] and were considered to be the best sailors in all the Persian fleet, more especially the Sidonians.[5] Their equipment consisted of helmets made very much after the Hellenic fashion; linen breastplates;[6] shields without rims; and javelins.[7] They learnt the custom of circumcision from the Aegyptians, but those who carried on commercial intercourse with Greece discontinued the practice.[8] On the prows of their vessels they fixed the Pataici or images representing pigmies, which were not unlike the image of Hephaestus in the temple at Memphis.[9]

Commercial enterprise.

Naval superiority.

Equipment.

Practice of circumcision.

Figure-heads on their ships.

The palm wine of Phoenicia seems to have been much celebrated, and when Cambyses sent a cask with his other presents to the Aethiopians,[10] it proved to be the only one of the gifts that pleased their taste.[11] The Phoenicians themselves carried their wine in earthen vessels into Aegypt twice every year, and they seem to have had a large settlement in the Aegyptian capital, for we are told that the Tyrian Phoenicians dwelt round the sanctuary of Proteus at Memphis, whence the whole district was called the Tyrian camp.[12]

Palm wine.

Tyrian camp settlement in Aegypt.

Of the country of Phoenicia we can obtain very little information from Herodotus. At Tyre there was

Tyre. Ancient temple of Heracles.

[1] i. 1. [2] iii. 107. [3] i. 143. [4] vii. 89. [5] vii. 96.

[6] The linen, says Larcher, was steeped in sour wine mixed with a certain quantity of salt. Eighteen thicknesses were laid on each other and worked together, as they make felt, and was then proof against steel, and could resist an arrow. Mr. Cooley adds, that this armour of wadded linen was probably an Aegyptian invention, and is still used in Upper Nubia, by those tribes which are removed a little from the ordinary course of change and innovation.

[7] vii. 89. [8] ii. 104. [9] iii. 37. [10] iii. 20.

[11] iii. 22. [12] ii. 112.

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a temple of Heracles, (Melicartha,) richly adorned with a great variety of consecrated gifts, and containing two pillars, one of gold and the other of emerald, both of which shone exceedingly in the darkness of night. Herodotus inquired of the priests how long the temple had been built, and was told that it had been erected 2300 years previously, at the same time that the city itself was founded.[1] There was also another temple dedicated to the Thasian Heracles.[2]

Sidon. Aradus.

Beside the foregoing, we also find mention of Sidon,[3] and the town of Aradus, the native place of Merbalus.[4]

Syrians of Palaestine, or Hebrews, scarcely known to Herodotus.

The HEBREW NATION, or Syrians of Palaestine, as Herodotus calls them, though so important in the history of the world, are but little mentioned by our author. In his mind they merely formed, with the Phoenicians and the island of Cyprus, a satrapy of the Persian empire. Phoenicia was the maritime nation extending along the coast. Palaestine was the agricultural nation,[5] occupying the interior, and including the caravan route between Aegypt and the east. In a political point of view its possession was the more important to Persia, as it tended to secure that of Aegypt. From the book of Ezra we learn that the head of this satrapy bore the title of governor of the country "beyond the river;" and that the Jews of Palaestine were sometimes governed by a subordinate ruler of their own race.[6] In the time of Nehemiah we find allusion made to more satraps than one.[7] The following is all we can gather from Herodotus. At Ascalon (the old city of the Philistines) was the celebrated temple of the

Importance of Palaestine as a key to Aegypt.

Ascalon, temple of Aphrodite or Astarte.

[1] Josephus, quoting from Menander, says that Hiram, the contemporary of the Jewish Solomon, pulled down the old temples of Melicartha and Astarte, and built new ones. Herodotus therefore only saw the new temple, which however must in his time have been 550 years old. Joseph. *Cont. Apion*, lib. i. c. 18.

[2] ii. 44. [3] ii. 116. [4] vii. 98.

[5] The mountainous territory of Phoenicia was but little adapted for agriculture, and we consequently find that the corn country of Palaestine became her granary. Solomon furnished Hiram with an immense quantity of wheat and oil in return for the Phoenician king's assistance in building the great temple at Jerusalem.

[6] Ezra vi. 6; vii. 25. [7] Nehemiah ii. 7, 9.

celestial Aphrodite,[1] which was plundered by the Scythians in their excursions towards Aegypt. This temple was the most ancient of all that were dedicated to the Syrian Aphrodite, for the one in Cyprus was built some time afterwards, and that in Cythera was founded by some Phoenicians who came from this part of Syria.[2] At Magdolus (or Megiddo[3]) the Aegyptian king Neco defeated the Syrians.[4] The city of Cadytis however is especially mentioned as being a large city, and in the opinion of Herodotus not much less than Sardis.[5] Prideaux[6] identifies it with Jerusalem, not only from our author's notice of its importance, but also because Jerusalem was anciently called Kedushah, or "the holy;"[7] changed in the Syriac dialect, which was the vernacular tongue of the period, into Kedutha; and again changed by Herodotus, who gave it a Greek termination, into Κάδυτις, or Cadytis. Jerusalem is also still called by the Arabs El-kuds, or "the holy." Herodotus however further describes Cadytis as a city on the coast, for he says that from Phoenicia to Cadytis, and from Cadytis to Jenysus, (in the south,) the ports belong to the Arabs.[8] He also mentions that the Aegyptian king Neco took Cadytis, after the battle of Megiddo, and therefore could not have alluded to Jerusalem, as the latter city would have been quite out of his line of march.[9] Mr. Ewing therefore shows that Jerusalem could not have been meant, and he justly observes, that to speak of the maritime towns between Jerusalem and Jenysus, would be as absurd as to speak of those between Oxford and London.[10]

Magdolus or Megiddo.

Cadytis.

Identified by Prideaux with Jerusalem.

By Mr. Ewing with Kedesh in Galilee.

[1] Called Astarte, Ashtaroth, Queen of heaven, etc., and is identified with the moon, as Baal was with the sun.

[2] i. 105.

[3] Herodotus has here confused Megiddo, the plain or valley at the foot of Mount Carmel, where Josiah was defeated and slain by Necho, with Magdolus or Migdol, in Lower Aegypt, 12 miles east of Pelusium.

[4] ii. 159. [5] iii. 5.

[6] Prideaux's Connexion, *an.* 610 B. C.

[7] The inscription on the shekels was "Jerusalem Kedushah," or Jerusalem the Holy, and this coin carried the name among the neighbouring nations; hence the city was soon called simply Kedushah for shortness' sake.

[8] iii. 5. [9] ii. 159. [10] Classical Museum, No. iv.

He points out Kedesh in Galilee as the Cadytis of Herodotus, because Kedesh is a maritime town, and would lie in Neco's line of march from Megiddo towards the Euphrates; and he also derives the name Cadytis from Kadatha, a Chaldee corruption of Kedesh. Mr. Ewing is evidently mistaken in his identification, for Phoenicia stretched southwards some distance beyond Kedesh, and mention has already been made of the sea-ports between Phoenicia and Cadytis. Colonel Rawlinson has cleared up the difficulty. The forty-seventh chapter of Jeremiah prophetically describes the desolation by Pharaoh of the land of the Philistines; and further, expressly alludes to the capture and destruction of GAZA, by the same king. The name of the Philistine city of Gaza, as discovered by Dr. Layard and interpreted by Colonel Rawlinson, is Khazita,[1] and as the description given by Herodotus is in every way applicable to Gaza, we may presume that this was the name that the Greeks changed into Cadytis.

By Colonel Rawlinson with Gaza.

Correctness of the latter view.

Sea-ports of Palaestine.

The sea-ports on the coast of the Mediterranean from Phoenicia to Cadytis,[2] and from Cadytis to the city of Jenysus, belonged to the Arabians;[3] but from

[1] Outline of Assyrian History collected from the cuneiform inscriptions, by Lieut. Col. Rawlinson. Printed from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

[2] It must not however be forgotten that Cadytis, though in the midst of an Arab population, belonged to the Syrians of Palaestine.

[3] It has been thought that the Arabs here described by our author were no other than the Hebrew tribes. This superficial theory, whilst it would explain the apparent difficulties in the geography, is contradicted by history, and indeed by Herodotus himself, as the manners and customs which he ascribes to the Arabians (see chap. on Independent Asia) can by no means be identified with those of the Jews. It seems certain, that after the return from the Babylonian captivity, and for a long time subsequently, the Hebrews only occupied the city of Jerusalem and its immediate neighbourhood, and gradually enlarged their territory as they increased in population. I cannot therefore but presume that the Arabs here alluded to were descendants of the old Philistine nation, which was evidently a powerful people in the reign of Judas Maccabaeus. Those commentators who suppose that Herodotus never could have penetrated Palaestine, merely on the ground that if he had done so he would have left some account of such a peculiar nation as the Jews, are, I think, labouring under a misconception of the period in which our author flourished. He was contemporary with Nehemiah, at a time when the Jewish nation was almost crushed by the Samaritans, and when Jerusalem possessed neither walls, towers, nor gates. The picture of utter pros-

Jenysus to Lake Serbonis, on the confines of Aegypt, they belonged to the Syrians. The latter tract was three days' journey in extent, and utterly destitute of water.[1] From every part of Hellas, and also from Phoenicia, earthen vessels filled with wine were twice every year imported into Aegypt, and yet not a single jar was to be seen there; for every demarch was obliged to collect all the vessels in his own town, and forward them to Memphis, where the people filled them with water, and conveyed them to the arid tract of three days' journey already described.[2] This plan was first adopted by the Persians after they had become masters of Aegypt, in order to render the country easier of access.[3]

Arid tract between Jenysus and Lake Serbonis.

The Syrians in Palaestine, like the Phoenicians, learnt the practice of circumcision from the Aegyptians.[4] Herodotus saw in their country some of the pillars of Sesostris, on which were engraved the usual inscription,[5] together with the αἰδοῖα, an hieroglyphic signifying that they had been conquered with very little trouble.[6]

Practice of circumcision.

Pillars of Sesostris.

Cyprus has already been described amongst the islands.[7] The sixth satrapy, which included Aegypt and Libya, is described in another place.

Cyprus.

IX. Babylon and the rest of Assyria were included in the ninth satrapy, and paid yearly one thousand talents of silver and five hundred young eunuchs.[8]

IX. Assyria, or Babylonia and Mesopotamia, answering to Irak-Arabi and Algezirah.

This Assyria of Herodotus lay due east of the previous satrapy, and appears to have included the country on the Euphrates and Tigris, and to have comprised Mesopotamia and Babylonia, thus answering to the modern provinces of Algezirah and Irak-Arabi.[9]

tration and desolation described by Nehemiah in the two first chapters of this history, cannot but impress us with the conviction, that even supposing that anything could have attracted Herodotus to Jerusalem, there was nothing for the traveller to record, but a ruined city and a broken-down people.

[1] iii. 5. [2] iii. 6. [3] iii. 7. [4] ii. 104. [5] ii. 106.

[6] Ibid. [7] See page 96. [8] iii. 92.

[9] When Herodotus speaks of Assyria, and the great cities which it contained, (i. 177, 178,) it is clear from the context that he means Babylonia, and when (vii. 63) he is describing the equipment of the Assyrians, he evidently means the inhabitants of Mesopotamia.

Assyria Proper, or Kurdistan, was included in the Armenian satrapy.

Inhabitants called Syrians by the Greeks, and Assyrians by the Barbarians.

The Assyrians were so named by the Barbarians, but by the Hellenes were called Syrians. They occupied a part of upper Asia,[1] and after the destruction of their chief city of Nineveh on the river Tigris,[2] [3] the celebrated Babylon became their capital, and the chief seat of government;[4] and everything that Herodotus says further of this country and its inhabitants has reference only to Babylon and the Babylonians.

Great importance of this satrapy.

The Babylonian territory was sufficient to provide subsistence for the king of Persia and all his army during four months of the year, whilst the rest of Asia was only able to meet the requirements of the remaining eight. The power and wealth of the Babylonians were therefore, in the opinion of Herodotus, equal to one-third of all Asia. It was indeed the most important of all the satrapies. It brought daily to Tritantaechmes, the governor of the satrapy, a full artaba of silver—a Persian measure equal to one Attic medimnus and three choenices. Beside this the satrap had eight hundred stallions and sixteen thousand mares, in addition to the horses used in war; and he kept such a number of Indian dogs, that four large villages were exempted from all taxes and appointed to provide them with food.[5] Very little rain fell in Assyria, but the want of

[1] i. 95. [2] i. 193.

[3] The silence of Herodotus respecting Nineveh would render any account of the recent extraordinary discoveries by Layard and others out of place in the present volume. It will therefore be sufficient to say, that till a recent period, a few shapeless mounds opposite Mosul on the Upper Tigris were all that tradition could point out as remaining of Nineveh; but that within the last ten years the excavations conducted by Dr. Layard and M. Botta have brought to light the sculptured remains of immense palaces, not only at the traditional site of Nineveh, namely, Kouyunjik and Nebbi-Yunus, opposite to Mosul, and at Khorsabad, about ten miles to the N. N. E.; but also in a mound eighteen miles lower down the river, in the tongue of land between the Tigris and the Great Zab, which still bears the name of Nimroud, all of which extensive ruins are considered by Dr. Layard to represent the site of ancient Nineveh. We hope to be able to enter at greater length on this subject in a future companion volume, on the geography of the Bible.

[4] i. 178. [5] i. 192.

water was supplied by the Euphrates, which in ancient times inundated the country like the Aegyptian Nile, but Queen Semiramis having prevented the overflow by the erection of stupendous mounds, or dams, along its banks,[1] the land was henceforth irrigated by the hand and by engines. The entire territory, like Aegypt, was intersected by canals, the largest of which could be navigated by ships, and stretched from the Euphrates to the Tigris.[2] As regards the productiveness of the soil, it was better adapted for the growth of corn than any other land with which Herodotus was acquainted; for though the country was comparatively destitute of trees, and possessed neither the fig, the vine, nor the olive, yet the grain flourished so gloriously, that the harvest generally produced from two to three hundred-fold. The blades of wheat and barley also grew to full four digits in breadth, and Herodotus is afraid to mention the height of millet and sesame, as he is certain that those who had never been to Babylonia would disbelieve his statements. The Babylonians used no other oil but that which they extracted from this sesame. Palm trees grew all over the plain, and most of them produced fruit from which bread, wine, and honey (or sugar) were made. The fruit of what the Greeks call male palms was tied upon the female palms, in order that the gall-fly (ψῆνες) in the former might ripen the latter, and prevent the fruit from falling before reaching maturity;[3] for these palms had flies in the fruit just like wild fig trees.[4]

Numerous canals.

Extraordinary growth of corn.

Palm trees.

Assyria, or rather Babylonia, contained many

[1] i. 184.

[2] Babylonia is no longer able to sustain a large population, for as the canals have ceased to carry off the superfluous waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, these rivers annually overflow all the tracts adjacent to their lower courses, and convert them into immense swamps and marshes.

[3] The fly in question is a cynips, or one of the genus which by penetrating and breeding within plants, produces on them what are called *gall-apples*. Hasselquist observed it in the Levant, and has described it under the name of Cynips Ficûs. He seems to think that it does the fruit more harm than good. Linnaeus has also described this fly, entitling it from its ancient appellative Cynips Psen. Larcher's *Notes to Herod.*, Mr. Cooley's *Additions*, vol. i. p. 184.

[4] i. 193.

large cities, but Herodotus only describes the most celebrated and the best fortified, namely, Babylon, which after the destruction of Nineveh on the Tigris became the seat of government.[1]

Babylon the only city described.

Before entering upon Herodotus's description of this magnificent city, it will be necessary to glance at the modern state of the ruins.[2] On the river Euphrates, and about 50 miles south of Bagdad, stands the town of Hillah. The road between Bagdad and Hillah lies through a level but uncultivated plain, though the dry beds of numerous canals and the fragments of bricks and tiles strewed everywhere around are proofs of its former different state. Nine miles north of Hillah, at the village of Mohawill, the ruins may be said to commence; and about five miles north of Hillah, and on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, the traveller approaches the great mounds of ancient Babylon. The latter at first sight appear to be natural hills, but a closer examination soon clearly shows that they are composed of bricks, and are evidently the remains of large buildings. Three of these immense mounds are found in succession from north to south. The first is called Mujelibe, or "the overturned;" the second, El Kasr, or "the palace;" and the third, Amram, from its supporting a small tomb of some Mahommedan saint of that name.

Site of the ruins of Babylon near Hillah.

Three mounds on the eastern bank of the Euphrates.

Mujelibe is the loftiest of these gigantic mounds, and the Haroot and Maroot of Arabian tradition.[3]

Mujelibe, or "the overturned."

[1] i. 178.

[2] My authority for the following statements are Mr. Rich's First and Second Memoirs on the Ruins of Babylon; Major Rennell's Remarks on the Topography of Ancient Babylon; and Sir Robert Ker Porter's Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Babylonia, etc. Comp. also Heeren's account of the Babylonians in his Asiatic Researches.

[3] According to this tradition, the angels in heaven, having expressed their surprise that the sons of Adam should continue in wickedness after the repeated warnings from the prophets, were directed by God to select two of their number to be sent on earth as judges. Haroot and Maroot were accordingly chosen, but subsequently fell in love with a beautiful woman and solicited her favours, and as a punishment for their crime were condemned by God to be hung up by the heels until the day of judgment in a well invisible to mankind, but which the Arabs believe still exists at the foot of Mujelibe. See Sale's *Koran*, and Kinneir's *Geographical Memoir of Persia*.

It is an oblong square composed of sun-dried bricks, consolidated into huge sustaining masses by the intervention of reeds and slime. It is 140 feet high, and its sides face the four cardinal points. The side to the north and that to the west each measure about 550 feet along their bases; whilst those to the south and east are each 230 feet. The summit presents an uneven surface, and the entire mass seems to have been a platform upon which some great buildings were formerly erected. The interior is full of ravines and holes, which are literally garrisoned by the wild beasts of the desert, and the loathsome smell which issues from their dens is sufficient to deter the traveller from attempting to enter. Rennell erroneously supposed that this pile was the ancient temple of Belus, but no such pyramidal succession of towers as Herodotus describes could ever have surmounted it, or otherwise a slight elevation at least would have been found towards the middle of the summit, whereas it there sinks in a deep hollow. It seems to have been the citadel of the great palace, which we shall next describe.

Erroneously supposed by Rennell to be the temple of Belus.

At 2250 feet south of Mujelibe is the second hill, named El Kasr, or "the palace." This is a grand heap of ruins, forming nearly a square of about 700 yards in length and breadth,[1] and rising about 70 feet above the general level. The bricks of which it is constructed are of the very finest description, and not sun-dried like those of Mujelibe, but baked in the furnace and ornamented with inscriptions. Each brick is placed with its written face downwards on a layer of cement, which scarcely exceeds the twentieth part of an inch in thickness; but at the same time the whole mass is so firm, that Porter experienced considerable difficulty in chipping off a

El Kasr, or "the palace."

[1] This was its condition when visited by Rich in 1811, but even in the seven years which intervened between this visit and that of Porter, the everlasting digging in its apparently exhaustless quarries for bricks of the strongest and finest material had been sufficient to change its shape. Indeed these incessant depredations, which must have been going on for ages, have not only altered the minor features of the place, but have kept the whole surface in so decomposed a state, that at every step the feet of the traveller sink into dust and rubbish. *Porter.*

few pieces. Fragments of alabaster vessels are also found here, together with fine earthenware, marble, and great quantities of polished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which present all the freshness of a modern material. Along the western and northern face of the mound are detached portions of a wall, which probably composed the piers or buttresses of the terraces, attached to the celebrated hanging gardens described by Diodorus, and which, according to Curtius, had the appearance of a forest.[1]

Amram hill.

About 2400 feet from Kasr is the Amram hill. This is a triangular mass, of which the south-western side is 4200 feet, the eastern 3300 feet, and the northern 2500 feet. The entire heap is broken, like that of the Kasr, into deep caverned ravines and long winding furrows, from the number of bricks that have been taken away. Its former state or designation it is impossible to determine. At present it is a shapeless assemblage of bricks, mortar, and cement, where the foot of the traveller plunges at every step into dust and rubbish.

Remains of ancient ramparts.

Several smaller mounds are scattered around these three enormous masses, and the whole space is surrounded by several lofty corresponding ridges or ramparts, which form two sides of a great triangle, of which the river Euphrates is the base. The length of this base is three miles and three quarters; that of the northern rampart is two miles and three quarters, and that of the southern two miles and a half. Within the triangle, and between the great mounds and the angle formed by the northern and southern ramparts, run two wall lines of defence, parallel with each other, and also parallel with the base formed by the river. On the other side of the great mounds that part of the Euphrates which forms the base of the triangle is defended by a wall enclosure, composed of sun-dried bricks, and rising in some places 60 feet above the bed of the river. Here most probably were fixed the splendid

River embankment.

[1] It is to these ruins that the name of Kasr is properly applied, though Rich and Porter have applied the name to the entire mound.

river-gates of brass which are described by Herodotus.

Western bank of the Euphrates.

Thus far we have noticed the ruins on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. Herodotus however, as we shall presently see, describes Babylon as a square of fifteen miles every way, and cut in two by the river, the tower of Belus being on one side and the royal palace on the other. Rennell accordingly identifies the tower of Belus with Mujelibe, and the royal palace with Kasr, and supposes that the Euphrates anciently flowed in another channel between these mounds. This theory has been now completely refuted. Not the slightest trace of any such change in the course of the Euphrates could be discovered by either Rich or Porter. Taking it therefore for granted that the mound Kasr represents the royal palace, we must cross the river before we can find the temple of Belus, and here it will be necessary to take a preliminary survey of the present face of the country.

Small scattered mounds.

The reader must imagine himself on the western bank of the Euphrates, and opposite the Kasr and Amram hills. Here the ground is level, low, and marshy, and contains no such mounds as those we have described. A few hillocks are to be seen in the neighbourhood of a village named Anana. There is also a ridge of earth about fourteen feet high, which runs due north for about 300 yards, and then forming a right angle due east, takes that direction till it reaches the river. At its termination the courses of sun-dried bricks are distinctly visible, but this is the only trace of an embankment corresponding to that on the opposite shore. How this western embankment came to be destroyed whilst the opposite one was preserved we cannot conjecture. The fact however is certain, and this circumstance may have contributed to the preservation of the eastern mounds, whilst those on the western bank, unprotected by a corresponding dyke, have been mostly swept away by inundations of the river.

Birs Nimroud, the tower of Babel and temple of Belus.

The reader must now be carried a considerable distance.[1] Nine miles south-west of Mujelibe, and six miles in a straight line from Anana, is a huge oblong mass, 200 feet high, and more than 2000 feet in circumference at its base.[2] The Arabs call it Birs Nimroud, or Nimrod's tower. It is composed of fine bricks baked in the furnace, and on the western side rises from the plain in one stupendous, though irregular, pyramidal hill. Rennell, who considers that Herodotus has exaggerated the dimensions of Babylon, will not include this extraordinary ruin within the limits of the city. Modern travellers, however, have been able to trace three out of the eight stories described by Herodotus as belonging to the great temple or tower of Belus, and thus to clear his statements respecting the extraordinary extent of the city from the charge of hyperbole. The first story is about 60 feet high, cloven in the middle by a deep ravine, and intersected in all directions by furrows channelled by the successive rains of ages. The second stage springs out of the first in a steep and abrupt conical form. On the summit is a solid mass of tower-like ruin, 28 feet wide and 35 feet high, forming to all appearance the angle of some square building. The ground about the foot of the hill is now clear, but is again surrounded by walls which form an oblong square, and enclose numerous heaps of rubbish, probably once the dwellings of inferior deities, or of the priests and officers of the temple.

Its extreme antiquity.

Such then are the remains of the great tower of Belus, or Babel, in the land of Shinar. Its founda-

[1] Along the road between Anana and Birs Nimroud Porter found, at intervals of a mile or two, clear indications of the country having been formerly covered with buildings. About a mile and a half from Anana he reached a numerous and very conspicuous assemblage of mounds, of which the most considerable was 35 feet high. These he regarded as probably occupying the site of the second or older palace, which is not mentioned by Herodotus. We may here remind the reader that two palaces are described by Diodorus as having been built by Semiramis, one on the eastern and the other on the western bank. Herodotus only notices one, and seems to allude to the later palace built by Nebuchadnezzar, and which we identify with Kasr or the western palace.

[2] Porter reckons it at 2082 feet: Rich at 2286 feet.

tion must be carried back to the time of Nimrod, in the second century after the flood, when the nations said, "Let us build a city and tower, and make us a name."[1] Probably it was even then consecrated to the worship of Baal or the sun, and thus brought down the vengeance of Jehovah upon the builders; and whilst the descendants of Noah spread over the whole earth, it remained through successive ages a lasting monument of the guilty presumption of their idolatrous ancestors. This supposition in no way militates against the gradual additions and embellishments which it afterwards received, as the primeval temple of a national deity; neither can anything be argued against its high antiquity from bricks with inscriptions having been found amongst its ruins. It stands not only as a testimony to the veracity of Herodotus, but above all, as an awful confirmation of the truth of a far more ancient record of a divinely inspired author; a solemn relic of the first and mightiest fabric erected by the hand of man, fulfilling in the present day the sacred words of the prophet, "wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures."[2]

Herodotus's description of Babylon: a vast square, protected by a moat and wall.

We must now turn to the description of Herodotus. Babylon stood in an extensive plain, and formed a square, of which each side measured 120 stadia, or about 15 English miles. It therefore occupied an area of about 225 square miles. On every side was a wide and deep ditch full of water, and within that was a wall 50 royal cubits in breadth or thickness, and 200 royal cubits in height. The royal cubit was longer than the common one by the breadth of 3 digits.[3] The wall was built in the following manner. The earth which was thrown up in digging the moat was at once converted into bricks, which were baked in kilns.[4] Hot asphalt from the

[1] Gen. xi. 4. [2] Isa. xiii. 21. [3] i. 178.

[4] Porter says that the embankments are made of sun-dried bricks. These were generally used in the formation of the interior of the masses of large foundations, whilst the exterior was faced with the more beauti-

river Is (or Hit) was used for cement, and wattled reeds were placed between the thirty bottom layers of bricks. The sides of the moat were built up first, and then the wall. On the top of the wall and along its whole extent were built houses or towers one story high; and between each of these towers sufficient space was left to turn a chariot with four horses. There were also one hundred gates in the wall, made entirely of brass, posts and lintels not excepted.[1]

Towers on the wall.

One hundred brass gates.

The whole city was divided into two parts by the river Euphrates, which flowed through its centre; and walls of baked brick ran along the curvatures of each bank, and thus united the two elbows of the outer wall. The city itself was full of houses three or four stories high, and arranged in straight streets intersecting one another. Where the streets descended towards the river there were brazen gates opening through the river-wall, and leading down to the water's edge.[2] Beside the great city-wall already described, and which was the chief defence, there was another wall within it not much lower in height, but not so thick.

The city cut in two by the Euphrates. Walls along the river-banks with brazen gates.

Inner wall.

In the middle of each division of the city a fortified building was erected. In the one was the royal palace, with a spacious and strong enclosure and brazen gates. In the other was the precinct of Belus, which still existed in the time of Herodotus. This was a square building two stadia in length and breadth. In the midst of it rose a solid tower, one stadia in breadth and length, upon which were built seven towers, one upon the top of the other, so that there were eight in all. An ascent was on the outside and ran spirally round all the towers. Half way up there was a landing-place and seats for resting on. In the topmost tower was a spacious temple splendidly furnished, with a large couch and golden table, but containing no statues.

The royal palace.

Temple of Belus,—its eight towers and spiral ascent.

ful bricks which were baked in the furnace, and which are described by Herodotus.

[1] i. 179. [2] i. 180.

Statements of the Chaldaean priests.

The Chaldaeans, who were the priests of this deity,[1] said that no mortal was allowed to pass the night there excepting a native female, whom the god selected for himself, and who was kept from all intercourse with men.[2] They also stated what Herodotus does not credit, namely, that the deity himself visited the temple and reclined upon the couch.[3][4] Beneath this sanctuary there was another temple, and in it a large golden statue of Zeus in a sitting posture, and also a large table of gold near the statue. The throne and step were also of gold, and the Chaldaeans said that the whole weighed 800 talents, or 22 English tons of metal. Outside the temple stood a golden altar, to which sucklings only were allowed to be brought, whilst upon another large altar full-grown sheep were sacrificed, and a thousand talents of frankincense were also consumed upon it every year at the festival of the god. In this sacred locality there was formerly a massive golden statue 12 cubits high. Herodotus did not

[1] Herodotus here expressly asserts that the Chaldaeans were a priestly caste, and Mr. Grote, resting upon this positive statement, which indeed is confirmed by Strabo, can only regard them as priests. In another place, however, (vii. 63,) the Chaldaeans are mentioned as fighting in the army of Xerxes, which seems more in keeping with the Scripture accounts of the Chaldees as a warlike race from the north.

[2] i. 181.

[3] This circumstance, which puzzled Herodotus, is at once explained by the following extract from the travels of Bernier. Speaking of the Brahmins, Bernier says, "These impostors take a maid to be the bride (as they speak and bear the besotted people in hand) of Juggernaut, and they leave her all night in the temple (whither they have carried her) with the idol, making her believe that Juggernaut will visit her, and appointing her to ask him, whether it will be a fruitful year, what kind of processions, feasts, prayers, and alms he demands to be made for it. In the mean time one of these priests enters at night by a little back door into the temple and personates the god, and makes her believe anything he pleases; and the next day, being transported from this temple into another with the same magnificence, she is carried before upon the chariot of triumph, by the side of Juggernaut her bridegroom: these Brahmins make her say aloud, before all the people, whatsoever she has been taught of these cheats, as if she had learnt it from the very mouth of Juggernaut." Similar delusions seem to have been carried on in the temple of Isis at Rome, and Josephus relates a deceit which was practised on a virtuous matron named Paulina, in favour of Decius Mundus, a Roman knight. A full disclosure of this outrage was laid before the emperor Tiberius, who thereupon ordered the priests to be crucified and the temple to be demolished.

[4] i. 182.

see it, but relates what was told him by the Chaldaeans. Darius formed the design of taking it away, but was afraid; his son Xerxes, however, took it, and killed the priest who forbade him to remove it. Many other consecrated gifts were also exhibited in this temple.[1]

Bridge over the Euphrates.

The only communication in ancient times between the two divisions of the city was by means of a ferry across the Euphrates. At length Nitocris had the river turned into a reservoir,[2] and built a bridge (or rather piers) in the centre of the city, composed of large blocks of stone clamped together with iron and lead. During the day square planks of timber were laid upon these stone piers, in order that the people might pass over; but at night these planks were removed, to prevent thieves from gliding about to different parts of the city. Nitocris caused the banks of the river to be lined throughout the city with burnt brick like the city walls.[3] She also prepared a sepulchre for herself above the most frequented gate of the city, and bearing the following inscription:

Sepulchre of Nitocris.

"If any one of my successors, kings of Babylon, shall happen to want money, let him open this sepulchre, and take what he requires; but if he wants it not, let him not open it."

This sepulchre remained undisturbed until the time of Darius, who considered it to be hard that money should be lying there unused, and that the gate also should be unused, because a dead body was lying over the heads of all who passed through it. He therefore opened the tomb, but found no money, and only the body and these words:

"Were thou not insatiably covetous and greedy of the most sordid gain, thou wouldst not have opened the resting-place of the dead."[4]

Names of the city gates.

Five of the city gates are mentioned to us by name, namely, the gates of Semiramis, the Nineveh gate, the Chaldaean gate, the Belidae gate, and the Cissian gate.[5] It was the last two that Zopyrus

[1] i. 183. [2] See page 263. [3] i. 186. [4] i. 187. [5] iii. 155.

opened to the Persians.[1] Darius demolished the walls and carried away all the gates, and as the Babylonians had strangled their wives during the siege to prevent the consumption of their provisions, he taxed the neighbouring provinces to send a certain number of women to Babylon, so that a total of fifty thousand women were assembled, from whom the Babylonians of the time of Herodotus were descended.[2]

Destruction of the fortification by Darius.

Eight days' journey from Babylon lay the town of Is, upon a small stream of the same name, which discharged itself into the Euphrates, and brought with it a great many lumps of asphalt, which were used as mortar in building the Babylonian walls.[3]

Town of Is.

The Euphrates, which divided the city, took its rise in Armenia, and flowed with a broad, deep, and rapid current until at length it discharged itself into the Erythraean.[4] In former times it used to overflow the whole plain like a sea, but Semiramis, and afterwards Nitocris, kept it within its banks by raising mounds or dams along the plain.[5] Nitocris also used every means to protect Babylon against the newly risen Median power, which was growing formidable and restless, and had already captured Nineveh. She dug channels above the Euphrates, and rendered its stream, which formerly ran in a straight line, so winding that in its course it touched three times at the single village of Ardericca; and in the time of Herodotus, those who went to Babylon by the Euphrates came to this village three times on three successive days.[6][7] Nitocris also excavated at some distance from the river a large basin or reservoir for a lake, 420 stadia (or at least 50 English miles) in circumference, and dug down to the water, and this reservoir she cased all round with stones. The excavated earth was afterwards heaped up on the

Account of the Euphrates.

Anciently overflowed the country. Dams raised by Semiramis and Nitocris.

Course of the river rendered winding by Nitocris.

Immense artificial lake.

[1] iii. 158. [2] iii. 159. [3] i. 179. [4] i. 180.
[5] i. 184. [6] i. 185.
[7] The royal station named Ardericca, (vi. 119,) which was 210 stadia from Susa, was evidently a different site.

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banks of the river, and formed the mounds or dams already mentioned.[1]

Towns of Opis and Ampe.

In this satrapy must probably also be included the two places Opis[2] and Ampe, which last was situated on the Tigris near the coast of the Erythraean, and was afterwards a settlement for the Milesians transplanted by Darius.[3]

Dress of the Babylonians.

The dress of the Babylonians consisted of a linen gown, which fell down to the feet; next, a woollen garment; and lastly, over all a short white mantle. Their sandals were peculiar to the country, but very like the Boeotian clogs. They wore long hair, and kept it together by their head-bands or turbans, and the whole of the body they anointed with perfumes. Every man had a signet ring and a curiously wrought staff; and on every staff was carved either an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle, or something else of the same kind, for it was not allowable to carry a stick without a device.[4] In the army of Xerxes they wore linen cuirasses, and helmets of brass plaited in a peculiar fashion, which Herodotus tells us is not easy to be described; and they carried shields, and spears, and swords similar to those of the Aegyptians, together with wooden clubs knotted with iron.[5]

Manners and customs.

Amongst the Babylonian customs was one which was also practised by the Eneti of Illyria, and which in the opinion of our author was the wisest with which he was acquainted.

Annual sale of maidens.

Once a year in every village all the marriageable girls were collected together, and put up to auction. A crier directed them to stand up one after the other, beginning with the handsomest, and each one was then knocked down to the highest bidder, who however was not allowed to carry off a maiden without giving security that he would marry her. The more beautiful girls were of course purchased by the rich Babylonians, who strove eagerly to outbid each other. When these were all disposed of, the crier directed the plainer

[1] i. 185. [2] i. 189. [3] vi. 20. [4] i. 195. [5] vii. 63.

damsels to stand up in a similar manner, but offered to give a sum of money with each. Accordingly the poorer Babylonians began to bid against each other to see who would marry an ill-favoured wife for the smallest sum, the money having been already obtained by the sale of the more beautiful. Thus the handsome girls helped the plainer ones to husbands, and fathers were not allowed to give away their daughters in marriage to whom they pleased. If a purchaser and his newly bought partner could not agree, the money was repaid. Men were permitted to come from one village to another to this matrimonial auction; but in the time of Herodotus the custom was discontinued, for after the Persians had taken the city, the people had been harshly treated and ruined in fortune, and the lower classes were driven to prostitute their daughters for a livelihood.[1]

No physicians. Sick persons carried into the market for advice.

The Babylonians also had another custom, which Herodotus considered to be only inferior in wisdom to the foregoing. They had no physicians, but used to bring their sick people into the market-place, and every passer-by was obliged to ask the nature of the disease; and then, if the latter had ever had it himself or seen it in others, he advised the patient to follow the treatment which he knew to have effected a cure.[2]

Embalming. Funeral lamentations like those of the Aegyptians. Burning of incense after sexual intercourse.

The Babylonians embalmed their dead in honey, and performed their funeral lamentations in a similar manner to the Aegyptians. Husbands and wives after intercourse sat over burning incense in different places, and at break of day washed themselves before they touched any vessel. The same practice was also observed by the Arabians.[3]

Disgraceful practices connected with the worship of Aphrodite.

The most disgraceful of all the Babylonian customs was connected with the worship of Aphrodite, whom they called Mylitta. Every native woman was obliged once in her life to repair to the precinct of this goddess, and submit to the embraces of a stranger. Some of the richer sort went in covered carriages, and took up their station in the temenus,

[1] i. 196. [2] Ibid. [3] i. 198. Comp. Leviticus xv. 16—18.

attended by a numerous train of servants; but the majority sat down in the temenus with a crown of cord about their heads, and in straight rows, so that they might be easily seen. When a stranger selected a female, he threw a piece of silver into her lap, saying, "I beseech the goddess Mylitta to favour thee." The silver, however small, was accounted sacred, and might not be refused, and the woman was obliged to follow the man out of the sacred precinct and fulfil the law, and then, after absolving herself to the goddess, she might return home. Many of the deformed women were obliged to stop three or four years from inability to satisfy the law, but after the goddess had been once propitiated no money could purchase fresh favours.[1]

Three tribes of Babylonian Ichthyophagi.

Amongst the Babylonians were three tribes who lived solely upon fish, which they dried in the sun and pounded in a mortar, and then, after sifting them through a fine cloth, either kneaded them into a cake or baked them like bread.[2] The Chaldaeans are mentioned both as being the priests of Belus,[3] and as serving in the army of Xerxes.[4] It was from the Babylonians that the Greeks learnt the sun-dial

Chaldaeans.

Babylonian sun-dial.

[1] i. 199. The prevalence of this custom is confirmed by Jeremiah, who evidently alludes to it in the letter which he writes to the Jews who were about to be led captive to Babylon.—"The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume: but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken." Baruch vi. 42, 43. Idolatry is always revolting, but in Babylon it was of the vilest and foulest character. The riches and luxury of the people, consequent upon their extended commerce, brought on a total degeneracy of manners, which was above all conspicuous in the other sex, amongst whom were no traces of that reserve which usually prevails in an eastern harem. Babylon has thus become a by-word for harlotry. Her moral and social state is but too vividly described by Curtius. "Nihil urbis ejus corruptius moribus; nec ad irritandas inliciendasque immodicas voluptates instructius. Liberos conjugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt; Babylonii maxime in vinum et quae ebrietatem sequuntur, perfusi sunt. Feminarum convivia ineuntium principio modestus est habitus; dein summa quaeque amicula exuunt; paulatimque pudorem profanant; ad ultimun (horror auribis sit) ima corporum velamenta projiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum virginumque, apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas." Cf. Heeren, *Asiat. Res.* vol. i.; Quint. Curtius, lib. v. c. i.

[2] i. 200. [3] i. 181. [4] vii. 63.

and the division of the day into twelve parts.[1] The Babylonian talent was equal to seventy Euboic minas.[2]

Gnomon. Talent.

VIII. CISSIA, or the eighth satrapy, comprised Susa and the rest of the Cissians. It paid 300 talents.[3] Bordering it on the east was PERSIS, or the territory of Persia Proper; and though the Persians belonged to no satrapy, and brought gifts instead of tribute, yet for the sake of geographical order and clearness we shall include Herodotus's description of them in the present section.

VIII. CISSIA and PERSIS, answering to Khuzistan and Farsistan.

The Cissia of Herodotus answers to the Susiana of Strabo and the modern territory of Khuzistan. Persia Proper, or Persis, is represented by the modern Pars, Fars, or Farsistan.[4] "The Persians," says Herodotus, "occupy the country between Media and the Erythraean Sea."[5] The southern frontier bordering on the Erythraean or Persian Gulf is a sandy plain, which, during the summer, is rendered almost uninhabitable by the heat, and by the pestilential winds from the deserts of Carmania. Hence we find no mention of the maritime districts in Herodotus, and indeed the flat shore, unindented by any inlet, is generally inaccessible from the sea, and only offers in one or two places the shelter of a harbour. At a short distance from the coast the land rises in terraces, and here the excessive heat becomes mitigated, and rich pastures are watered by a number of rivulets, and covered with villages and numerous herds. Further towards the north these agreeable districts are changed for lofty and sterile mountains, a continuation of the great chain of Zagros; and the climate here becomes so inclement that even in the summer season the elevated summits are not unfrequently covered with snow. This ungenial region was however the cradle of the conquerors of Asia. Inured from their childhood to a rough clime and unproductive soil,

General description of the country.

Sandy plains along the coast.

Rising of the land in terraces.

Mountains in the north the fatherland of the Persians.

[1] ii. 109. [2] iii. 89. [3] iii. 91.

[4] *Pars* is the Persian, *Fars* the Arabic pronunciation of the word: the Persian termination *stan* denoting *country*. Thus *Farsistan* the country of the Persians: *Hindustan*, of the Hindus: *Kurdistan*, of the Kurds. Cf. Heeren.

[5] vii. 61.

these hardy mountaineers conquered without difficulty the effeminate inhabitants of the low-lands; but although it was the policy of their rulers to attach them as much as possible to their barren country,[1] they but too quickly adopted the luxurious habits of the vanquished nations, and themselves prepared the way for the destruction of their empire.

Great city of Susa on the Choaspes.

Herodotus says but very little concerning the topography of either Cissia or Persis. The great city of Susa was situated in Cissia on the river Choaspes, which could only be crossed in boats, and the Persian king drank no other water but what was taken from its stream.[2] Susa contained the royal palace called Memnonia,[3] which was surrounded by walls, and had a tower from whence Prexaspes harangued the people and cast himself headlong.[4] It was here that the king of Persia resided, and his treasures were deposited.[5] The suburbs of the city are also mentioned.[6] We may take it for granted that it was in Susa that Darius erected a stone figure representing a man on horseback, and bearing the following inscription:

The Memnonium.

Stone figure of Darius on horseback.

"Darius, son of Hystaspes, by the sagacity of his horse, (giving his name,) and by the address of Oebares his groom, became king of the Persians."[7]

Identification of Susa with Sus on the river Kerkhah.

The site of Susa has been a disputed point. Cissia is watered in the west by the Kerkhah, in the east by the Karoon. On the Kerkhah is the city of Sus, and on the Karoon, about 55 miles due east of Sus, is the city of Shuster. Each of these cities have been supposed to represent the ancient Susa. Shuster, however, is of comparatively modern date, and contains no ruins which can be referred to a period anterior to the Sassanian dynasty. On the other hand, recent travellers have discovered remains at Sus which unquestionably belong to the Persico-Babylonian period.[8] We have therefore no

[1] ix. 122. Cf. also Heeren, *Asiat. Res.* [2] i. 188; v. 49, 52.
[3] v. 53. [4] iii. 75. [5] v. 49. [6] iii. 86. [7] iii. 88.
[8] The great mound of Sus forms the north-western extremity of a large irregular platform or tumuli. It appears to represent the site of the inner citadel, whilst the platform constituted the fort of the city. The plat-

hesitation in identifying the site of ancient Susa with that of Sus, and the river Choaspes with the Kerkhah, which discharges itself into the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates. How far Susa may be identified with the Shushan of Daniel seems to be questioned by Major Rawlinson; but the adjacent district is still celebrated for a sanctuary reported to be the tomb of that prophet.[1]

Ardericca, seat of the transplanted Eretrians.

At a distance of 210 stadia from Susa was situated the royal station of Ardericca in the Cissian territory. To this spot Darius transplanted the captured Eretrians, and they continued to occupy this country and retain their ancient language down to the time of Herodotus.[2] Forty stadia from Ardericca was a well which produced three different substances, namely, asphalt, salt, and oil. These were drawn up by a kind of crane, having half a wine-skin attached to it instead of a bucket. The contents were thrown into a receiver, which was again emptied into another, upon which the asphalt and salt immediately became solid, and the oil was collected. The Persians called this oil rhadinace. It was black, and emitted a strong smell.[3] Persia was a bleak and barren country,[4] and a tract is mentioned, though in a somewhat traditionary narrative, as being overgrown with briers; but as this tract

Well producing asphalt, salt, and oil.

form is square, and is estimated by Col. Rawlinson to be about two miles and a half in extent, and between 80 and 90 feet high. The great mound is 165 feet high, and about 1100 yards round the base, and 850 round the summit. The slope is very steep, and can only be ascended by two pathways. Col. Rawlinson saw on the mound a slab with a cuneiform inscription of thirty-three lines, three Babylonian sepulchral urns imbedded in the soil, and in another place there was exposed to view, a few feet below the surface, a flooring of brickwork. The summit of the mound was thickly strewn with broken pottery, glazed tiles, and kiln-dried bricks. Beyond the platform extend the ruins of the city, probably six or seven miles in circumference, presenting the same appearance of irregular mounds, covered with bricks and broken pottery, and here and there a fragment of a shaft is seen projecting from the soil. Rawlinson, *Notes on a March from Zohab to Khuzistan.*

[1] It is worthy of remark that Herodotus makes no mention of Persepolis. Neither indeed do Ctesias, Xenophon, or the Hebrew writers. To attempt to account for this circumstance would only be to write a disquisition upon Persepolis, which would in no way illustrate the geography of Herodotus.

[2] vi. 119. [3] Ibid. [4] i. 71.

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was only 18 or 20 stadia square,[1] it is not likely to be ever identified.

Persians divided into ten tribes, viz. the Pasargadae, Maraphii, Maspii, Panthialaei, Derusiaei, Germanii, Dahi, Mardi, Dropici, and Sagartii.

The Persians were formerly called Cephenes by the Greeks, but by themselves and neighbours were named Artaeans.[2] They were divided into ten tribes, which seem to have been included in three different castes or classes. First, the nobles or warriors, containing three tribes; viz. the Pasargadae, which embraced the family of the Achaemenidae, from whom the Persian kings were descended; the Maraphii; and the Maspii. Second, the three agricultural and other settled tribes, viz. the Panthialaei, the Derusiaei, and the Germanii. Third, the four nomad tribes, viz. the Dahi, the Mardi, the Dropici, and the Sagartii.[3] The names of the four last tribes are however common to many parts of west and central Asia, especially amongst the nomad nations on the shores of the Caspian. Nor is there any necessity for supposing that Herodotus meant to say that all these ten tribes were confined to the territory of Persia Proper. Even Persian history is not so much the history of the whole nation as of certain tribes, or possibly even of the single tribe of the Pasargadae. These composed the court, and it appears that all the most distinguished Persians, with scarcely an exception, proceeded from them.[4]

Religion of the Persians. No statues, temples, or altars. Name of Zeus applied to heaven.

The religion of the Persians is described by Herodotus as follows. They erected neither statues, temples, nor altars, but regarded them with contempt, for they did not, as Herodotus conjectures, believe, like the Hellenes, that the gods had human forms. The name of Zeus they applied to the entire vault of heaven, and were accustomed to worship from the highest tops of the mountains.[5] They sacrificed to the sun and moon, to the earth, fire, water, and the winds; and this was their only religious service

Sacrifices on high places. Ancient worship of the sun,

[1] i. 126. [2] vii. 61. [3] i. 125.

[4] See a full discussion of this subject in Heeren, *Asiat. Nat.* vol. i.

[5] The prophet Isaiah seems to refer to this custom in the following passage: "I will recompense your iniquities and the iniquities of your fathers together, saith the Lord, which have burned incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the hills." Isa. lxv. 6, 7.

in ancient times. At a later period they learnt from the Aegyptians and Arabians to sacrifice to the celestial Aphrodite, whom they called Mitra.[1] At their sacrifices they neither erected altars nor kindled fires, nor did they use libations, flutes, fillets, or sacrificial cakes. The sacrificer wreathed his turban with myrtle, and leading his victim to a consecrated spot, he invoked the god, and prayed not only for blessings on himself, but also for the prosperity of all the Persians and their king. The victim was next cut into small pieces, and the flesh boiled, and laid upon a bed of tender grass, generally trefoil; and one of the Magi standing by sang an ode concerning the origin of the gods. This ode was said to be an incantation, and unless a Magian was present it was unlawful to sacrifice. After a short time the sacrificer took away the flesh and disposed of it as he thought proper.[2]

moon, earth fire, water, and winds. Later worship of Aphrodite or Mitra. Mode of sacrifice. Prayer of the sacrificer.

Ode sung by the Magi.

Birthdays were celebrated by the Persians above every other day, and on these occasions the people were accustomed to furnish their tables in a more plentiful manner than at any other time. The wealthier classes would serve up an ox, a horse, a camel, and an ass roasted whole; but the poorer sort produced smaller cattle. At their meals they were not immoderate in their eating, but they partook of many after-dishes, which were served up at intervals: hence the Persians said "that the Greeks rose hungry from table because they had nothing worth mentioning brought in after dinner, and that if other things were served up they would never leave off eating." The Persians were much addicted to wine, but their manners were refined in the presence of each other. They debated upon the most important affairs whilst they were drunk, and again the next day when they were sober; and if they approved of the measure when sober which they had resolved on when drunk, they adopted it, but

Social customs. Celebration of birthdays.

Moderation at meals but profusion of after-dishes.

Addiction to wine.

Debate when drunk and again when sober.

[1] The Assyrians called her Mylitta, and the Arabians named her Alitta. i. 131.

[2] i. 132.

otherwise they rejected it. Also whatever they resolved on when sober they reconsidered when intoxicated.[1]

Modes of salutation according to rank.

In their salutations it was easy to discover their relative rank. Equals kissed each other on the mouth. If one was a little inferior they kissed the cheek. If one was of very much lower degree he prostrated himself at the feet of the other.

Respected neighbouring nations according to their proximity to Persia.

The Persians esteemed themselves to be the most excellent of mankind, and considered those to be the worst who lived the farthest from them. Thus they honoured their neighbours according to their distance off.[2]

Attachment to foreign customs.

It was however very remarkable that they were the readiest of all nations to adopt foreign customs. Thus they wore the Median costume because they considered it handsomer than their own, and in war they used the Aegyptian cuirass.

Polygamy, concubinage, and pederasty.

Unfortunately they learnt and practised all kinds of voluptuousness, such as pederasty, which they adopted from the Greeks. They also married many wives, whom they visited in turns,[3] and kept a still greater number of concubines.[4]

Respect for fathers of large families.

Next to valour they considered that the exhibition of a number of children was the greatest proof of manliness, and the kings sent presents every year to those who had the largest families.

Education of sons.

Sons from the fifth to the twentieth year were only taught three things, namely, to ride, to shoot with a bow, and to speak the truth. Before the fifth year they lived entirely with the women, and were not admitted into their father's presence, so that they might not in case of early death occasion him any affliction.[5] Herodotus very much approves of this custom, as he does also of the following, namely,

Trial of criminals.

that no one could be put to death for a single crime, not even by the king; but if on examination it were found that his misdeeds were greater and more numerous than his services, the criminal might be executed.

Parricide considered impossible.

Parricide or matricide were considered to be impossible crimes, and the murderers in these apparent cases were always declared to be of ille-

[1] i. 133. [2] i. 134. [3] iii. 69. [4] i. 135. [5] i. 136.

gitimate or of supposititious birth.[1] Conversation upon unlawful things was strictly prohibited. Telling a lie they considered to be the most disgraceful action, and next to that getting into debt, for they considered that debtors must of necessity be liars. Citizens afflicted with leprosy or scrofula were not allowed to reside in towns, or mix with others; and the Persians generally maintained that a leper must have been so afflicted as a punishment for some offence against the Sun. Strangers attacked with leprosy were obliged to leave the country, and white pigeons were also expelled for a similar reason. Rivers were held in great veneration, and no Persian would either wash his hands in one, spit in it, or otherwise defile it, nor would he suffer any one else to do so.[2] Other things which related to the dead were not publicly known, but only mentioned in private: namely, that the dead body of a Persian was never buried until it had been torn by some bird or dog. The Magi however practised this custom openly. The body was subsequently covered with wax and concealed in the ground.[3] The Persians never burned their dead, because they considered fire to be a god.[4] Their skulls were so remarkably weak that a hole might be made in one by casting a single pebble at it: this, Herodotus supposed, was occasioned by their wearing turbans.[5] The longest period of human life amongst them was estimated by themselves at eighty years.[6]

Lying and getting into debt especially abhorred.

Lepers and white pigeons expelled from cities.

Veneration for rivers.

Ceremonies practised on dead bodies.

Weakness of the Persian skull.

The Magi differed very much from all other men, and particularly from the Aegyptian priests; for whilst the latter would not kill anything which had life excepting the sacrificial victims, the Magi would kill anything with their own hands except a dog or a man, and they even thought that killing ants, serpents, and other reptiles, and birds, was a meritorious action.[7]

Magi a peculiar race: unlike the Aegyptian priests.

The Persians knew nothing of navigation, and they were unable to achieve anything on the sea

Persian ignorance of navigation.

[1] i. 137. [2] i. 138. [3] i. 140. [4] iii. 16. [5] iii. 12. [6] iii. 22. [7] i. 140.

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until they had subdued the Phoenicians.[1] Just as little did they understand markets, and Cyrus considered them to be places set apart in the midst of a city for people to collect together and cheat each other.[2] Like the Aegyptians and others, they held those citizens who followed a trade in the least respect.[3] Their equipment was similar to that of the Medes, who wore turbans and loose trousers, and were protected by variously coloured breastplates with sleeves or armlets, and with iron scales like those of a fish. In war they used the Aegyptian cuirass.[4] In ancient times the trousers and other garments were made of leather.[5] The cavalry were armed like the infantry, excepting that some wore on their heads embossed brass and steel ornaments.[6] The people generally paid great honour to valour, even when it had been exercised by their enemies;[7] and though Xerxes ordered the head of Leonidas to be fixed upon a pole, yet that must be regarded as an exception to the general rule, and merely an instance of the extent to which the Persian kings indulged in their inveterate hatred against the Spartans.[8] On the other hand, to be called more cowardly than a woman was the greatest affront a Persian could receive, and the general Artayntes drew his scimetar against Masistes, the brother of Xerxes, in return for such opprobrium.[9] Burying people alive was one of their most horrible customs. At the place called Nine Ways they buried alive nine sons and nine daughters of the inhabitants; and when Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, grew old, she caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to suffer the same fate, as an offering of thanks to the deity below the earth.[10][11]

Contempt for markets and traders.

Equipment.

Special honour paid to valour.

Horrible custom of burying alive in honour of Ahriman.

[1] i. 143. [2] i. 153. [3] ii. 167. [4] i. 135; v. 49; vii. 61, 62. [5] i. 71. [6] vii. 84. [7] vii. 181. [8] vii. 238. [9] ix. 107. [10] vii. 114.

[11] By this deity Ahriman is probably intended, the angel of darkness, the author and director of all evil. No trace however of any permission to offer human victims is to be found in the Zendavestas; we must therefore suppose that the sacrifice here mentioned was in accordance with those horrible magical and superstitious practices which, though severely forbidden by the reformer of the Magian philosophy, were nevertheless on certain occasions resorted to as part of the more ancient

Persian system of post.

The Persian system of post, called Angareïon, was the most rapid in the world, and was planned as follows. The same number of horses and men were provided as there were days' journey to perform, and one mounted courier was placed at the station which terminated each day's journey. The first comer gave his message to the second, the second to the third, and so on to the end, similar to the torch race of Hephaestus among the Hellenes; and neither snow nor rain, nor heat nor night, prevented them from performing their appointed stage with the utmost rapidity.[1]

Matters pertaining to the king. Celebration of his birthday.

The king on his birthday every year gave a feast, which was named in the Persian language "tycta," but in the Hellenic "τέλειον," or "perfect;" and on that occasion he washed his head with soap, and gave presents to the Persians,[2] which sometimes included the command of an army.[3] Those who had obliged the king in any way were called benefactors, and were named in the Persian language Orosangae.[4] The king himself drank no other water than what was procured from the river Choaspes at Susa; and this water was boiled in silver vessels, and carried after him in four-wheeled carriages drawn by mules wherever he marched.[5] He always was regarded as the master of all Asia, and the barbarous nations who inhabited it;[6] and he stood especially high in the love and veneration of the Persians. When the latter heard of the defeat at Salamis, they were thrown into the utmost consternation, and rent their garments and lamented entirely on his account;[7] and Herodotus relates, though disbelieving the story, that when the ship in which Xerxes escaped to Asia was threatened by a storm, many of the Persians on board voluntarily plunged into the sea, and sacrificed their lives, in order to lighten the vessel and save their king.[8] Of the royal harem Herodotus says but

Those who obliged him called Orosangae, or benefactors.

Drank only the water of the river Choaspes.

Regarded as the master of Asia.

General veneration for him.

form of worship previous to Zoroaster. Kleuker, *Appendix to the Zendavestas, quoted by Bachr.*

[1] viii. 98. [2] ix. 110. [3] ix. 109. [4] viii. 85.
[5] i. 188. [6] i. 4; ix. 116. [7] viii. 99. [8] viii. 118.

Conduct of the harem.

little. The king received his wives in turns,[1] and the latter appear to have enjoyed free communication with each other, excepting during the reign of Smerdis Magus, when they were kept in separate apartments.[2] The height to which the passions of hatred and jealousy sometimes attained in the confined sphere of the seraglio, is strikingly brought forward in the dreadful story of Xerxes's amour with Artaynte, and the horrible revenge taken by his wife Amestris.[3]

Persian language.

In concluding the present chapter we must remark, that in connexion with the Persian language, Herodotus mentions a circumstance which was only discovered by the Greeks, after having escaped the notice of the Persians themselves. The names of the Persians corresponded with their rank and persons, and all terminated in the same letter, viz. the letter which the Dorians called *san*, and the Ionians *sigma*.[4] A translation is also given of the names of three of the Persian kings, viz. Darius, "one who restrains;" Xerxes, "a warrior;" and Artaxerxes, "a mighty warrior."[5]

[1] iii. 69. [2] iii. 68. [3] ix. 108—113. [4] i. 139. [5] vi. 98.

CHAPTER IV.

UNEXPLORED ASIA:

OR

EUXINE TRIBES; ARMENIA; MATIENE AND THE SASPEIRES; MEDIA; SOUTH CASPIAN TRIBES; PARTHIA, CHORASMIA, SOGDIA, AND ARIA; EAST CASPIAN TRIBES; BACTRIA; GANDARA; CARMANIA; ASIATIC AETHIOPIA; AND NORTHERN INDIA.

Region bounded on the west by the frontiers of Asia Minor; north by the Phasis, the Caspian, and the Jaxartes; east by the Indus; south by Syria, Assyria, Cissia, Persis, and the Erythraean.—Divided into twelve satrapies.—19. EASTERN PONTUS, comprising the Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynoeci, and Mares, answering to Trebisonde.—Herodotus's account very meagre.—Extent of the satrapy: probably included the Chalybes and Ligyes.—Order of the nations according to Xenophon.—Described by Xenophon as being half barbarous and almost independent of Persia.—13. ARMENIA and PACTYICA, answering to Erzroum and part of Kurdistan.—Difficulty respecting Pactyica.—Armenians, descended from the Phrygians.—Their country the highway between Sardis and Susa.—Watered by four rivers, viz. the Tigris, Zabatus Major, Zabatus Minor, and the Gyndes.—Stream of the Gyndes weakened by the 180 canals of Cyrus.—Commerce with Babylon.—Peculiar merchant boats chiefly freighted with palm wine.—Extent of the Armenia of Herodotus.—18. MATIENE with the Saspeires and Alarodii.—Eastern and western Matiene mentioned by Herodotus.—Eastern Matiene identified with the mountains of Zagros or Kurdistan.—Matieni represented by the modern Kurds.—Western Matiene in Asia Minor.—Costume.—Country of the Saspeires and Alarodii in the valley of the Aras.—10. MEDIA, with the Paricanii and the Orthocorybantii.—Difficulty respecting the Paricanii.—Orthocorybantii unknown.—General description.—Northern Media, or Atropatene, answering to Azerbijan.—Southern Media, or Media Magna, answering to Irak Ajemi.—Two capitals each named Ecbatana.—Media of Herodotus.—Identified by Rennell with Irak Ajemi, and the Ecbatana with Hamadan.—Identified by Col. Rawlinson with Azerbijan, and the Ecbatana with Takhti-Soleiman.—Probably included a large portion of both provinces.—Nisaean plain and horses.—Ecbatana as described by Herodotus.—Story of its walls considered to be a fable of Sabaean origin.—Medes divided into six tribes, viz. Busae, Paretaceni, Struchates, Arizanti, and Magi.—Anciently called Arians.—Costume.—Language.—11. SOUTH CASPIAN PROVINCES, comprising Caspii, Pausicae, Pantimathi, and Dareitae.—Costume of the Caspii.—Identification of this satrapy with Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad.—16. PARTHIANS, CHORASMIANS, SOGDIANS, and ARIANS, all wearing Bactrian costume.—Vast extent of the satrapy.—Parthia identi-

fied with the mountains north of Khorassan.—Chorasmia with Kharasm, or Khiva.—Sogdia with Sogd, or Bokhara.—Aria with Khorassan and western Afghanistan.—Arians and Medes the same race.—Caspian Gates.—Salt desert.—Remarkable plain described by Herodotus.—Contained the sources of the Aces.—Turned into a lake by the king of Persia.—Difficulties in the geography: Herodotus's apparent confusion between the Helmund and the Oxus.—15. EAST CASPIAN PROVINCES, comprising Sacae and Caspii.—Sacae the Persian name for Scythians: their costume.—Amyrgian Sacae to be considered as a Scythian tribe, conquered by Persia.—Situated between the Oxus and Jaxartes.—Caspii north of the ancient course of the Oxus.—12. BACTRIA.—General description.—Identified with Balkh between the Hindoo Koosh and the Oxus.—Herodotus's account.—Bactria, a penal settlement.—Costume of the Bactrians.—Aeglae, probably the Ghiljies.—7. GANDARA, comprising the Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae, and Aparytae.—Merely named by Herodotus.—Probably answered to eastern Afghanistan.—Gandarii identified with the people of Candahar.—Dadicae with the Tadjiks.—Sattagydae with the Zhats.—14. CARMANIA, including Sagartii, Sarangees, Thamanaei, Utii, and Myci, and the isles of the Erythraean.—Sarangees identified with the people of Zarang or Sehestan.—Herodotus's account.—Costume of the Sagartii.—Mode of fighting with lassos.—Thamanaei unknown.—Costume of the Sarangees, Utii, and Myci.—17. ASIATIC AETHIOPIA, with the Paricanii.—Herodotus's account.—Equipment of Paricanii.—Aethiopians of Asia contrasted with those of Libya.—Strange head-dress.—Identification of Asiatic Aethiopia with Gedrosia, or Beloochistan.—20. NORTHERN INDIA, or the Punjab.—Extent of the satrapy.—Herodotus's account of the people.—Enormous ants.—Anthills of sand and gold-dust.—Mode of carrying off the gold.—Identification of the people with the Rajpoots of the Punjab.—Indian camels.—Costume of the people.—Revenue of the twenty satrapies.—Herodotus's error whilst reducing the Babylonian talent to the Euboic standard.—Attempts to account for it.—Error in the sum total: perhaps included taxes paid in kind, tolls, gifts, etc.—The money and gold-dust melted down into ingots.

ASIA. CHAP. IV.

IN accordance with our plan of classifying the geography of the Asia of Herodotus according to the several degrees of his knowledge, we once more return to the mountains of Armenia, near the eastern frontier of Asia Minor. In the previous chapter we described the countries westward of the Tigris, and Cissia and Persis to the south-east of that river. We have now to treat of the immense territory north and east of this region, extending from the eastern boundary of Asia Minor to the basin of the Indus, and stretching breadthways, at its eastern quarter, between the banks of the Jaxartes and coast of the Erythraean.

Region bounded on the west by the frontiers of Asia Minor; north, by the Phasis, the Caspian, and the Jaxartes; east, by the Indus; south, by Syria, Assyria, Cissia, Persis, and the Erythraean.

Twelve satrapies are included in this region, which we shall describe in the following order, commencing at the western extremity. 1. Eastern Pontus, or

Divided into twelve satrapies.

the tribes along the south-eastern shore of the Euxine, now called Trebisonde. 2. Armenia, or Erzroum and part of Kurdistan. 3. Matiene and the country of the Saspeires, comprising the mountains of Kurdistan and valley of the Aras or Araxes. 4. Media, or Azerbijan and Irak Ajemi. 5. South Caspian districts, or Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad. 6. Parthia, Chorasmia, Sogdia, and Aria, or Khorassan, western Afghanistan, Khiva, and Bokhara. 7. East Caspian district, comprising Amyrgian Sacae and Caspians, or the country north of the ancient course of the Oxus. 8. Bactria, or Balkh and Budakshan. 9. Gandara, or eastern Afghanistan. 10. Carmania, or Kerman. 11. Asiatic Aethiopia, or Beloochistan. 12. Northern India, or the Punjab. This arrangement is based upon the actual geography of Asia; it includes the seventh satrapy, and the tenth to the twentieth inclusive; and in order to reconcile them with the geographical order laid down, we must take them as follows: viz. 19, 13, 18, 10, 11, 16, 15, 12, 7, 14, 17, and 20.

XIX. EASTERN PONTUS, or the territory along the south-eastern shore of the Euxine, now called Trebisonde, seems to have composed the nineteenth satrapy, which consisted of the Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynoeci, and Mares. They paid 300 talents.[1]

XIX. EASTERN PONTUS comprising the Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynoeci, and Mares, answering to Trebisonde. Herodotus's account very meagre.

Herodotus tells us but very little concerning these tribes. They all joined the army of Xerxes, and with the exception of the Mares they all wore the same equipment, namely, wooden helmets, small bucklers, and large pointed spears.[2] The Macrones were neighbours of the Cappadocian Syrians, who dwelt about Thermodon and the river Parthenius, and at a recent period learnt the practice of circumcision from the Colchians,[3] who apparently bordered them on the north. The Mares wore helmets plaited after the fashion of their country, and carried small leathern shields and javelins.[4]

[1] iii. 94. [2] vii. 78. [3] ii. 104. [4] vii. 79.

Extent of the satrapy: probably included the Chalybes and Ligyes.

According to the above description of the Macrones, this satrapy appears to have consisted of the eastern half of the province subsequently called Pontus, and may approximate to the modern province of Trebisonde. Here also we may include the Chalybes, if we follow Wesseling's conjecture, and identify them with the nation whose name has been lost.[1] The Chalybes carried small shields made of raw hides, and each had two javelins used for hunting wolves. On their heads they wore brazen helmets, and on the helmets were the ears and horns of an ox made of brass. On the top of the whole was a plume of feathers. Their legs were wrapped in pieces of purple cloth. This people possessed an oracle of Ares.[2] In this same satrapy we may also place the Ligyes, who probably were a branch of the same widely spread nation which were to be found in Europe, and who wore the same equipment as the Paphlagonians.[3] Xenophon in his way towards the west passed successively through the territories of the Macrones, the Mosynoeci, the Chalybes, and the Tibareni, between the rivers Phasis (or Rhion) and the Thermodon (or Thermeh). The Moschi are also said to be situated between the sources of the Phasis and those of the Cyrus (or Kur). We may therefore describe this satrapy as consisting of the maritime district between the lofty chain of Armenian mountains and Euxine Sea; and having the Phasis and Cyrus on the east, and the Thermodon on the west.[4]

Order of the nations according to Xenophon.

Described by Xenophon as being half barbarous and almost independent of Persia.

The manners of some of these tribes, as described by Xenophon,[5] sufficiently assure us of their half-barbarous character; and we learn that, protected by their woods and mountains, they paid little or no regard to the authority of the Persian king, except when for the sake of plunder they chose to accompany his armies. The Mosynoeci were one of the wildest and most uncivilized nations of Asia. Their king or chief was maintained at the public expense

[1] vii. 76. [2] Ibid. [3] vii. 72. [4] Rennell, *Geog. of Herod.* vol. i. [5] Exped. v. 5, quoted by Heeren.

in a wooden tower, which he was never permitted to quit. They pitched their dwellings on the tops of the mountains at certain intervals, so that the approach of an enemy might be telegraphed by signals from one to the other. Their food consisted of dried fish and boiled chestnuts, and we are told that the children of the principal men were so effectually fattened by the latter diet, that they were nearly as broad as they were long. They practised piracy in boats containing only three persons, namely, two fighting men and a rower; and they dyed and tattooed their bodies with representations of flowers. The Tibareni were less barbarous. The Chalybes, or Alybes, were celebrated as early as the time of the Homeric poems for their silver-mines, and they continued to work them in the time of Xenophon, but at that period could only obtain iron. Xenophon describes them as a warlike nation, but subject to the Mosynoeci. They probably derived their name from χαλυψ, which the Greeks also applied to iron or steel. Herodotus seems to make a mistake when he places them within the Halys.[1]

XIII. Armenia and Pactyica, answering to Erzroum and part of Kurdistan.

XIII. ARMENIA, or the thirteenth satrapy, included the Armenians and the neighbouring people as far as the Euxine,[2] together with the district Pactyica. The territory which it occupied seems almost to answer to the modern provinces of Erzroum and Kurdistan. It paid 400 talents.[3]

Difficulty respecting Pactyica.

There is some difficulty about Pactyica in this satrapy. This district must have been situated to the far east at the upper course of the Indus, for we find that Scylax embarked at Caspatyrus in Pactyica and sailed down the Indus.[4] Moreover, the Pactyes are described as wearing goat-skin mantles like the Utii, Myci, and Paricanii,[5] who also dwelt in the eastern quarter of the Persian empire. Probably this is one of the cases alluded to by Herodotus, in

[1] i. 28.

[2] Herodotus here seems to make a mistake, as we have seen that the tribes included in the 19th satrapy, just described, occupied the narrow tract between the Armenian mountains and the Euxine.

[3] iii. 93. [4] iv. 44. Cf. page 198. [5] vii. 68.

which distant tribes were included in the same satrapy,[1] though it is impossible to comprehend the reasons for such an arrangement.

Armenians descended from the Phrygians.

The Armenians were descendants of the Phrygians, and were attired in Phrygian accoutrements in the army of Xerxes.[2] Their country, which abounded in cattle,[3] was situated to the north of Assyria, by which Herodotus probably meant Mesopotamia, and was separated from Cilicia by a river that was crossed in boats, namely, the Euphrates.

Their country the highway between Sardis and Susa.

The route from Sardis to Susa ran through Armenia, and Herodotus therefore tells us that the extent of this province was $56\frac{1}{2}$ parasangs, or 1695 stadia, and that it included fifteen royal stages or resting-places.

Watered by four rivers, viz.

Four rivers flowed through Armenia that could only be crossed by boats. First, the Tigris; then the second and third, which have both the same name, but flow from different sources; finally, the Gyndes.[4] Herodotus does not name the second and third rivers, but it is evident that they were the Zabatus Major and the Zabatus Minor, now called the Greater and the Lesser Zab. Of these four rivers, the Tigris rose amongst the Armenians,[5] flowed by the city of Opis,[6] and discharged itself into the Erythraean Sea near the city of Ampe.[7] The second river (Zabatus Major) also rose amongst the Armenians. The third river (Zabatus Minor) rose amongst the Matienians.[8] The fourth river, the Gyndes, (or Diala,) rose in the mountains of Matiene, and flowing through the country of the Dardanians, discharged itself into the Tigris. The latter people are unknown. When Cyrus, on his march against Babylon, arrived at the river Gyndes, one of the sacred white horses plunged in from wantonness and endeavoured to swim across, but was carried away by the stream and drowned. Cyrus was so enraged with the river for this affront, that he threatened to weaken its stream so effectually that women should be able to wade across it without wetting their knees. Accordingly he de-

the Tigris,

Zabatus Major,

Zabatus Minor, and the Gyndes.

Stream of the Gyndes weakened by the 180 canals of Cyrus.

[1] iii. 89. [2] vii. 73. [3] v. 49. [4] v. 52.
[5] Ibid. [6] i. 189. [7] vi. 20. [8] v. 52.

layed the expedition, and employed his army for an entire summer in digging one hundred and eighty conduits, diverging every way from each bank of the river, and by these means he at length fulfilled his threat.[1] The mountains of Armenia also contained the sources of the river Halys.[2]

Commerce with Babylon.

The Armenians carried on a commercial intercourse with Babylon by means of the river Euphrates. The boats they used for navigating the river were of a peculiar construction. They were round like a shield, without making any distinction in the stern or contraction in the prow. They were made of plaited willows, covered on the outside with leathern hides, and lined with reeds.[3] They were carried down the river by the force of the stream, and every vessel was steered by two men, who each carried an oar, one drawing in whilst the other thrust out. The merchandise chiefly consisted of palm wine, and some of the largest boats would carry 5000 talents' weight of freight. Each vessel had an ass on board, and the larger ones had several of these animals; and when the conductors had reached Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sold the wicker framework and reeds by public auction, and then loaded the ass with the leather and skins and returned to Armenia by land, as it was impossible to navigate up stream because of the rapidity of the current.[4] [5]

Peculiar merchant-boats, chiefly freighted with palm wine.

[1] i. 189. Rennell has pointed out that the river Gyndes, mentioned as being traversed by the royal road, is different from the river Gyndes whose stream was weakened by Cyrus. The former is identified with the Diala, which is a deep and large stream answering to Herodotus's description of the distances on the royal road, but totally out of Cyrus's line of march between Susa and Babylon. The Gyndes weakened by Cyrus seems to have been the Mendeli, which flows more to the south-east. Herodotus seems to have confused the Mendeli with the Diala, and to have called them both by the same name of Gyndes. They certainly both took their rise in the mountains of Matiene. [2] i. 72.

[3] Similar boats are still used on the Tigris. Porter (vol. i. p. 259) describes two kinds, the kelet and the kufa. The kelet consists of a flooring of osiers based on two trunks of trees; the whole being wattled and bound together with wicker-work, and attached to bladders filled with air, to prevent their sinking. The kufa is a boat perfectly circular, made of wicker-work and coated with bitumen, and exactly resembling a large bowl. [4] i. 194.

[5] The market-boats of Germany which go down the Danube to Vienna,

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The Armenia of Herodotus was confined within very different limits to the Armenia of later times. In the first place, it did not include the valley of the Araxes, or Aras, which Herodotus assigns to the Saspeires. On the other hand, it is evident from the description of the four rivers that flowed through it, that it must have included a considerable portion of Kurdistan east of the Tigris; probably as far south as the Gyndes or Diala. On the west it was bounded by the Euphrates,[1] and on the north it contained the sources of that river.[2]

Extent of the Armenia of Herodotus.

XVIII. MATIENE with the Saspeires and Alarodii.

XVIII. MATIENE and the country of the Saspeires and Alarodii formed the eighteenth satrapy, and paid 200 talents.[3]

Eastern and western Matiene mentioned by Herodotus.

The Matiene of Herodotus has occasioned considerable difficulty to commentators. We find Matieni in Asia Minor on the right bank of the Halys;[4] and Aristagoras describes Matiene as coming between Armenia and Cissia,[5] and including four of the stations on the great highway between Sardis and Susa;[6] and we now see this same people associated with the Saspeires, who lay to the north of Media.[7] These contradictions may, to some extent, be cleared up by a general survey of the country.

Eastern Matiene identified with the mountains of Zagros or Kurdistan. Matieni represented by the modern Kurds.

We have already described the mountain chain anciently called Zagros, which runs in a south-easterly direction from the elevated peaks of Ararat to the head of the Persian Gulf. It apparently divided Armenia from Media, and is now best known under the collective title of "mountains" of Kurdistan. The long terraces of this extensive range, and the verdant pastures of the underlying plains, appear in all ages to have formed the country of a pastoral and wandering race. The modern Kurds, who have taken the place of the Carduchi of Xerxes, are almost all "dwellers in the field."[8]

like those of Armenia, never return, but are sold with the commodities they convey.

[1] v. 52. [2] i. 180. [3] iii. 94. [4] i. 72. [5] v. 49.

[6] v. 52. Rennell wishes here to read Sittacene for Matiene, as he would place the latter in Media Magna to the north of the Zagros mountains.

[7] iv. 37.

[8] The wandering tribes of Persia are comprehended under the general

Here then we would place the eastern Matieni, and identify the mountains of Matiene with those of Kurdistan. In the northern part of this chain rose the river Aras, or western Araxes,[1] whilst towards the south the river Gyndes and the Greater and Lesser Zab flowed into the Tigris. Thus the Matieni were connected with the Saspeires on the north, and also inhabited the southern district between Armenia and Cissia, which Herodotus more especially calls Matiene.

Western Matiene in Asia Minor.

The western Matieni on the right bank of the Halys have next to be considered. They apparently occupied the mountains of Anti-Taurus, and were most probably a pastoral people, presenting many points of similarity to the eastern Matieni on the Zagros range. How far they were of a kindred race it is impossible to say; Armenia certainly came between the two nations; but the question may be safely left to the conjectures of the reader.

Costume.

The Matieni in the army of Xerxes wore the same costume as the Paphlagonians of Asia Minor,[2] and seem to have belonged to the same stock as the Armenians, with whom they were doubtless to some extent intermingled, and who were equipped in a similar manner.[3]

Saspeires and Alarodii, in the valley of the Aras.

The Saspeires dwelt above the Medes, and south of the Caspians,[4] and consequently must have occupied the valley of the Aras, or western Araxes. The Alarodii are unknown, but were probably a neighbouring tribe, as we find that both they and the Saspeires were equipped like the Colchians.[5]

X. Media, with the Paricanii, and Orthocorybantii.

X. MEDIA, or the tenth satrapy, comprised Ecbatana (or Agbatana[6]) and the rest of Media, and the Paricanii and Orthocorybantii. It paid 450 talents.[7]

Difficulty respecting the Paricanii.

The Paricanii may be identified with the Paretaceni, one of the Median tribes,[8] as we find the

term of Iliyats, and are divided into Shehr-nishin, or dwellers in cities, and Sahra-nishin, or dwellers in the field.

[1] i. 202. [2] vii. 72. [3] vii. 73. [4] iv. 37. [5] vii. 79.

[6] Herodotus and Ctesias both spelt it Ἀγβάτανα.

[7] iii. 92. [8] iii. 101.

Paricanii mentioned again in the seventeenth satrapy, associated with the Asiatic Aethiopians, much farther to the east. The Orthocorybantii are unknown.[1]

Orthocorybantii, unknown.

General description. Northern Media, or Atropatene answering to Azerbijan. Southern Media, or Media Magna, answering to Irak Ajemi.

Media was divided by the later geographers into two parts, viz. (1.) Northern Media, or Atropatene, a wild, mountainous, and unfertile region, west of the Caspian, and bounded on the north by the western Araxes or Aras, and answering to the modern country of Azerbijan. (2.) Southern Media, or Media Magna, a spacious and fertile table land, south of the Caspian, and including, especially in the neighbourhood of the city of Nisa, wide tracts of pasture abounding in the herba medica of the ancients, probably the same with our clover.[2] Here were reared the celebrated Nisaean breed of horses, which are especially noticed by Herodotus, and which were remarkable for their pure whiteness, and for their size, speed, and sureness of foot. This Media Magna answers to the modern Irak Ajemi. Each of these divisions appear to have had a capital bearing the same name of Ecbatana, a word which probably signifies in its original form "treasure," or "treasure city."[3] The Ecbatana of northern Media is identified with the site of Takhti-Soleiman; that of Media Magna, with the modern Hamadan. This subject will be more fully discussed further on.[4]

Two capitals, each named Ecbatana.

Media of Herodotus.

Media as described by Herodotus was generally level, but the region to the north of Ecbatana, and towards the Saspeires and the Euxine Sea, was very

[1] The conjectures of commentators respecting these two nations are various. The identification of the Paricanii with the Paretaceni is certainly doubtful, for if they were really Medes, they did not require naming at all, being included under the general title of Medes. (See Baehr's note to vii. 92.) The Orthocorybantii are supposed by Rennell to be the people of Corbiana, now called Kurrimabad, in the southern part of the satrapy.

[2] Heeren, *Asiat. Res.* vol. i.

[3] See Colonel Rawlinson's Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana, in the Journal of the Royal Geog. Soc. vol. x. p. 65; to which, and to Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, I must generally refer as my authorities for the present description.

[4] It need scarcely be mentioned that there was also a town in Syria bearing the name of Ecbatana. (iii. 62.) It was situated on Mount Carmel, and was probably a treasure citadel.

mountainous, and covered with forests, and abounding in wild beasts, yet including some pastures which were favourable to the grazing of cattle.[1] This is the only passage in our author which will really assist us in discovering the territory to which he referred. Rennell supposes that Media Magna, or Irak Ajemi, only is meant, because that would leave more room for the Saspeires,[2] and was in accordance with his theory that the territory of Matiene, which Herodotus assigns to another satrapy, came between Media Magna and northern Media or Azerbijan. He therefore identifies the Ecbatana of Herodotus with the site of the modern city of Hamadan. Colonel Rawlinson however contends that only northern Media or Azerbijan is meant, and that the site of Takhti-Soleiman represents the Ecbatana of Herodotus.[3] It is certain that our author's description already quoted refers to northern Media, and there are mountains to the north of Takhti-Soleiman, but none to the north of Hamadan. It is however difficult to believe that Herodotus does not also allude to the spacious plains of Media Magna, when describing the country as generally level. The limits of course cannot be distinctly laid down, as it is certain that some parts of Media were given to different satrapies, and besides Matiene already mentioned, we shall find that the mountaineers of the southern shore of the Caspian were also excluded. The border country along the south of Media and north of Persis was filled up by the Zagros mountains, and occupied by tribes of robbers, of whom the Parætaceni were the most considerable.

Identified by Rennell with Irak Ajemi, and the Ecbatana with Hamadan.

Identified by Colonel Rawlinson with Azerbijan, and the Ecbatana with Takhti-Soleiman.

Probably included a large portion of both provinces.

Within the Median territory was the extensive Nisæan

[1] i. 110.

[2] See p. 199, 201.

[3] Colonel Rawlinson shows that the ruins of Takhti-Soleiman are not later than Timur's invasion in A. D. 1389; that they probably derived their present name from Soleiman Shah Abuh, a local ruler of Kurdistan, who lived in the early part of the thirteenth century A. D.; that previous to the Moguls, the city was known as Shiz in all Oriental authors, and that Shiz is the same place as the Byzantine Canzaca. A concise outline of his investigations is to be found in Dr. Smith's Dict. of Geog. art. *Ecbatana*.

plain and horses.

plain called the Nisaean, celebrated for its breed of large and excellent horses,[1] which even surpassed those of India.[2] Ten of these horses were taken by Xerxes in his expedition against Greece.[3] The Nisaean pastures appear to have lain between Casvin and Teheran.[4]

Ecbatana as described by Herodotus.

We now turn to Herodotus's description of Ecbatana. The Medes were originally distributed into a number of villages,[5] and rapine and lawlessness were generally prevalent.[6] At length Deioces, having induced the people to make him king, obliged them to build him Ecbatana. This was erected upon a mountain, and consisted of seven strong and lofty walls, each one rising in a circle within the other. The ground was of an easy ascent, and each inner wall displayed its battlements above the other. The outside wall was therefore the lowest, and was about equal in circumference to the city of Athens. The innermost wall was the highest, and within it was the king's palace, and also his treasury. The battlements of all these circular walls were of different colours. The first were white, the second black, the third purple, the fourth blue, the fifth bright red, the sixth plated with silver, and the seventh or innermost one plated with gold.[7] The people dwelt outside all round the walls.[8]

Story of its walls considered to be a fable of Sabaean origin.

Such is Herodotus's extraordinary description of Ecbatana. The story of the seven walls is considered by Colonel Rawlinson to be manifestly a fable of Sabaean origin, the seven colours being precisely those employed by the Orientals to denote the seven great heavenly bodies, or the seven climates in which they revolve.[9] The hill of Takhti-Soleiman which

[1] vii. 40. [2] iii. 105. [3] vii. 40.

[4] Mannert, v. p. 170. Rennell places them near Kermanshah. Heeren remarks that Porter, though struck with the same groundless notion, was struck with the beauty and fleetness of the horses of the plains of Casvin, when he rode across them in the suite of the crown prince, Abbas Mirza. *Asiat. Nat.* vol. i.

[5] i. 96. [6] i. 97. [7] i. 98. [8] i. 99.

[9] Colonel Rawlinson quotes from a poem of Nizámí, who describes a seven-dyed palace in nearly the same terms as Herodotus. In this the palace dedicated to Saturn was black; that to Jupiter, orange, or more

Colonel Rawlinson identifies with Ecbatana, rises one hundred and fifty feet above the plain, and its brow is still crowned with a wall thirty feet high, and having thirty-seven bastions in a circuit of a little more than three quarters of a mile.[1]

Medes divided into six tribes; viz. Busae, Paretaceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budii, and Magi. Anciently called Arians. Costume.

The Medes originally consisted of six tribes, namely the Busae, the Paretaceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budii, and Magi. These were all formed into a single nation by Deioces.[2] At an earlier period the Medes were all called Arians.[3] In the army of Xerxes they wore turbans and loose trousers, and their bodies were protected by variously coloured breastplates, with sleeves or armlets, and with iron scales like those of a fish. They used short spears, long bows, and arrows made of cane, and had daggers on the right thigh, suspended from the girdle. Instead of shields they had bucklers of osiers curiously twisted, and under these bucklers they hung their quivers.[4] Of their language the word spaca, signifying "a bitch,"[5] is alone preserved by Herodotus.

Language.

XI. South Caspian provinces, comprising Caspii, Pausicae, Pantimathi, and Dareitae.

XI. The South Caspian districts seem to have formed the eleventh satrapy, which comprised the Caspii, Pausicae, Pantimathi, and Dareitae. It paid 200 talents.[6]

The Caspii in Xerxes' army wore goat-skin man-

strictly speaking, sandal wood colour; that to Mars, scarlet; that to the Sun, golden; that to Venus, white; that to Mercury, azure; and that to the Moon, green, a hue which is applied by Orientals to silver. These particulars would almost seem to indicate that the story in Herodotus was originally derived from Chaldaean sources. The order however of the coloured walls of Ecbatana will not agree with that of the orbits of the heavenly bodies, according to Chaldaean or Aegyptian notions. If however we might suppose that the colours of the first and second ramparts, and those of the third and fifth, have been interchanged in Herodotus's description, we shall then get an order corresponding with that of the deities presiding over the days of the week.

[1] I have shown elsewhere that I do not believe that Herodotus ever visited Ecbatana, otherwise he would never have compared its extent with that of Athens. Mr. Blakesley however has pointed out that the circumference of the hill of Takhti-Soleiman is sufficiently near to that of the acropolis at Athens to allow of a comparison between the two to be made in such a caravan story as may have reached the ears of our author.

[2] i. 101. [3] vii. 62. [4] vii. 61; v. 49. [5] i. 110.
[6] iii. 92.

tles, and carried bows made of cane peculiar to their country, and scimetars.[1] This peculiar cane was probably the bamboo. The other nations are not mentioned as having joined the expedition.

Costume of the Caspii.

Identification of this satrapy with Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad.

This satrapy, according to the generally received opinion among commentators, lay along the south and eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, and thus occupied the fertile semicircular tract which is shut up on the inland side by the ridge of mountains now called Elburz. It constituted one natural division of the country, and answered to the modern provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad. Rennell identifies the Pausicae with the Pasicae of Strabo, and Aspasiacae of Ptolemy, to the north-east of Chorasmia; this would extend the satrapy into the desert of Khiva as far north as the present mouth of the Oxus.[2] We would rather consider it as being bounded on the north by the ancient course of this river, which would leave room for the Amyrgian Sacae and Caspians of the fifteenth century.

XVI. Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians, all wearing Bactrian costume.

XVI. The PARTHIANS, CHORASMIANS, SOGDIANS, and ARIANS composed the sixteenth satrapy, which paid 300 talents.[3] All these nations wore the Bactrian equipment; the Arians however are mentioned as carrying Medic bows.[4] It will be presently seen that the Hyrcanians may be included in the same satrapy.[5]

Vast extent of the satrapy.

The vast region thus pointed out would appear to extend from the Carmanian satrapy at Lake Zurrah, or Aria Palus, and the river Helmund northward to the banks of Jaxartes, or modern Sirr-deria. We will endeavour to explain the country occupied by these nations in detail. The Parthia of Herodotus undoubtedly included only the original

Parthia identified with the

[1] vii. 67.

[2] Major Rennell also remarks upon the general similarity in the armour of the Bactrians, Caspians, Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, and Dadicae, from whence it would appear that all the nations situated to the north and east of Media bore a sufficient resemblance to each other to show their common origin, which, he says, was doubtless from Scythia. (*Geog. of Herod.* vol. i.) The latter question requires further consideration.

[3] iii. 93. [4] vii. 66. [5] iii. 117.

country of the Parthians previous to its extension by conquest; and we may gather from the words of Justin and Strabo, that this was nothing more than the mountainous tract between Hyrcania, Margiana, Aria, and the desert of Chorasmia,[1] answering on the modern map to the mountains in the north of Khorassan, which form a continuation of the Elburz range. Chorasmia may be taken for the deserts of Khiva or Kharesm, which form the south-western quarter of Independent Tartary. Sogdia, or Sogdiana, included the country still called Sogd, or Samarcand, but perhaps better known as Bokhara, or the south-eastern quarter of Independent Tartary, between the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. Lastly, Aria comprised nearly all Khorassan and western Afghanistan, and still preserves its name in the modern Herat. The Arians and Medes were originally the same race, as Herodotus tells us that the Medes anciently bore the name of Arians.[2] Either this union was dissolved by the dynasty of the Medes, or the Persians considered it expedient to weaken a people so powerful by forming them into separate satrapies. The passage from Media into this territory was through the Caspian Gates, a strong and narrow strait lying between the two countries, and so called because it led through the Caspian mountains, now called Elburz, down to the sea. Western Aria is a waste so impregnated with salt that it has received the name of the Salt Desert.

mountains north of Khorassan.

Chorasmia with Kharesm or Khiva.

Sogdia with Sogd or Bokhara.

Aria with Khorassan and western Afghanistan.

Arians and Medes the same race.

Caspian Gates.

Salt desert.

[1] This has been ably pointed out by Rennell, from whom we now extract the principal authorities for the original seats of the Parthians. Justin says that the Parthians were Scythian exiles who possessed themselves of the places between Hyrcania, the Dahae, Arii, Spartans, and Margianians. (Lib. xli. c. 1.) For Spartans read Aparytae. (Herod. iii. 91.) Strabo (p. 511) places Parthia between Margiana and Aria; and in p. 514 says, that being originally of no great extent, it was increased in after-times by the addition of Camisene, Chorene, and other districts (formerly belonging to Media) as far as the Caspian Gates. In p. 509 he says that the river Ochus flows near Parthia. Pliny (vi. 25) places Parthia between Media and Aria, Carmania and Hyrcania; and as he extends Hyrcania eastward to Margiana, it is certain that his Parthia agrees with that of Ptolemy. Moreover he says that Hecatompylos, the capital of Parthia, lies in the middle of it. Rennell, *Geog. of Herod.* vol. i.

[2] vii. 62.

Remarkable plain described by Herodotus.

A remarkable account is to be found in Herodotus of a large plain in the vicinity of the present satrapy and the nations included in the fourteenth, which seems to refer to Sehestan. He describes this plain as shut in by mountains, and situated in the neighbourhood of the Chorasmians, Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangees, and Thamanaeans. It originally belonged to the Chorasmians, but of course, after the establishment of the Persian empire, it fell under the sway of the Great King. In ancient times a large river named the Aces rose in this plain, and flowing through five ravines in the mountain barrier, irrigated the lands of the surrounding nations already mentioned. After the Persian conquest, the king dammed in the river by fixing sluice-gates in the ravines, and thus turned the plain into a sea. This act of tyranny threw the people into the greatest distress. The rains only fell in the winter; and during the summer, when the millet and sesame were put in the ground, and the land stood in the greatest need of water, there was none to be had. Accordingly both men and women would travel all the way to Persia, and make a great outcry before the royal palace; and Herodotus was informed that the Persian king exacted large sums of money in addition to the tribute, before he would consent to open the gates.[1] This story seems in perfect keeping with other accounts which have been preserved of Asiatic despotism, though to Rennell the relation appeared improbable. It is difficult however to reconcile the geographical description with the actual state of the country. The country of Sehestan is a hollow tract, surrounded by mountains and watered by the river Helmund, and it includes the lake Zurrah,[2] into which the Helmund discharges itself.

Contained the sources of the Aces.

Turned into a lake by the king of Persia.

Difficulties in the geography: Herodotus's apparent confusion between the Helmund and Oxus.

[1] iii. 117.

[2] This lake consists of a body of brackish water about 160 miles in circumference. In the centre is a hill upon which is built the fort of Rustam. Its shores are overgrown to a considerable distance with rushes and reeds, interspersed with pools of standing water. The banks of the Helmund are well cultivated and fruitful, and the country possesses a fine rich soil, which is irrigated by the river. This fertile land however nowhere exceeds two miles in breadth, and the great valley of

This lake however and the neighbouring country is an immense distance from Chorasmia and Hyrcania. Most probably Herodotus has confused the Helmund with the Oxus, and this would account for his apparent contradictory description.[1]

XV. The EAST CASPIAN PROVINCES seem to have formed the fifteenth satrapy, and comprised the Sacae or Amyrgians, and the Caspii, and paid 250 talents.[2]

XV. East Caspian Provinces comprising Sacae and Caspii.

Sacae was a name applied by the Persians to all Scythians, but those who marched in the army of Xerxes, and who we may presume were those included in the present satrapy, were called Scythian Amyrgians. They wore stiff hats with pointed crowns and loose trousers; and they carried bows peculiar to their country, daggers, and battle-axes called sagares.[3] A modern geographer[4] considers that the name of Sacae was not originally that of a nation, but probably pertained to religion and culture; and that hostile tribes who gradually extended to the Tanais, and practised common rites and bore the common name of Sacae, were separately called the stock of the Geloni, Budini, Sauromatae, and others. From the description in Herodotus we may therefore deduce, that a tribe of the Sacae called Amyrgians were subdued by Persia, and thus satisfied her pride. Their seats were probably between the upper courses of the Oxus and Jaxartes, to the north of Sogdia. In the time of Alexander the Great immense hordes of these Scythians traversed Sogdia, ready at all times either to seize a booty, or on the approach of superior forces to fly back to their native steppes and deserts.[5]

Sacae, the Persian name for Scythians: their costume.

Amyrgian Sacae to be considered as a Scythian tribe conquered by Persia.

Situated between the Oxus and Jaxartes.

the Helmund therefore presents that remarkable contrast which in the East is the result of the presence or absence of water. Elphinstone's *Cabul*, vol. ii., and Capt. Christie in *Pottinger's Travels*, p. 407, both quoted by Col. Chesney.

[1] Herodotus distinctly says (iii. 117) that he derived his information from hearsay.

[2] iii. 93.

[3] vii. 64.

[4] Ritter, quoted by Baehr in his note on iii. 93.

[5] Arrian, quoted by Heeren, *Asiat. Nat.* vol. i. Arrian makes a broad distinction between the Sogdians living in cities and the wander-

Caspii north of the ancient mouth of the Oxus.

The Caspians in this satrapy have been a great difficulty to commentators. Caspii have already been mentioned in the eleventh satrapy, in the district along the south and south-eastern shores of the Caspian Sea; and efforts have therefore been made to substitute a different reading.[1] But no authority can be quoted from the manuscripts for such deviations from the text, and we still prefer to read Caspii; not indeed confusing them with those to the south of the Caspian, from whom they were separated by the ancient course of the Oxus,[2] but

ing hordes of Scythians. In the same way the Bucharians are still distinct in their character and habits from the Usbeck Tartars.

[1] Reizius would read Caspeiri, relying upon the authority of Stephen of Byzantium, who cites from the third book of Herodotus, Caspeiron, a city of the Persians bordering on India. Rennell and Larcher would read Casii, or the inhabitants of the country called Casia by Ptolemy, which lies to the north-east of Sogdia or Samarcand, and answers to the modern Kashgar. Maltebrun refers us to the inhabitants of the Indian Caucasus or Hindoo Koosh, in the neighbourhood of the city of Caspatyrus, which we shall presently see was identical with the city of Cabul. Cf. Baehr, note on Herod. iii. 93.

[2] Ancient geographers describe the river Oxus as flowing, not into the Aral, as at present, but as running from east to west into the Caspian. Strabo and Pliny always suppose this to be the fact, and it is expressly asserted by Ptolemy. We are told, however, that about the year 1719, Peter the Great, having heard that gold was contained in the sands of one of the tributaries of the Oxus, sent 3000 men under Beckewitz to take possession of the surrounding countries. Meantime the suspicion of the Tartars was aroused, and they dammed up the Oxus by a strong dyke, and conducted its waters through three canals into the lake Aral. The khan then marched a large army to meet Beckewitz, but was defeated by the Russian artillery. Beckewitz subsequently attempted to turn the Oxus into its ancient channel, but his army, having separated into small parties, was cut to pieces by the Tartars.

Such is the ancient account and modern tradition, but, in opposition to the latter, we find that 700 years before the Russian expedition under Beckewitz, Ebu Haukal describes the Oxus as falling into the lake Aral. (See Ouseley's translation of Ebu Haukal's Geography, p. 239, where the Oxus is called the Jihoun, and the Aral is named the lake of Kharezm.) It is therefore impossible to believe that the Tartars, in A. D. 1719, turned the Oxus from the Caspian into the Aral. Moreover we may even doubt the general possibility of damming up so large a river in a country of sand.

The researches of recent travellers however confirm the accounts of the ancient geographers, that the Oxus did actually at one time flow into the Caspian. The dry channel has been seen at different points, and we are even told that an embankment actually exists: the problem is best solved by a consideration of the general physical geography of the country.

In ante-historical times central Asia must have been an immense sea, but a constant drying up of the waters has gradually changed a great

placing them still higher on the eastern shore of the Caspian, and in the northern part of the desert of Khiva.

XII. BACTRIA formed the twelfth satrapy, and extended from the Bactrians as far as the Aeglae. It paid 360 talents.[1]

XII. BACTRIA.

General description. Identified with Balkh between the Hindoo Koosh and the Oxus.

The province of Bactria lay between the Hindoo Koosh and the river Oxus, and is still known by the name of Balkh.[2] The descent from the great range of mountains is very rapid, and the lower parts of Balkh towards the Oxus are much lower and hotter than the elevated regions on the south. The hills in the latter quarter are generally stony, but have many good and well-watered valleys, and they secure a supply of water to the central part of the country, which is plain and fertile. The north towards the Oxus is sandy and barren.[3] Bactria may also be said to include the mountainous territory to the east, which is now called Budakshan. The Bactrians were a brave and hardy race, who were reckoned amongst the best soldiers in the Persian service; and the province is still celebrated for a strong and active breed of horses, which are exported in considerable numbers.

part of this sea into a desert of sand, under which are numerous springs, generally salt and bitter, whose waters either lose themselves in the sand or are carried off by evaporation. In very remote ages, therefore, the Aral may have formed only an inland lake of the Oxus river, and that branch of the river towards the Caspian which is now dried up, was probably the outflow of the Aral. As the Aral became more shallow the mass of water no longer required this outflow, and the branch towards the Caspian gradually dried up. Water however is a precious element in a sandy region, and when the old outflow became too shallow to irrigate the land, the inhabitants threw a dam or embankment across it to prevent the Oxus from merely losing itself in the sands, and probably to turn its waters into canals of greater utility. This dam was probably the one seen by Beckewitz, and was not recently constructed, but may have existed prior to the time of Ebu Haukal. For a further account see Memoir communicated by Humboldt to Captain Moria, and ascribed to the Graf von Cancrin, printed in Morier's Memoir of the Countries about the Caspian and Aral.

[1] iii. 92.

[2] Balkh is probably only the name of the principal city of this region, but is generally applied by geographers to the entire tract. Elphinstone also uses it in this general sense, though he acknowledges that it is inaccurate.

[3] Elphinstone, *Account of Caubul*, vol. ii.

ASIA. CHAP. IV.

Herodotus's account. Bactria a penal settlement.

Bactria, according to Herodotus, was the usual place of banishment for enslaved nations. Thus the Persian generals threatened the Ionians that they would make eunuchs of their sons and carry their virgins to Bactria;[1] and the enslaved Barcaeans from Libya were also carried there, and built a village which they named Barca, and which still existed in the Bactrian territory in the time of Herodotus.[2]

Costume of the Bactrians.

The Bactrians in the army of Xerxes wore turbans on their heads very much like those worn by the Medes; they also carried short spears, and bows made of a cane, which was peculiar to their country.[3] They would seem to be the most important people in this part of Asia; and we find that many of the surrounding nations wore the same equipments, viz. the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, Dadicae, and Arians; only the latter carried a bow which bore more resemblance to the Median.

Aeglae, probably the Ghiljies.

Of the Aeglae nothing is known for certain. Rennell would place them in the eastern extremity of Bactria, where he says that the most remote province is named Kil, Gil, or Kilan.[4] We would rather identify them with the Ghiljies, who were in former times the most celebrated of the Afghan tribes, and are to be found in the neighbourhood of Cabul, and along the valley of the Cabul river as far as Jellallabad.[5]

VII. GANDARA, comprising the Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae, and Aparytae. Merely named by Herodotus. Probably answered to

VII. GANDARA, or the seventh satrapy, comprised the Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae, and Aparytae. It paid 170 talents.[6] Herodotus says nothing further about these people, excepting that the Gandarii and Dadicae wore the same accoutrements as the Bactrians.[7]

The name of Gandara is applied by later oriental writers to Candahar, and we have therefore thought

[1] vi. 9. [2] iv. 204. [3] vii. 64.

[4] In Stephen of Byzantium we find Αἴγηλοι ἔθνος Μηδικόν, to which some commentators refer. Billerbeck, quoted by Baehr, for Αἰγλων would read Ἀρείων. See Baehr's note on Herod. iii. 92.

[5] Elphinstone, *Account of Caubul*, vol. ii.

[6] iii. 91. [7] vii. 66.

proper for the sake of clearness to use it as a general name for the country of the Gandarii and other nations included in the present satrapy. This collective territory is to be identified with eastern Afghanistan. Strabo places the Gandarii to the east of the Indus, but Hecataeus fixes them on the western bank of that river, and this latter statement seems most in accordance with the arrangement of Herodotus. The Dadicae were probably the Tadjiks, a people of ancient Persian race, who are now widely scattered throughout the countries east of Persia. The Aparytae we cannot identify. The Sattagydae have been identified by Colonel Rawlinson with the modern Zhats of Candahar.[1]

eastern Afghanistan. Gandarii identified with the people of Candahar.

Dadicae with the Tadjiks.

Sattagydae with the Zhats.

XIV. CARMANIA, the modern Kerman, seems to have been included in the fourteenth satrapy, though not named. This government comprised the Sagartii, Sarangees, Thamanaei, Utii, and Myci, together with the islands in the Erythraean, to which the king used to transplant those individuals whom he condemned to banishment. It paid a tribute of 600 talents.[2]

XIV. CARMANIA, including Sagartii, Sarangees, Thamanaei, Utii, and Myci, and the isles of the Erythraean.

The Sarangees and the Erythraean islanders are the only people whose localities can be at all identified, but we may regard these as forming two of the extremities of the satrapy. The Sarangees were apparently the people of Zarang or Sehestan, a rich alluvial tract in the western part of Afghanistan, and lying to the south of Lake Zurrah, or Aria Palus, and the river Helmund. The other tribes mentioned

Sarangees identified with the people of Zarang or Sehestan.

[1] Rennell places the Gandarii in Margiana, because he finds in Isidore the towns of Gadar and Apabartica between the towns of Nisaea, which he takes for the country of Naisabour, and Antiochia of Margiana, which he takes for the country of Meru. Hence he concludes that the Gandarii occupied the country of Gadar, and the Aparytae that of Apabartica, especially as he says Herodotus (vii. 66) gives the name of Gardarians to those whom he had elsewhere called Gandarians. Larcher has however pointed out Rennell's mistake. All the MSS. consulted by Larcher and Wesseling have Gandarians, and never Gardarians, to say nothing of the weighty testimony of Strabo and Hecataeus quoted above. Baehr has a long note upon Herod. iii. 91, in which he quotes the opinions of different geographers, but without expressing any very decided opinion of his own.

[2] iii. 93.

may be placed in the region between Sehestan and the coast opposite the Erythrean isles, thus answering to the modern provinces of Kerman and Laristan. None of these isles are of great extent excepting Kishm.

Herodotus's account. Costume of the Sagartii.

The Sagartii were nomades[1] of Persian extraction and speaking the Persian language; they wore a costume of a fashion half Persian and half Pactyan. They furnished eight thousand horse to Xerxes, and carried no arms either of brass or iron excepting daggers, but were provided with lassos made of twisted thongs. Their mode of fighting was by throwing the lasso, which had a noose at the end, over an enemy, and then dragging down either horse or man, and despatching with daggers all that they could thus entangle.[2] The Thamanaeans are unknown. The Sarangees, or Sarangae, were distinguished for their beautifully coloured garments,[3] and wore buskins reaching up to the knee, and carried bows and Medic javelins.[4] The Utii and Myci were equipped like the Pactyes.[5] [6]

Mode of fighting with lassos.

Thamanaei unknown. Costume of the Sarangees, Utii, and Myci.

XVII. ASIATIC AETHIOPIA with the Paricanii.

XVII. ASIATIC AETHIOPIA, or the seventeenth satrapy, seems to answer to the country between Carmania and the Indus. It comprised the Paricanii and the Aethiopians of Asia, and paid 400 talents.[7]

Herodotus's account. Equipment of Paricanii.

The Paricanii were armed like the Pactyes.[8] The eastern Aethiopians, or those from the sun-rise, as

[1] i. 125.

[2] vii. 85. The Csikos in the late Hungarian war were said to have fought with lassos having an iron bullet at the end, and as there seemed some strange similarity between their name and that of the Sargatii, I made some inquiry concerning them. I find, however, that Csiko merely means a colt; that the Csikos are simply herdsmen belonging to no nationality whatever; and that the story that they formed a corps in the Hungarian army was a mere invention of the German papers. I have not, however, been able to learn whether they preserve any traces of having formed an hereditary caste.

[3] Kerman still produces the finest wool; and Kerman, the metropolis, is celebrated throughout all Asia for its manufacture of shawls, which are as fine, but not so soft, as those of Cashmere. Heeren, *Asiat. Nat.* vol. i.

[4] vii. 67. [5] vii. 68.

[6] Bobrik thinks that the Pactyes were also probably included in this satrapy, and that their name was omitted because the Utians and Mycians dwelt in Pactyica. *Geog. des Herodot.* § 76.

[7] iii. 94. [8] vii. 68.

Herodotus calls them, were marshalled with the Indians, and differed from the Libyan Aethiopians only in their language and their hair, which was straight, whilst that of the Libyan Aethiopians was curly. These Asiatics were accoutred like the Indians, excepting that they wore on their heads skins like masks which had been stripped from the heads of horses with the ears and mane; and these horses' ears were fixed so as to stand erect, whilst the mane served for a crest. For defensive armour they used the skins of cranes instead of shields.[1]

Aethiopians of Asia contrasted with those of Libya. Strange head-dress.

The region inhabited by these Aethiopians seems to be identical with Gedrosia, and therefore to have included Mekran and other provinces in that quarter, which now bear the general name of Beloochistan. The Paricanii, however, cannot be identified at all.[2]

Identification of Asiatic Aethiopia with Gedrosia or Beloochistan.

XX. NORTHERN INDIA, which formed the twentieth satrapy, comprised what may be called the tributary Indians, to distinguish them from those tribes who were independent of the Persian power. They were the most numerous people known to Herodotus, and paid a tribute proportionably large, viz. 360 talents of gold-dust;[3] which, reckoned at thirteen times the value of the usual silver talent, were equal to 4680 talents.[4]

XX. NORTHERN INDIA, or Punjab.

Herodotus describes these tributary Indians as being settled to the north of the other Indian tribes, and on the borders of the city of Caspatyrus and country of Pactyica; and we may infer that their country was not far from that of the Bactrians, whom they resembled in their mode of life. In their neighbourhood was a sandy desert.[5] We have already identified Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyica with the modern territory of Cabul,[6] and the desert here alluded to is no doubt that of Gobi or Shamo. We have therefore no hesitation in extend-

Extent of the satrapy.

[1] vii. 70.

[2] Rennell thinks it possible that they may have lived in the neighbourhood of the Purah of the historians of Alexander, which he identifies with the town of Paraj or Fahraj. This however is pure conjecture.

[3] iii. 94, 102. [4] iii. 95.

[5] iii. 102. [6] See page 199.

ing this satrapy in a north-easterly direction from the confines of Gandaria and Bactria towards the desert of Shamo, thus approximating to the country now called the Punjab.

Herodotus's account of the people. Enormous ants.

The Indians of this satrapy were the most warlike of all the Indian nations. The desert abounded in ants, rather less than dogs, but larger than foxes, of which the king of Persia possessed some specimens.[1] These ants formed their habitations under ground, and heaped up the sand in a similar manner to the ants of Hellas, which they much resembled in shape.

Ant-hills of sand and gold-dust. Mode of carrying off the gold.

The sand thus heaped up was mixed with gold, which was thus obtained by the Indians. Each man took with him three camels, viz. a male on each side to carry the gold, and a female in the centre on which he sat; and he took care that the latter should be one that had recently foaled.[2] During the hottest part of the day the ants burrowed themselves in their subterranean dwellings, and accordingly the Indians chose this time for carrying off the gold. On reaching the spot they filled their sacks and hastened away with all possible despatch; for the ants would discover them by their smell, and being the swiftest of animals, would overtake and destroy them, unless the gold-stealers had got a good start. It was thus, according to the Persians, that the Indians obtained the greatest part of their gold; at the same time the metal was found, though in less quantities, in mines and rivers.[3]

Identification of the people with the Rajpoots of the Punjab.

Herodotus's remark already quoted, that the Indians comprised in this satrapy were the most warlike of all the Indian nations, at once leads us to identify them with the warrior-caste of Hindostan, the ancestors of the Rajpoots, of whom the Mahrattas and Sikhs are branches. The upper class of the inhabitants of the Punjab still consists of Rajpoots, who are stout and handsome, with aquiline noses

[1] Marco Paulo relates that the Indians sent stuffed monsters into foreign countries to give countenance to the stories respecting them. If this fraud was practised in the time of Darius, it will account for the stuffed ants in the museum at Susa.

[2] iii. 102. [3] iii. 106.

and Jewish features. The lower class consists of the little, dark-complexioned, and unsightly Jauts, who are plainly alluded to in Herodotus's account of the Independent Indians.[1]

Indian camels.

In connexion with the account of India, we have a notice of the Indian camels. These were as swift as horses, and much better able to carry burdens.[2] The males however were inferior in speed to the females, and in the race from the ant-heaps were the soonest tired, whilst the female, being anxious to return to her young, never slackened her pace. As the camel was known to the Greeks, only two other facts are mentioned, namely, that it had four thighs and four knees in the hinder legs, or rather two thighs, two shins in each leg, and that the genitals of the male were turned towards the tail.[3]

Costume of the Indians.

The Indians in the army of Xerxes wore cotton garments, and carried bows made of cane, (or bamboo,) and arrows of the same material, but tipped with iron.[4] Their cavalry were equipped in the same manner, and besides saddle-horses, had chariots drawn by horses and wild asses.[5]

Revenue of the twenty satrapies.

This account of the Indians who paid tribute to Darius concludes the geography of the twenty satrapies. The revenue of the whole may be summed up as follows; it being remembered that Herodotus does not include sums smaller than a talent.

	Silver Talents.
1. Western and south-western Asia Minor	400
2. Lydian Asia Minor	500
3. Northern Asia Minor	360
4. South-eastern or Cilician Asia Minor	500
Also 360 white horses.	
5. Phoenicia, Palaestine, and Cyprus	350
6. Aegypt and Libya	700
Also 120,000 measures of corn and fish from Lake Moeris: the latter producing one talent a day for six months, and 20 minas a day for the remaining six months.	
7. Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae, and Aparytae	170
8. Cissia, or Susiana	300
Carried forward	3280

[1] See chap. v. [2] iii. 102. [3] iii. 104.
[4] vii. 65. [5] vii. 86.

	Silver Talents.
Brought forward	3280
9. Assyria, including Babylon . . . . . Also 500 eunuchs.	1000
10. Media, including the Paricanii and Orthocorybantii .	450
11. Caspii, Pausicae, Pantimathi, and Dareitae . .	200
12. Bactria, including the Aeglae and the nations intervening	360
13. Armenia from Pactyica to the Euxine . . .	400
14. Sagartii, Sarangae, Thamanaei, Utii, Myci, and Erythraean isles	600
15. Sacae and Caspii	250
16. Parthi, Chorasmii, Sogdi, and Arii	300
17. Paricanii and Asiatic Aethiopia	400
18. Matieni, Saspeires, and Alarodii	200
19. Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynoeci, and Marsi	300
Babylonian talents, each equal to 70 Euboic minas	7740
20. Indians . . 360 talents of gold-dust, 13 times the value of silver, and therefore equal to Euboic talents of 60 minas each	4680

Herodotus's error whilst reducing the Babylonian talent to the Euboic standard.

The silver talents paid by the first nineteen satrapies were according to the Babylonian standard, which Herodotus calculates to be equal to 70 Euboic minas.[1] But we have now to deal with one of those arithmetical errors so frequent in our author, and which are generally laid to the charge of faulty transcribers. The sum total paid by the first nineteen satrapies, reduced to Euboic talents, he calculates at 9540 talents. Now the Euboic talent[2] was equal to 60 minas, being a proportion of 7 to 6 in comparison with the Babylonian talent. Consequently the case stand thus.

	Silver Talents.
7740 Babylonian talents according to Herodotus's calculation equal to	9540
Ditto, according to our calculation, as 6 to 7 .	9030
Difference	510

Attempts to account for it.

It is really impossible to account for this discrepancy, though it may be somewhat lessened by supposing, as Aelian asserts, that the Babylonian talent was really equal to 72 Euboic minas, and therefore

[1] iii. 89.

[2] The Euboic talent was really slightly heavier than the Attic talent, 70 Euboic minas being equal to 72 Attic minas. This however makes not the slightest difference in the calculation, as we reckon by Euboic and not by Attic minas.

stood in proportion to the Euboic talent as 5 to 6; and that Herodotus merely said 70 minas for the sake of using round numbers, though in his calculation he reckoned it at 72 minas. This however will not explain the whole error, as, according to Herodotus's calculation, the Babylonian was to the Euboic talent nearly in the proportion of 4 to 5.

Error in the sum total: perhaps included taxes paid in kind, tolls, gifts, etc.

Close upon the foregoing we have another unaccountable mistake. Herodotus calculates the 360 talents of Indian gold-dust to be thirteen times the value of silver, and accordingly reckons the gold as equal to 4680 Euboic talents. Here, for a wonder, he appears to be correct; the gold was to be paid in according to the Euboic talent, and thirteen times 360 is really 4680. Next, in order to arrive at the sum total collected from the twenty satrapies, he adds the 4680 talents to the 9540 talents. The result ought to be 14,220 talents, but he makes it 14,560 talents.[1] Some commentators have endeavoured to reconcile this difference, by supposing that Herodotus tacitly included in the sum total the 360 white Cilician horses mentioned in the fourth satrapy; the 240 talents produced by the fish in Lake Moeris, and the 120,000 measures of corn, mentioned in the sixth satrapy; the 500 eunuchs sent from the ninth satrapy; together with the exactions levied from the nations of the fourteenth and sixteenth, who dwelt round the enclosed plain, and paid toll for the water they obtained through the sluice-gates which blocked up the five mountain ravines.[2] Amongst these additions might perhaps be included that branch of the revenue which was received in the shape of gifts, and was sent by the following nations. The Aethiopians on the borders of Aegypt, who were subdued by Cambyses, took every 3 years 2 choenices of unmolten gold, 200 blocks of ebony, 5 Aethiopian boys, and 20 large elephants' tusks. The Colchians and neighbouring nations, as far as Mount Caucasus, which bounded the Persian empire, furnished every five years 100 boys and 100 virgins.

[1] iii. 95.

[2] See page 292.

The Arabians also sent every year 1000 talents of frankincense. Subsequently the islands (probably those in the Aegean) paid tribute, together with the inhabitants of Europe as far as Thessaly. The Persians alone occupied their land without paying taxes, though indeed they brought gifts,[1] which were probably regarded as voluntary marks of homage.

The money and gold-dust melted down into ingots.

When the tribute was all collected it was melted and poured into earthen jars; and these moulds were afterwards removed, and the king had the metal cut off as occasion required.[2]

[1] iii. 96, 97. [2] iii. 96.

CHAPTER V.

INDEPENDENT ASIA:

OR

SOUTHERN INDIA, COLCHIS, AND ARABIA.

Three Asiatic nations independent of the Persian empire, viz. Southern Indians, Colchians, and Arabians.—I. SOUTHERN INDIA.—General description of the India of Herodotus.—Morning the hottest part of the day.—Superior size of the birds and quadrupeds.—Camels.—Dogs.—Gold.—Cotton-trees.—Two nations of Indians.—Southern Indians of Northern Hindostan.—The most easterly of all the Asiatic nations.—Divided into tribes who spoke different languages.—Four tribes mentioned by Herodotus.—Herodotus's superior and correct knowledge of India derived from the report of Scylax.—Great merit of Scylax.—Indian fishermen on the marshes of the Indus.—Identified with the pulla-fishers of Sinde.—Singular coincidence between the report of Scylax and that of Lieut. Wood.—Nomade Indians or Padaei.—Killed and ate their sick relations.—Identified with the barbarous tribes of the deserts of Sinde.—Vegetarian Indians, who lived chiefly on rice.—Identified with the Hindoos.—Calatians, who ate their parents.—Probably the same as the Padaei.—Shameless manners and black complexion of the Indians.—Probably referred to the Jauts of Rajpootana. II. COLCHIS. Description of the country.—Political relations with Persia.—Costume.—Manufacture of linen.—Gifts to Persia.—Colchians believed by Herodotus to be of Aegyptian origin, from their complexion and hair, their practice of circumcision, their manufacture of linen, and their life and language.—Value to be placed on his testimony.—III. ARABIA. General description of the country.—Herodotus's description.—African mountain range between the Nile valley and Arabian Gulf, included in Arabia.—Land of frankincense.—His account of the Arabian Gulf.—Supposed it to be much narrower than it is in reality.—Causes of his error.—More correct as to its length.—His real knowledge of Arabia confined to Arabia Petraea.—Assigns the Philistine territory to the Arabs.—Nature of the soil.—City of Patumos.—River Corys.—Defile near Buto containing the bones of winged serpents.—Fabulous story concerning the serpents.—Rare productions of Arabia.—Frankincense guarded by serpents.—Cassia guarded by bats.—Curious manner of obtaining cinnamon from the nests of large birds.—Ledanum obtained from the beards of goats.—Sheep with enormous tails.—Political relations of the Arabians with Persia.—Costume. Manner of making contracts.—Worship of Dionysus, named Orotal, and of Urania, called Alilat and Alitta.

ASIA. CHAP. V.

UNDER the name of Independent Asia we purpose developing our author's geography of those three nations which to some extent were independent of the Persian empire, namely, the Southern Indians, the Colchians, and the Arabians. Of these the Southern Indians were never subject to Darius,[1] and though we find that both the Colchians and Arabians sent gifts to the Persian king, and served in the army of Xerxes, yet they were not included in the satrapical arrangement; and, indeed, their geographical position would have defied every effort to reduce them to absolute submission.

Three Asiatic nations independent of the Persian empire, viz. Southern Indians, Colchians, and Arabians.

I. SOUTHERN INDIA. General description of the India of Herodotus.

I. The INDIA of Herodotus appears to have included the valley of the Indus, and to have stretched eastward as far as the sandy desert of Shamo on the north, and that between Moultan and Guzerat towards the south. This country our author describes as being characterized by many peculiarities.

Morning the hottest part of the day.

Here the hottest period of the day was not at noon, but in the morning, and continued until about the same hour that the Greeks left their markets. At this time the sun was much hotter in India than it was at mid-day in Greece, and it was reported that the Indians were accustomed to refresh themselves during these hot mornings by standing in water. Noon in India was about as warm as noon elsewhere, but the afternoon became as cool as the morning in other countries. Thus the warmth decreased as the day declined, and at sun-set it was exceedingly cold.[2]

Superior size of the birds and quadrupeds.

The birds and quadrupeds of India were much larger than those of any other country; but the horses were an exception to this rule, as they were surpassed by the Nisaean breed of Media.[3]

Camels.

The camels have been already noticed.[4]

Dogs.

The dogs were greatly esteemed by the Persians. The satrap of Babylon kept such an immense number, that four

[1] iii. 101.

[2] iii. 104. This account is probably based upon Scylax's reports of the morning lustrations of the Indians, and of the great heat of the coast country, from sun-rise until the forenoon, when the sea-breezes set in.

[3] iii. 106.

[4] See page 301.

considerable towns were exempted from taxation, on condition of supplying them with food;[1] and we learn that an immense number followed in the army of Xerxes.[2] Gold was obtained in large quantities, partly by digging, but mostly by robbing the ant-heaps in the manner already described.[3] Curious wild trees also grew in India, bearing wool (or cotton) instead of fruit; and this wool surpassed that of sheep in beauty and quality, and was used by the natives as a material for their clothing.[4]

Gold.

Cotton trees.

The Indians themselves were the most numerous people known to Herodotus.[5] We have followed Herodotus in dividing them into two nations, viz. 1. The Northern Indians, who formed the twentieth satrapy, and lived in the neighbourhood of Bactria and Cabul.[6] 2. The Southern Indians, who occupied Northern Hindostan. The latter people are those which now demand our attention, as we are assured by our author that they were never subject to Darius.[7]

Two nations of Indians.

Southern Indians of Northern Hindostan.

The Indians of Sinde, who thus maintained their independence, were the most easterly of all the Asiatic nations known to Herodotus, for beyond them the country was desert by reason of the sands. They were divided into a variety of tribes, who spoke different languages.[8] Of these Herodotus describes four, viz. 1. The Fishermen, who lived on the marshes of the Indus. 2. The nomad Padaeans, farther to the east. 3. The Vegetarians. 4. The Calatians.

The most easterly of all the Asiatic nations.

Divided into tribes who spoke different languages.

Four tribes mentioned by Herodotus.

Before, however, we proceed further to develope our author's geography of the Indians, we cannot but remark, upon the striking contrast between his graphic pictures of these distant tribes and the meagre notices of the nations of Khorassan and Afghanistan, included in the geography of the satrapies. But a ray of light had been cast upon these

Herodotus's superior and correct knowledge of India derived from the report of Scylax.

[1] i. 192. [2] vii. 187. [3] See page 300. [4] iii. 106.
[5] iii. 94.
[6] The country of these Northern Indians approximated to the Punjab, and the people have been already described at page 299.
[7] iii. 101. [8] iii. 98.

far-off regions by the exploring expedition of Scylax down the mysterious stream of the Indus.[1] We are at once carried away to the royal archives of Susa. The eager curiosity of the laborious traveller had enabled him to master the list of the satrapies of Darius, and to catalogue the nations in the armament of Xerxes. But his mind was weary of the dry detail. The mere names of barbarous tribes called up no new ideas or pleasing visions. At last the report of Scylax is before him. He reads the narration of the voyage with the fullest conviction of its truth. No Aegyptian priest is misleading him with absurd stories;[2] no cunning Phoenician merchant is puffing off his commodities by lying fables.[3] He at once adopts the report as the groundwork of his description. And whilst we gladly testify to the truth-loving genius of Herodotus by comparing his geographical details with the researches of later travellers, we would also place the name of SCYLAX of CARYANDA high on the list of those noble labourers in the cause of geographical discovery, who have been but too often the martyrs to that science of which they themselves were the originators.

Great merit of Scylax.

With this tribute to the memory of an almost unknown discoverer, we proceed to enter upon the geography of those four tribes of Indians already named, viz. the Fishermen, the Nomades, the Vegetarians, and the Calatians.

Indian fishermen on the marshes of the Indus.

The Fishermen, Herodotus informs us, lived on the marshes of the river Indus, and subsisted on the fish, which they ate raw, and took by means of canoes made of canes. A single joint of this cane was sufficient to form a canoe. These Indian fishermen made garments of river plants, which they cut and beat, and then plaited like a mat, and wore as a corselet.[4]

Identified with the pulla-fishers of Sinde.

The position of these people is here distinctly pointed out. They inhabited the marshes of the

[1] The particulars of this expedition are already commented on at page 198.

[2] See ii. 28, 121—123. [3] iii. 111, 115. [4] iii. 98.

Indus, by which we understand the country in the lower course of that river.[1] Many of the Sindians at the present day still live chiefly by fishing. The lower course of the Indus is portioned out into sections, where the right of pulla-fishing is strictly confined to their respective villages. The season for taking the pulla fish commences in March, and ends in September. The fishermen launch out upon the river, supported only by earthen jars, or dry reeds. The latter soon become sodden, and the fisherman can then only keep his head above water; otherwise the bark costs him no care, and at every trip he sets forth upon a new one. Upon the banks of the river grows a gigantic grass which attains the height of twelve and eighteen feet, and is often so dense that it is difficult to force a path through it. It has a graceful stalk, often three-eighths of an inch in diameter, from the top of which droops a fringe resembling a feather. The Sindian name is Cânâ. The stalk is jointed like the bamboo, but one-third of its whole length, measuring from the top, is continuous. This portion is called teli, and used in the construction of baskets, while of the other part a useful description of mat is fabricated, known by the name of Keri.[2]

Singular coincidence between the report of Scylax and that of Lieut. Wood.

The reader will scarcely believe that we have extracted the above information, nearly word for word, from Lieut. Wood's Personal Narrative. All further comment is unnecessary. The description of Herodotus, written more than two thousand years ago, is almost identical with that of Lieut. Wood, written, as it were, yesterday; and yet the gallant English officer neither quotes nor alludes to Herodotus throughout his valuable volume. Strange, that the log books of Lieut. Wood and Scylax of Caryanda, the last and the first of Indus navigators, should thus bear ample testimony to the truth of each other's

[1] The delta of the Indus must have been anciently a marsh, for the whole country is alluvial, and some of its spontaneous productions exhibit the growth of a century. See Wood's Journey up the Indus to the source of the Oxus. (London, 1841.)

[2] Wood's Journey, pp. 15, 45.

statements, and yet be equally ignorant of each other's discoveries.

Nomade Indians or Padaei.

But to return to Herodotus. Eastward of the Fishermen lived the Nomade Indians, who subsisted on raw flesh, and were called Padaei. They were said to observe the following customs. When any one of their community was attacked by sickness his nearest connexions put him to death, saying, that if they waited until he was wasted by disease his flesh would be spoilt; and if he denied being sick, they killed and feasted upon him just the same. If a woman fell ill, her female companions treated her in a similar manner. Those who happened to reach old age were also killed and eaten, but this was of rare occurrence, as each one was put to death directly he was seized with any distemper.[1]

Killed and feasted on their sick relations.

Identified with the barbarous tribes of the desert of Sinde.

The Padaei must thus be placed to the east of the Fishermen, but whether their name is connected with that of the river Ganges, of which Padaei is the proper or Sanscrit name, whilst Ganges is only the appellative;[2] or with the town of Pader, in Little Thibet;[3] or with the river Paddur, which separates Cutch from Guzerat;[4] must still remain a matter for conjecture. I am disposed to regard it as a general name for the nomade Indians of north-western Hindostan. The desert between Guzerat and Moultan has been in all ages haunted by lawless Indian tribes, who also inhabit a large portion of the peninsula, almost in a state of savage nature. Whether they were really cannibals, as stated by Herodotus, may be doubted, but the tradition is of genuine Indian growth, and is repeated by Thevenot and Marco Polo.

Vegetarian Indians who lived chiefly on rice.

Other Indians are described by Herodotus, who may be called Vegetarians, and who observed totally different customs. They never killed anything that had life, nor sowed anything, nor dwelt in houses; but they lived upon herbs, and especially upon a

[1] iii. 99.
[2] Rennell, *Geog. of Herod.* vol. i. p. 410.
[3] Malte Brun, vol. ii. p. 627, Eng. edit.
[4] Heeren, *Asiat. Nations*, vol. i.

kind of grain about the size of millet, enclosed in a husk, which sprung up spontaneously, and which they boiled and ate with the husk. If any one amongst them was attacked by a malady, he retired into the desert, and there laid down, and no one gave a thought about him, or cared whether he recovered or died.[1]

Identified with the Hindoos.

It is impossible to fail in recognising this Indian race who lived on a vegetable diet, and abstained from every species of animal food. The Hindoos generally abstain from meat, and the same distaste for it may be traced amongst the Mahrattas to the south of Guzerat. Neither can there remain a doubt as to the species of grain which is here described, as we know that rice is the principal diet of these tribes, and may be regarded as indigenous to the country.

Calatians who ate their parents.

Lastly, Herodotus mentions the Calatians, an Indian people, who were accustomed to eat their parents. Darius asked them what sum would induce them to consent to burn the dead bodies of their fathers; but they replied with loud exclamations, and prayed him to speak less impiously.[2] They are said to have subsisted on the same grain as the Libyan Aethiopians.[3]

Probably the same as the Padaei.

These people can certainly not be identified now. Rubruquis says that the inhabitants of Thibet once practised the abominable custom of eating the bodies of those relations who died of old age, and that this, when given up, was replaced by that of drinking out of the skulls of their ancestors. The moderns make no mention of either of these customs.[4] Heeren would place them with the Padaei, and considers their name as having been immediately derived from their Indian appellation of Collar, Coolier, or Cooleries.[5] These, in their native country, are a most untameable race of plunderers, who delight in

[1] iii. 100.
[2] iii. 38.
[3] iii. 97. In this chapter they are named Calantian Indians.
[4] Malte Brun, vol. ii. Eng. edit.
[5] Heeren, *Asiat. Res.* vol. i.

blood and nastiness, and despise every approach to civilized habits.

Shameless manners and black complexion of the Indians—probably referred to the Jauts of Rajpootana.

In concluding his account of the Indians of north-western Hindostan, Herodotus informs us that they were as shameless as cattle in their intercourse with women,[1] a sufficient proof of the low state of civilization amongst these people in ancient times. He also adds, that their complexion was black, and strongly resembled that of the Aethiopians;[2] and even in the present day, the Jauts, or common people of Rajpootana, are described as black, little, and wretched in their appearance.[3]

II. Colchis. Description of the country.

II. The COLCHIANS, who are the next people to be described, were situated to the south of the range of Caucasus, and their territory thus answered to the modern Georgia. According to Herodotus, Colchis extended along the Pontus, about the mouth of the river Phasis, and was thirty days' journey for a well-girt man from Lake Macotis.[4] The Saspeires, in the valley of the Aras, were the only nation which separated it from the Medes.[5]

Political relations with Persia.

The Colchians were thus seated on the northern frontiers of the Persian empire, but though the Persian sway is said to have extended to Mount Caucasus, yet the Colchians were independent of the satrapical arrangement, and merely sent presents every five years,[6] and furnished contingents when required to the Persian armies.[7] Their costume included wooden helmets like the other barbarous nations in their vicinity; and they also carried small shields of raw hides, short lances, and swords.[8] They were celebrated for their manufacture of linen,[9] but the other productions of their country seem to have been held in small estimation, for we find that their presents to the Persian court consisted only of 100 boys and 100 virgins.[10]

Costume.

Manufacture of linen

Gifts to Persia.

[1] iii. 101. [2] Ibid.
[3] See page 301. Comp. also Malte Brun, vol. ii. Eng. edit.
[4] i. 104. [5] iv. 37. [6] iii. 97. [7] vii. 79.
[8] Ibid. [9] ii. 105. [10] iii. 97.

The Colchians appeared to Herodotus to be most undoubtedly of Aegyptian descent. The idea struck him before he heard it from others; and he was so much interested in the question, that he made inquiries amongst both people, and found that the Colchians recollected the Aegyptians better than the Aegyptians remembered the Colchians; yet even the Aegyptians considered that the Colchians were descendants from those Aegyptian soldiers whom Sesostris detached from his army, and left to settle in the country. Herodotus himself tells us that he based his conjecture, not only upon the fact of the Colchians being swarthy and curly-headed, for that, he says, amounted to nothing, as other nations were the same, but upon other and more important marks of resemblance. First, the Colchians, Aegyptians, and Aethiopians were the only nations who originally practised circumcision; for the Phoenicians and Syrians of Palestine confessed that they learnt the custom from the Aegyptians, and the Syrians around the rivers Parthenius and Thermodon, together with their neighbours the Macrones, adopted it at a late period from the Colchians.[1] Secondly, the Colchians manufactured their linen, which the Greeks called Sardonic, in the same manner as the Aegyptians. Lastly, the mode of life, and even the language, of both nations were identical.[2]

Colchians believed by Herodotus to be of Aegyptian origin,

from their similarity of complexion and hair, but principally from their practice of circumcision,

their manufacture of linen, and their life and language.

From the foregoing paragraph it seems probable that Herodotus visited Colchis, and his account of the people is therefore peculiarly trustworthy. He considered them to be of Aegyptian descent, and whatever doubts may be thrown upon most of the proofs which he brings forward, yet he could scarcely have been mistaken in the similarity between the mode of life of the two nations. The Colchians were certainly a civilized and instructed people, living among tribes remarkable for their rudeness;[3] and no other cause for this similarity seems so natural

Value to be placed on his testimony.

[1] ii. 104. [2] ii. 105.

[3] Bochart, *Geogr. Sacr.* iv. 31. Quoted by Kenrick, *Anc. Aegypt*, vol. ii.

as an Aegyptian settlement established on the shores of the Euxine by some of the weary stragglers from the army of Sesostris.

III. ARABIA. General description of the country.

III. ARABIA is a vast peninsula, extending into the Erythraean in the shape of a hatchet, and consisting of a high table-land supported by mountain ranges. On the north-east it slopes down gradually to the banks of the Euphrates, but on the other sides it descends more or less abruptly, in a series of mountain terraces, to a flat belt of sandy ground, which runs round the whole coast from the mouth of the Tigris to the Gulf of Akabah. A mountain chain which may be regarded as a continuation of the Lebanon range, runs in a southerly direction, nearly parallel with the Arabian Gulf, and is continued towards the last in a line parallel to the shore of the Indian ocean as far as Oman.

Herodotus's description. African mountain range between the Nile valley and Arabian Gulf, included in Arabia.

The Arabia of Herodotus, however, comprised a region within very different limits from those of the Arabia of modern times. The Arabian Gulf, which we now call the Red Sea, and regard as the great separation between Africa and Asia, was considered by him as a long and exceedingly narrow bay, running inland from the great sea which he called the Erythraean, and having Arabia on both sides of it.[1] In short, the mountain which ran along the eastern coast of Africa, between the Nile valley and the Red Sea, towards the southern sea, was considered by Herodotus to form a part of Arabia,[2] and immediately adjoining it on the south-west was Aethiopia.[3] Herodotus had heard that this mountain extended a distance of two months' journey, and that its eastern confines produced frankincense; and he considered that it ran in a south or south-westerly direction, though he says in the same chapter, from the east towards the west.[4] Here, as elsewhere, too much reliance must not be placed upon his state-

Land of frankincense.

[1] Indeed, if we were only to judge from the position and physical character of Arabia, we might assign it to Africa; for if the Red Sea did not interpose a narrow interruption, one almost continuous tract of sandy deserts would extend from the shores of the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf.

[2] ii. 8. [3] iii. 114; vii. 69. [4] ii. 8.

ments respecting the bearing of places. His knowledge of Arabia Proper was evidently confined to Arabia Petræa; and when he says that Arabia is the farthest of all inhabited countries to the south, he evidently alludes to the African Arabia, as we may call it, between the Nile valley and the Red Sea, extending far on to the mysterious land of frankincense, and adjoining the other distant country of Æthiopia.[1] The African land of frankincense, according to Bruce,[2] begins south of Abyssinia at Babelmandeb, and stretches eastward almost to Cape Guardefui; and it thus includes the tract of eastern Africa occupied by the Somaulies, who are probably a very ancient offset of the Arab race.

His account of the Arabian Gulf.

The Arabian Gulf was a bay branching from the Erythræan Sea. Its length was a 40 days' voyage in a vessel with oars, but its width in the widest part was only half a day's voyage. It had an ebb and a flow daily. Herodotus says, "Should the Nile turn its stream into this gulf, what could prevent the latter from being filled with soil, within 20,000 years." "For my part," he adds, "I think it would be filled in 10,000 years."[3]

Supposed it to be much narrower than it is in reality.

The Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf, here described, is in reality from 150 to 200 miles across; Herodotus therefore laboured under an evident misconception when he said that it was only half a day's voyage. The cause of his error is manifest. He himself was only acquainted with the north-western arm of the Red Sea, which is at present called the Gulf of Suez. Here he himself had probably crossed over, and hence he regarded the entire sea as equally narrow. In fact, he thought it little better than a river which might be compared with the Nile, and which had no better claim to be considered as a line of division between the two great continents. Concerning the length of the gulf he was better informed. Taking a day's voyage in a vessel with oars as

Causes of his error.

More correct as to its length.

[1] vii. 69. [2] Bruce, vol. i. p. 356. See his map. [3] ii. 11.

about the same length as a day's journey on foot,[1] namely 200 stadia, we shall find that he supposed the gulf to be about 8000 stadia, or 1000 English miles in length. Now the real length from the head of the Gulf of Suez to the Straits of Babelmandeb is not 1400 English miles, and we cannot therefore see much discrepancy between the loose estimate of Herodotus and the real measurement.

His real knowledge of Arabia confined to Arabia Petraea.

From the foregoing description of the Arabian Gulf, we have seen that our author's actual knowledge of Arabia could scarcely have extended southward beyond the limits of Arabia Petraea; but he includes in the Arabian territory that maritime portion of Palaestine which lay between Phoenicia and Jenysus, and which has been always attributed to the Philistines.[2]

Assigns the Philistine territory to the Arabs.

He expressly tells us that from Phoenicia to the confines of the great city of Cadytis, and again from Cadytis to the city of Jenysus, all the ports belonged to the Arabian king; but that Cadytis itself belonged to the Syrians of Palaestine as well as the country between Jenysus and the Lake Serbonis, where Aegypt begins.[3] The soil was clayey and flinty,[4] but the tract between Jenysus and Lake Serbonis was a desert of about three days' journey long, and totally destitute of water.[5] The Arabian city of Patumos was situated near the canal dug by the Aegyptian king Neco.[6] A large Arabian river called Corys is also mentioned, which discharged itself into the Erythraean; and the Arabian king, who formed an alliance with Cambyses, is said to have sewn together three pipes of ox-hides and other skins, and thus to have conveyed water from the river to the arid region already mentioned, which was twelve days' journey distant, and where large reservoirs were dug to receive and preserve it.[7]

Nature of the soil.

City of Patumos.

River Corys.

[1] This is M. Niebuhr's conjecture, and we readily adopt it.

[2] On the identification of the Philistines with the maritime Arabs mentioned by Herodotus, see note to page 250.

[3] iii. 5. [4] ii. 12. [5] iii. 5. [6] ii. 128.

[7] iii. 9. This story appeared to our author to be as much of a fiction

In Arabia there was also a district very near the Aegyptian town of Buto, which Herodotus visited in order to learn something about the winged serpents. It was a narrow pass between two mountains, leading into a spacious plain which was contiguous to the plain of Aegypt. In this pass Herodotus saw an immense mass of bones and spines of serpents, scattered in heaps of different sizes, but in indescribable quantities. It was reported that in the commencement of spring, winged serpents flew from Arabia towards Aegypt, but that a kind of bird, named the ibis, met them at the pass and killed them to prevent their entrance; and both the Aegyptians and Arabians united in saying, that this was the reason why the ibis was so highly venerated in Aegypt.[1] It was these same serpents, small in size, and variegated in appearance, that guarded the frankincense trees in great numbers, and could only be driven away by the smoke of burning gum-styrax.[2] "If," says Herodotus, "they multiplied as fast as their nature permitted, no man could live there. But it is the same with them as with vipers, for whilst they are coupling together, the female seizes the male by the neck, and will not relax her hold until she has eaten it through. The offspring however avenge the death of their father, for they make their way into the world by gnawing through her womb. Vipers," he adds, "are found in all parts of the world, but winged serpents only in Arabia, where indeed they are very numerous."[3]

Defile near Buto containing the bones of winged serpents.

Fabulous story concerning the serpents.

as it does to the modern reader. He was most inclined to believe that the Arabian king filled an immense number of camels' skins with water and sent them to the arid region on the backs of living camels. The story of the pipes and reservoirs, however, he says he thought it right to repeat, though less credible. In fact, we may safely say, that all the skins in Arabia would be insufficient to form three pipes, each twelve days' journey long. To attempt to identify the river Corys under these circumstances would be ridiculous. There is no large river in all Arabia Petraea. The Arabic word khor, signifying a valley or creek, is frequently applied to dry water-courses, and Abulfeda mentions a torrent called Coré. This then was doubtless the origin of the name, and it was called a large river, and placed a long way off and falling into the Erythraean, to assist in throwing an air of credibility over the narrative.

[1] ii. 75. [2] iii. 107. [3] iii. 109.

That Arabia was considered by Herodotus to be the most southerly of inhabited countries, has already been mentioned,[1] and he believed that the extremities of the earth, India, Arabia, and Aethiopia, possessed the most excellent productions.[2] Thus Arabia was the only region in which grew frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, and ledanum. All these with the exception of the myrrh were attained with great difficulty. The frankincense was guarded by winged serpents which were driven away by the smoke of styrax.[3] The cassia grew in a shallow lake, and in and around this lake lodged a number of winged animals very like bats, which made a horrible screeching, and were exceedingly fierce. The Arabians obtained the cassia by enveloping all their body and face, except the eyes, with hides, and other skins; and by continually striking the animals away from their eyes, they were enabled to obtain the plant.[4] The cinnamon they collected in a still more wonderful manner. They did not know where it was produced, though some stated that it grew in the land (Aethiopia)[5] where Dionysus was nursed. Large birds were said to bring those rolls of bark, which the Greeks learnt from the Phoenicians to call cinnamon, and to carry them to their nests, which were built with clay on the sides of precipitous mountains that were inaccessible to man. The Arabians having cut up the limbs of dead oxen, asses, and other beasts of burden into large pieces, laid them in the vicinity of the nests and retired. Then the birds carried up the large pieces of meat to their nests, and the latter broke down with the weight, and enabled the people to gather up the cinnamon.[6]

Rare productions of Arabia.

Frankincense guarded by serpents.

Cassia guarded by fierce bats.

Curious manner of obtaining cinnamon from the nests of large birds.

[1] iii. 107. [2] iii. 106.
[3] iii. 107. [4] iii. 110. [5] ii. 146; iii. 97.
[6] iii. 111. The story told by Herodotus is remarkably like the one related in the second voyage of Sinbad the sailor in the Arabian Nights; how the merchants obtained the diamonds from the terrible valley of diamonds, by throwing down from the mountains large pieces of flesh to which the precious gems adhered, and how enormous birds carried the meat up again to their nests, but the merchants drove them off with fearful outcries, and obtained the diamonds which stuck to the meat.

The ledanum was still more wonderful. The Arabians also called it ladanum, and though it came from the most stinking place, yet it was most fragrant. It was found sticking like gum to the beards of he-goats,[1] and was useful for many ornaments, and also burnt very generally by the Arabians as a perfume.[2] In consequence of these productions the whole land of Arabia breathed a divine odour.

Ledanum obtained from the beards of goats.

Arabia was also famous for its sheep. There were two species, which could be seen nowhere else. One sort had large tails, three cubits long, which would ulcerate if suffered to trail along the ground; and the shepherd therefore used to make little carts and fasten one under the tail of each. The other sort had tails one cubit broad.[3]

Sheep with enormous tails.

The Arabians never submitted to Persia, but were on friendly terms, and gave Cambyses a free passage into Aegypt.[4] They also sent every year a thousand talents of frankincense as a present to the Persian king;[5] and they marched in the army of Xerxes, wearing cloaks fastened by a girdle, and carrying on their right sides long bows which bent backwards.[6] Some of them rode on camels, which were as swift as horses.[7]

Political relations of the Arabians with Persia.

Costume.

They kept their contracts as religiously as any people. When two persons wished to pledge their faith, a third stood between them and made an incision with a sharp stone in the palm of each of the contractors and near the longest finger. He then took some of the nap from the garment of each and smeared seven stones, which were placed between them, with the blood, and whilst doing this he invoked Dionysus and Urania. The man who

Manner of making contracts.

[1] The "ledum" is an odoriferous shrub which grows to the height of two or three feet. Goats browse on the leaves of it, upon which a gummy matter adheres to their beards. The peasants of the Levant carefully collect this, with wooden combs made for the purpose; they then melt it, and run it into a mass. This is what is called ledanum or labdanum. Tournefort, *as quoted by Larcher*.

[2] iii. 112. [3] iii. 113. [4] iii. 88. [5] iii. 97.
[6] vii. 69. [7] vii. 86.

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pledged his faith, then bound his friends to be his sureties; and the latter held themselves to be equally obliged to observe the contract. Dionysus and Urania were their only deities. The people cut their hair in a circular form, shearing it round the temples in the same way, as they said that Dionysus had his hair cut. Dionysus they called Orotal, and Urania they named Alilat,[1] and Alitta.[2] They observed the same custom, after intercourse with their wives, as the Babylonians; especially washing themselves in the morning, and never touching any vessel until they had done so.[3]

Worship of Dionysus, named Orotal, and of Urania, called Alilat, and Alitta.

[1] iii. 8. [2] i. 131. [3] i. 198.

CHAPTER VI.

PERSIAN GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA.

Two Persian documents illustrative of the geography of Asia.—I. Catalogue of nations in the army of Xerxes, with description of their equipments.—Hellenic costume: general description.—Heavy-armed warrior with the tunic, greaves, cuirass, sword, shield, helmet, and spear.—Light-armed soldier with darts, stones, and bows and arrows, or slings.—Herodotus's account.—Shield and helmet borrowed from Aegypt.—Crests, devices, and shield-handles invented by the Carians.—Hellenic costume prevalent amongst the Aeolians, Ionians, Dorians, Hellespontines, Pamphylians, and Lydians.—Worn by Carians with falchions and daggers.—Hellenic helmet worn by Phoenicians and Syrians, with linen breastplates and shields without rims.—Barbarous costume in southern Asia Minor.—Lycians with caps encircled by feathers, goat-skin cloaks, cornel-wood bows, and cane arrows without feathers.—Cilicians with woollen tunics, national helmets, and bucklers.—Milyans with clasped garments and leathern helmets.—Cabalians and Lasonians like the Cilicians.—Northern Asia Minor.—Mysians in national helmets.—Bithynians in variously coloured cloaks, fox-skin caps, etc.—Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, and Mosynoeci in wooden helmets.—Mares in painted helmets.—Chalybes with brazen helmets, and brazen ears and horns of an ox, crests, purple cloth leggings, and hunting javelins.—Phrygian costume of peculiar boots, plaited helmets, etc.: worn by Phrygians, Mariandynians, Paphlagonians, Matienians, Syri-Cappadocians, and Armenians.—Assyrian costume of linen cuirasses, helmets of brazen network, Aegyptian daggers, knotted clubs, etc.: worn by Chaldaeans and Babylonians.—Median costume of tiaras, variously-coloured cuirasses, breastplates of iron scales, loose trousers, osier bucklers, etc.: worn by Medes, Persians, and Cissians.—Bactrian costume resembling the Median, but including bamboo bows, short spears, etc.: worn by Bactrians, Sogdians, Chorasmians, Arians, and Parthians.—Wooden helmets, leathern bucklers, and short spears of the Saspeires.—Goat-skin mantles and peculiar bows of the Caspii, Pactyes, Paricanii, Utii, and Myci.—Peculian lassos carried by the Sagartians.—Beautifully dyed garments of the Sarangae.—Loose trousers, pointed hats, peculiar bows, daggers, and battle-axes of the Sacae beyond the Oxus.—Cotton garments and bamboo bows of the Indians.—Crane-skin bucklers and horse-head helmets of the Asiatic Aethiopians.—Costume of nations not included in Persian Asia.—Cloaks and long bows of the Arabs.—Wooden helmets and leathern bucklers of the Colchians.—Plaited helmets, hollow shields with large rims, pikes, and hatchets of the Aegyptians.—Hellenic armour and Persian head-dress of the Cyprians.—Libyan Aethiopians with bodies half white and half red, clothed in lion and panther skins, and carrying long bows, cane arrows tipped with stone,

javelins tipped with horn, and knotted clubs.—Leathern garments of the western Libyans.—Proposed comparison of Herodotus's description with the monuments of Persepolis and Nineveh.—II. Royal highway from Sardis to Susa.—Stations and caravanserais all the way.—Lydia and Phrygia: 20 stations, 94½ parasangs.—River Halys: gates and fort.—Cappadocia: 28 stations, 104 parasangs.—Cilicia: 3 stations, 15½ parasangs.—Ferry over the Euphrates.—Armenia: 15 stations, 56½ parasangs.—Four rivers to be ferried: the Tigris, Zabatus Major, Zabatus Minor, and Gyndes.—Matiene: 4 stations.—Cissia: 11 stations, 42½ parasangs.—Mistake in the sum total.—Hiatus in Matiene.—Probably never filled in by Herodotus.—Length of the whole journey from Ephesus to Susa.—Position of the nations in the map of Aristagoras.—Identification of the ancient road with the modern caravan route.

Two Persian documents illustrative of the geography of Herodotus.

WE have thus completed the geography of the Asia of Herodotus. Before however we turn to the last of the three continents, we have thought it advisable to devote another chapter to a further consideration of the two important Persian documents, of which our author has preserved either a copy or an abridgment, and to which we have continually referred whilst developing the geography of the satrapies. These documents are, first, the catalogue of nations in the army of Xerxes; and second, the description of the royal road between Sardis and Susa. The first embraces not only a list of all the nations in the infantry, cavalry, and navy of Persia, but also includes an account of their equipments and origin; and from this we shall endeavour to extract what information we can respecting the costume of the different people who inhabited the Asiatic continent. The second document contains a full description of the royal road through the western provinces of the empire, with an account of the countries that were traversed, rivers that were crossed, and stations that were passed through, along the whole extent of the route; and this will be found of the utmost service in settling the topography of numerous important nations.

I. Catalogue of the nations in the army of Xerxes, with description of their equipments.

The Catalogue of Nations is the first which we shall examine, and from this we obtain the following information. The Hellenic equipment was generally adopted in western Asia Minor, Phoenicia, and Palaestine, but the rude mountaineers of the northern and southern provinces of Asia Minor, were armed

in a more barbarous fashion. The Phrygian costume prevailed not only in Phrygia, but eastward along the mountains of Armenia as far as those of Zagros, or Kurdistan. Another style, in some respects similar to the Aegyptian, was worn by the Assyrian nations on the Euphrates and Tigris. Still more to the east, the Median costume prevailed in Media, Cissia, Persia Proper, and the nations generally between the Caspian and Erythraean, with the exception of some mountaineers, who wore a dress more suited to an inclement climate. Lastly, beyond these countries the Bactrian equipment was generally adopted as far as the Indus, though the Indians in the east, the Aethiopians in the south, and the Sacae in the far north, wore a different and peculiar costume.

Hellenic costume; general description.

The Hellenic costume is not described by Herodotus. We learn, however, from Homer,[1] that the heavy-armed warrior, having already a tunic around his body, put on, first, his metal greaves lined with leather or felt; secondly, his cuirass of metal, or hard leather, with the belt, ζώνη, and the underneath band, μίτρη; thirdly, his short, straight, two-edged sword was hung on the left side of his body by means of a belt which passed over the right shoulder; fourthly, the large round shield made of wood, or wicker, covered over with ox-hides several folds deep, and bound round the edge with a metal rim; fifthly, he put on his helmet; sixthly, and lastly, he took his spear. The light-armed soldier carried no shield, and wore a much slighter covering than the cuirass; and, instead of the sword and spear, commonly fought with darts, stones, bows and arrows, or slings. From Herodotus we learn that the shield and helmet were borrowed from the Aegyptians,[2] and that the custom of fastening crests upon helmets, and of putting devices upon shields, was taken from

Heavy-armed warrior with the tunic, greaves, cuirass, sword, shield, helmet, and spear.

Light-armed soldier with darts, stones, and bows and arrows, or slings.

Herodotus's account.

Shield and helmet borrowed from Aegypt.

Crests, de-

[1] Il. iii. 328—339; iv. 132—138; xi. 15—45; xvi. 130—142; xix. 364—391. The Greek soldiers used nearly the same armour ever afterwards. They also put it on in the same order. Dr. Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, art. *Arma*.

[2] iv. 180.

vices, and shield-handles, invented by the Carians.

the Carians.[1] It also seems that in ancient times shields were carried without handles, and merely guided by leathern thongs fastened round the neck and left shoulder. This inconvenience was removed by another invention of the Carians, who introduced handles,[2] consisting of a band of metal, wood, or leather, which was placed across the inside from rim to rim, like the diameter of a circle.

Hellenic costume prevalent amongst the Aeolians, Ionians, Dorians, Hellespontines, Pamphylians, and Lydians.

The nations in the army of Xerxes who wore the Hellenic equipment, were the Aeolians,[3] Ionians,[4] Dorians,[5] Hellespontines,[6] and Pamphylians,[7] who all served in the navy, and the Lydians,[8] who belonged to the infantry. The Carians[9] also fought on board the fleet in the same accoutrements, but were armed with crooked swords or falchions, and two-edged knives or daggers. The Phoenicians and Syrians of Palaestine served likewise in the navy, wearing the Hellenic helmet, which we have already seen was borrowed from the Aegyptians: they however wore breastplates of wadded linen, and carried shields without rims, and javelins.[10]

Worn by Carians with falchions and daggers.

Hellenic helmet, worn by Phoenicians and Syrians, with linen breastplate, and shields without rims.

Barbarian costume in southern Asia Minor.

Lycians with caps encircled by feathers, goat-skin cloaks, cornel-wood bows, and cane arrows without feathers.

The equipments of the more barbarous tribes of Asia Minor presented a little more variety. In the southern provinces were the Lycians and Cilicians, who served in the navy; and the Milyans, Cabalians, and Lasonians, who joined the infantry. The Lycians wore greaves and breastplates, and caps encircled with feathers instead of helmets. Over their shoulders were hung cloaks of goat-skins. Like their neighbours, the Carians, they were armed with falchions and daggers, and they also carried javelins, and bows and arrows. The bows were made of dog-wood, the cornelian cherry; the arrows were of cane, and had no feathers.[11]

Cilicians with woollen tunics, and national helmets, and bucklers.

The Cilicians wore woollen tunics and helmets peculiar to their country. Instead of the usual large shield, they carried one much smaller and lighter, which may be called a buckler, and was made of raw hides. Each man was armed with two javelins,

[1] i. 171. [2] Ibid. [3] vii. 95. [4] vii. 94. [5] vii. 93. [6] vii. 95. [7] Ibid. [8] vii. 74. [9] vii. 93. [10] vii. 89. [11] vii. 92.

and a sword very much like the Aegyptian scimetar.[1] Of the three nations who joined the infantry, the Milyans wore garments which fastened with clasps, and helmets made of tanned skins; and they were armed with short lances, and the Lycian bow of cornel-wood.[2] The Cabalians and Lasonians, who seem to have been identical, wore the same costume as the Cilicians.[3]

Milyans with clasped garments and leathern helmets. Cabalians and Lasonians like the Cilicians.

In northern Asia Minor, we have to notice the Mysians, Bithynians, and races south-east of the Pontus, all of whom served in the infantry. Of these, the Mysians wore helmets peculiar to their country, and carried small shields and javelins hardened by fire.[4] The Bithynians, or Asiatic Thracians, as they are called, wore tunics, and cloaks of various colours over them. They also had buskins of fawn-skin on their legs, and fox-skins on their heads.[5] Their arms consisted of javelins, light bucklers, and small daggers.[6] Much farther to the east, and along the south-eastern shore of the Euxine, were the Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, and Mosynoeci, wearing wooden helmets, and carrying light bucklers and spears with very large points;[7] and the Mares with painted helmets, bucklers, and javelins.[8] The Chalybes also, who may be identified with that unknown nation which possessed an oracle of Ares,[9] lived in the same quarter. They wore brazen helmets, and also the ears and horns of an ox, likewise made of brass, and over these were crests. Their legs were wrapped in pieces of purple cloth. They carried bucklers of raw hides, and two of the javelins used for hunting wolves.[10]

Northern Asia Minor. Mysians in national helmets.

Bithynians in variously coloured cloaks, fox-skin caps, etc.

Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, and Mosynoeci, in wooden helmets. Mares in painted helmets. Chalybes with brazen helmets, and brazen ears, and horns of an ox, crests, purple cloth leggings, and hunting javelins.

[1] vii. 91. [2] vii. 77. [3] Ibid. [4] vii. 74.

[5] Xenophon describes this dress as an eye-witness. "There fell," he says, "a great deal of snow, and the cold was so severe that the water which the servants brought in for the repast, and even the wine in the vessels, was all frozen, and many of the soldiers had their noses and ears frost-bitten. We then found that the Thracians were right in wrapping up their head and ears in fox-skins, and in wearing, when on horseback, instead of the chlamys, tunics which cover not only their breasts, but their thighs, with long robes which hang down to their feet." Anab. vii. 4.

[6] vii. 75. [7] vii. 78. [8] vii. 79. [9] Comp. p. 280. [10] vii. 76.

Phrygian costume of peculiar boots, plaited helmets, etc., worn by Phrygians, Mariandynians, Paphlagonians, Matienians, Syri-Cappadocians, and Armenians.

The Phrygian costume comes next in geographical order, and extended along Anti-Taurus, from the frontiers of Lydia to the mountains of Zagros, or Kurdistan, being worn by the Phrygians, Mariandynians, Paphlagonians, Matienians, Syri-Cappadocians, and Armenians. All these nations served in the infantry. They wore peculiar boots reaching up to the middle of the leg, and plaited helmets; the latter being probably made of brass net-work, or twisted leather. They carried small shields, and not large spears, besides javelins and daggers.[1]

Assyrian costume of linen cuirasses, helmets of brazen net-work, Aegyptian daggers, knotted clubs, etc., worn by Chaldaeans and Babylonians.

The Assyrian costume belonged to the Chaldaeans and Babylonians, who occupied the country between the Euphrates and Tigris. These people served in the infantry. They wore cuirasses of wadded linen, and helmets of brazen net-work, twisted in a barbarous manner, which our author says is not easy to be described. They were armed with shields and spears, and with daggers similar to those of the Aegyptians. They also carried wooden clubs pointed with, or, rather, studded with, knots of iron.[2] Similar clubs were carried by the Aethiopians of Libya.[3]

Median costume of tiaras, variously coloured cuirasses, breastplates of iron scales, loose trousers, osier bucklers, etc., worn by Medes, Persians, and Cissians.

The Median costume belonged not only to the Medes, but was also adopted by the Persians and Cissians, and these three nations served in both the cavalry and infantry. On their heads they wore caps not stiffened, called tiaras.[4] Their bodies were protected by a cuirass consisting of variously coloured sleeved breastplates, formed of iron scales like those of a fish. On their legs were loose trousers. Instead of shields they carried bucklers made of osiers, covered perhaps with leather, and, judging from the descriptions given of their use,[5] were furnished with a spike for fixing them upright in the

[1] vii. 72. [2] vii. 63. [3] vii. 69.

[4] The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Av.* 487) says, "All Persians were allowed to wear the tiara, but not erect. The king of the Persians alone had an upright tiara, called the citaris. The rest wore it bent and projecting over the forehead." Quoted by Mr. Cooley, in his edition of Larcher's Notes.

[5] Cf. ix. 99, and Thirlwall *in loc.*

ground. Beneath the buckler was hung the quiver. The other arms consisted of short spears, long bows, and arrows made of cane; and a dagger was suspended from the girdle over the right thigh.[1]

The Cissians did not wear the tiara, but a mitra.[2] Some of the Persian cavalry also wore ornaments of brass and wrought steel on their heads.[3] The inhabitants of the islands in the Erythraean likewise wore the Median costume, but served only in the infantry,[4] and we shall presently see that it was adopted, with some modifications, by the nations farther to the east.

Bactrian costume resembled the Medic, but included bamboo bows, short spears, etc., worn by Bactrians, Sogdians, Chorasmians, Arians, and Parthians.

The Bactrian equipment prevailed over a still more considerable extent of territory, but scarcely differed from the Median, though Herodotus distinctly points out those nations who wore the one from those who wore the other. The present costume existed amongst the Bactrians, Sogdians, Chorasmians, Arians, and Parthians, and the unknown races of eastern Afghanistan. These people wore a tiara very much like that of the Medes, and carried peculiar bows made of bamboo and short spears.[5] The Arians, who, as we have already seen, were closely allied to the Medes,[6] are said to have worn the Bactrian costume, but to have carried Medic bows.[7] All these nations served in the infantry, but the Bactrians likewise furnished cavalry attired in an exactly similar manner.[8]

Wooden helmets, leathern bucklers, and short spears of the Saspeires.

A mixed costume was worn by the nomades and other nations on the borders of the empire. The Saspeires in the valley of the Aras wore wooden helmets, and carried only small shields of raw hides, and short lances, like their neighbours the Colchians, and the races to the south-east of the Euxine.[9]

Goat-skin mantles and peculiar bows of the Caspii, Pactyes, Paricanii, Utii, and Myci.

The Caspian tribes, and the Pactyes, Paricanii, Utii, and Myci, whose seats can only be conjectured, but who served in both the infantry and cavalry, wore goat-skin mantles, peculiar bows, and either daggers

[1] vii. 61. [2] vii. 62. [3] vii. 84. [4] vii. 80. [5] vii. 64.
[6] Comp. page 291. [7] vii. 66. [8] vii. 86.
[9] vii. 79, comp. 78.

or scimetars.[1] The Sagartians, a race of Persian nomades, who probably wandered through the salt deserts of Khorassan, furnished a large body of cavalry dressed in a fashion half Persian and half Pactyan. Their only weapons, however, were the dagger and a lasso. The latter was made of twisted thongs with a noose at the end, and the Sagartian mode of fighting was to throw the lasso over an enemy, whether on horse or foot, and entangling the victim in its coils, to put him to death with the dagger.[2] The Sarangae, or people of Sehestan, were rendered conspicuous amongst the infantry by their beautifully dyed garments; they also wore buskins reaching to the knee, and were armed with bows and Medic javelins.[3] The Sacae, a Scythian race from beyond the Oxus, wore loose trousers like the Persians, but on their heads were caps, or rather hats, which came to a point and stood erect. They fought only in the infantry, and were armed with bows peculiar to their country, daggers, and battle-axes called sagares.[4] The Indians of the Punjab served in both the infantry and cavalry, the latter riding on saddle-horses, or driving chariots drawn by horses and wild asses.[5] They were clad in cotton garments, and armed with bamboo bows, and arrows of the same material; tipped with iron.[6] The Asiatic Aethiopians of Gedrosia, or Beloochistan, were accoutred in the same manner, but carried crane-skins instead of shields. On their heads they wore, instead of a helmet, the skin of a horse's head, in which the mane served for a crest, and the ears were fixed erect. They served only in the infantry.[7]

Peculiar lasso carried by the Sagartians.

Beautifully dyed garments of the Sarangae.

Loose trousers, pointed hats, peculiar bows, daggers, and battle-axes of the Sacae, beyond the Oxus.

Cotton garments and bamboo bows of the Indians.

Crane-skin bucklers and horse-head helmets of the Asiatic Aethiopians.

The costume of the nations not included in Persian Asia, must also be mentioned here in reference to the general subject. Of these we find that some of the Arabians and Colchians, who were considered to be independent nations, served in the infantry of Xerxes: the Arabs, from the south, in cloaks fasten-

Costume of nations not included in Persian Asia.

Cloaks and long bows of the Arabs.

[1] vii. 67, 68. [2] vii. 85. [3] vii. 67. [4] vii. 64.
[5] vii. 86. [6] vii. 65. [7] vii. 71.

ed by a girdle, and carrying on their right sides long bows which bent backwards;[1] the Colchians, from the far north, in wooden helmets, and carrying small shields made of raw hides, short lances, and swords,[2] being thus accoutred in all respects like their neighbours. the Saspeires. The Aegyptians and Cyprians served on board the fleet. The former wore plaited helmets, probably of a similar fashion to those of brazen net-work already described as belonging to the Assyrians; and they carried hollow shields with large rims, pikes fit for a sea-fight, and large hatchets, and most of them had breastplates and large swords.[3] The Cyprians were attired like the Hellenes, excepting that their kings wore the tiara, and the common people the citaris.[4] The Aethiopians above Aegypt were clothed in the skins of lions and panthers, and when they were going to battle smeared one half of the body with chalk, and the other half with red ochre. They carried long bows, not less than four cubits in length, made from the branches of the palm tree, and used short arrows made of cane, and tipped with sharp stone of the same sort as that on which seals were engraved. They also had javelins tipped with antelope's horn, and made sharp like a lance, and used knotted clubs,[5] which probably resembled those of the Assyrians.[6] The Libyans in the western part of the Libyan continent wore leathern garments,

Wooden helmets and leathern bucklers of the Colchians.

Plaited helmets, hollow shields with large rims, pikes, and hatchets of the Aegyptians.

Hellenic armour and Persian head-dress of the Cyprians.

Libyan Aethiopians with bodies half white and half red, clothed in lion and panther skins, and carrying long bows, cane arrows tipped with stone, and javelins tipped with horn, and knotted clubs.

Leathern garments of

[1] vii. 69. [2] vii. 79. [3] vii. 89.

[4] vii. 90. Literally, "their kings had their heads wrapped in turbans; the rest wore tunics, and were in other respects attired like the Hellenes." De Pauw, therefore, jestingly asks if the Cyprians wrapped their heads in tunics, and substitutes κιτάριας for κιθῶνας; a very slight alteration, and which appears founded on Julius Pollux, (x. segm. 162,) who cites κίταριν as from Herodotus. Wesseling would have approved of this change had not the "citaris" been peculiar to the Persians. Larcher suggests that the Cilicians might have borrowed this article from the Persians. I have always hesitated to offer any opinion upon different readings, but would here greatly prefer to understand that the Cilicians wore the "citaris" which had an upright peak. In Persia, as was probably well known, and as we have already seen, page 326, note, the king wore the citaris and the people the tiara; but from this passage in Herodotus we may understand that in Cyprus the king wore the tiara and the people the citaris.

[5] vii. 69. [6] See page 326.

and carried javelins which had been hardened by fire.[1]

the western Libyans. Proposed comparison of Herodotus's description with the monuments of Persepolis and Nineveh.

Such then are the contributions of Herodotus to this important branch of archaeology. They might perhaps have been further illustrated by a careful and minute comparison of the description of each nation, with the various details of costume represented on the walls of Persepolis, and recently recovered monuments of Nineveh. But such an illustration would be foreign to the purpose of the present volume, even supposing the author capable of satisfying himself in its execution; and indeed the work could only be well done by one who had himself seen and studied the monuments of Persepolis, and was not obliged to trust to mere engravings. Probably Col. Rawlinson, in the new version of Herodotus, already promised to the public, will supply this desideratum in Asiatic antiquities.

II. Royal highway from Sardis to Susa.

II. We now turn to the second important document in Herodotus, namely, the description of the road between Sardis and Susa, which the historian brings forward in explanation of the proposal made by Aristagoras to Sparta, for the conquest of the Persian empire.[2]

Stations and caravanserais all the way.

"From Sardis to Susa," says Herodotus, "there is a road which passes all the way through an inhabited and safe line of country, and all along it are royal stations and excellent caravanserais. First on leaving Sardis we pass through Lydia and Phrygia,

Lydia and Phrygia: 20 stations, 94½ parasangs.

which comprehend twenty stations, or ninety-four parasangs and a half. Leaving Phrygia we come

River Halys, gates and fort.

to the river Halys, at which there are gates protected by a fort, and these gates must be passed

Cappadocia: 28 stations, 104 parasangs.

through before crossing the river. On the other side of the Halys we enter Cappadocia, and the road leads us through this country to the borders of Cilicia, comprehending twenty-eight stations, or one

Cilicia: 3 stations, 15½ parasangs.

hundred and four parasangs. We penetrate Cilicia through two defiles or gates,[3] which are each pro-

[1] vii. 71. [2] v. 49.

[3] The Greeks called these narrow passes πύλαι, "gates:" hence Ther-

tected by a fort. In Cilicia are three stations, and fifteen and a half parasangs. The river Euphrates, which can only be crossed by a ferry, separates Cilicia from Armenia. In Armenia there are fifteen stations, or fifty-six and a half parasangs. There are here also four rivers, which can only be crossed in boats. The first is the Tigris. The second and third have the same name, though they are not the same river, nor flow from the same country, as the first comes out of Armenia, and the other out of Matiene. [Unquestionably the Zabatus Major and Zabatus Minor, or Greater and Lesser Zab, of which the first springs from the mountains of Kurdistan, and the other from the mountains of Armenia.] The fourth river is the Gyndes [which we have already shown to be the Diala[1]]. From Armenia into Matiene there are four stations. . . . . and from Matiene through Cissia, as far as the river Choaspes on which Susa is built, there are eleven stations, or forty-two and a half parasangs." [2]

Ferry over the Euphrates.

Armenia: 15 stations, 56½ parasangs.

Four rivers to be ferried; the Tigris, Zabatus Major, Zabatus Minor, and Gyndes.

Matiene: 4 stations.

Cissia: 11 stations, 42½ parasangs.

Herodotus next says, that the total number of stations between Sardis and Susa are one hundred and eleven, and that the total number of parasangs is four hundred and fifty. But if we add up those mentioned in the text, we find only eighty-one stations and three hundred and thirteen parasangs, thus:

Mistake in the sum total.

	Stations.	Parasangs.
Lydia and Phrygia	20	94½
Cappadocia	28	104
Cilicia	3	15½
Armenia	15	56½
Matiene	4	
Cissia	11	42½
Total	81	313

The hiatus may occur in the account of Matiene, where even the number of parasangs are not mentioned. It has been therefore proposed, instead of four stations, to insert "thirty-four stations and one

Hiatus in Matiene.

mopylae, or "hot-gates." The πύλαι, however, on the Phrygian side of the Halys seems to refer to actual gates constructed on a bridge. Perhaps, also, there were flood-gates, which could be opened or shut at pleasure.

[1] See page 283. [2] v. 52.

hundred and thirty-seven parasangs," which will exactly reconcile the apparent contradiction.

Probably never filled in by Herodotus.

We have however already seen,[1] that Herodotus considered Armenia to include Western Kurdistan, and Matiene to comprise the Kurdistan mountains, together with a small territory between Armenia and Cissia; and consequently there could not be more than four stations in Matiene, though there may have been more in Armenia. But Herodotus is certainly very obscure in mapping out these two countries, and his obscurity probably arose partly from his ignorance. He also trusted too much to his memory, and this may account for his putting down sum totals from recollection, without proving them. It really is not impossible that in describing the road between Sardis and Susa, he saw that there was some mistake about Matiene, and left a hiatus to be subsequently filled up. But, being unable to get correct information at Thurium, he died without making the necessary insertion.

Length of the whole journey from Ephesus to Susa.

Herodotus calculates the parasang as equal to 30 stadia. The whole distance from Sardis to Susa, according to his measurement, would be 13,500 stadia; and he adds that those who travel 150 stadia a day would spend 90 days on the journey.[2] Calculating however from the Hellenic Sea (or Aegean) to Susa, 540 stadia more must be reckoned in, as the distance between Ephesus and Sardis. The whole journey therefore from Ephesus to Susa was 14,040 stadia, or three days more than the three months mentioned by Aristagoras.[3]

Position of the nations in the map of Aristagoras.

The words of Aristagoras respecting the positions of the principal nations, should be also compared with Herodotus's account of the route. "Next the Ionians are the Lydians, who inhabit a fertile country, and abound in silver; then towards the east are the Phrygians, who are the richest people in cattle

[1] See page 284.

[2] In another place (iv. 101) Herodotus calculates 200 stadia to the day's journey, but here he is evidently desirous of reconciling the distance with the words of Aristagoras, that the journey would occupy three months.

[3] v. 53, 54.

and corn; next are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians; bordering on them are the Cilicians, who extend to the sea, in which the island of Cyprus is situated; then come the Armenians, who also abound in cattle; then the Matienians; and, lastly, the Cissians, where the city of Susa is situated on the river Choaspes.[1]

Identification of the ancient road with the modern caravan route.

In concluding this chapter, we may mention that the great road already described is still used by caravans from Smyrna to Ispahan. Only the latter half has varied, for the traveller now proceeds north-east, in order to be in the direction of Ispahan, whilst the ancients inclined more to the south, and followed the course of the Tigris. The ancient and modern roads however agree in one particular, they both took a circuitous course through inhabited countries, for the sake of security. A more direct road would have led the traveller through the steppes of Mesopotamia, occupied then as now by roving predatory hordes; he therefore preferred taking the northern route, along the foot of the Armenian mountains, where he enjoyed security from all molestation, and an abundant supply of all necessaries.[2]

[1] v. 49.

[2] Heeren, *Asiat. Res.* vol. i. Tavernier's account of the caravan routes to Ispahan is graphic, though somewhat long-winded and gossipping. I made an abstract of his description of the route through Armenia in the hope that it would illustrate that of Herodotus, but the result, though interesting, was too unsatisfactory for me to insert in the present volume.

AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY.

Imperfect state of the geography of Africa.—Considered by Herodotus to be surrounded by water, excepting at the Isthmus of Suez.—Story of its circumnavigation by Phoenicians sent out by Neco.—Evidently believed by Herodotus and his contemporaries.—Voyage of Sataspes.—Possibility of circumnavigating Africa, subsequently denied by Plato, B. C. 360; Ephorus, B. C. 340; Polybius, B. C. 150; Strabo, A. D. 1; and Ptolemy, A. D. 150.—Difficulty in deciding whether the Phoenicians did or did not accomplish the circumnavigation.—Herodotus's account of the voyage.—Examination into its possibility.—Nature of the ships.—Character of the voyage.—Extent of coast to be traversed by circumnavigators.—Mean rate of sailing.—Aggregate length of the voyage.—Description of the supposed circumnavigation by the light of modern geography.—B. C. 613, *August.*—Suez.—Monsoon in the Arabian Gulf blowing from the north.—*October.*—Straits of Babel-mandeb.—Cape Guardafui.—Land of frankincense.—Monsoon of the Indian ocean blowing from the north-east.—Sun perpetually on the right hand.—Current of the Mozambique channel running round the Cape of Good Hope.—B. C. 612, *January.*—Tropic of Capricorn.—*April.*—Doubling of the Cape of Good Hope.—Atlantic Ocean.—Wind from the south blowing along the coast.—*July.*—St. Thomas's island.—Unfavourable wind and current lasting till October.—General course of the currents of the Atlantic.—*October.*—Wind blowing from the north-east: slow westward progress against the current.—B. C. 611, *March.*—River Senegal.—Stay for the September harvest.—Slow progress against the current to the limits of the north-east trade wind.—Favourable winds through the Pillars of Heracles to the mouths of the Nile.—Story of the Phoenicians obtaining supplies on their voyage by sowing corn and waiting for the harvest, not incredible.—Probably well victualled as far as Sofala, and again fresh supplied at Angola.—Bank of the Senegal river, the most likely spot for the Phoenicians to have chosen for sowing corn.—Examination into the credibility to be attached to Herodotus's relation.—Story of having the sun on the right hand no evidence of its truth.—Failure of Sataspes no evidence of its falsehood.—Phoenicians assisted by monsoons and currents, which would have been adverse to Sataspes.—Enterprising character of Neco in perfect keeping with his having organized such an expedition.—Convincing reasons for believing in the circumnavigation, and in the truth of Herodotus's narrative.—Herodotus's general knowledge of the African continent.—Considered it to be a

great acte, spreading out from Asia at the Isthmus of Suez.—Extreme heat of the climate.—Difficulty in discovering Herodotus's boundary line between Asia and Africa.—Probably arose from a confusion between the country of Libya and the continent of Libya.—Division of the Libyan continent into three tracts, viz. Aegypt, Aethiopia, and Libya Proper.

THE continent of Africa is a vast peninsula, connected with the main-land of Asia by the Isthmus of Suez. Its immense deserts, its unbroken coast line, and the peculiar nature of the climate, have hitherto rendered a large portion of its interior inaccessible to European travellers; and, notwithstanding all that has been done by ancient and modern research, we cannot reduce the physical features of this quarter of the globe to any general arrangement, but must confine ourselves strictly to the illustration of those regions which were known to our author.

Imperfect state of the geography of Africa.

AFRICA, or LIBYA, as it is called by Herodotus, was considered by him to be entirely surrounded by water, excepting at the part where it bordered on Asia, for he describes Libya as having been circumnavigated under the direction of the Aegyptian Neco. This king sent out some Phoenicians from the Erythraean Sea, by which we may understand the Arabian Gulf, whose waters were included in the Erythraean. After an absence of three years, the adventurous navigators returned through the Pillars of Heracles, and declared that during the voyage round they had had the sun on their right hand.[1] This last fact appeared incredible to Herodotus;[2] but it is evident that both he and his contemporaries believed in the circumnavigation. He himself says, that the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the Erythraean are all one sea;[3] and he relates, upon the authority of the Carthaginians, that Xerxes, yielding to the popular belief that the southern quarter of the continent of Libya was surrounded by water, ordered Sataspes, as a punishment, to sail through the Pillars of Heracles, and attempt the circumnavigation of the continent by returning through the Arabian Gulf. Sataspes came back without accom-

Considered by Herodotus to be surrounded by water, excepting at the Isthmus of Suez.

Story of its circumnavigation by Phoenicians sent out by Neco.

Evidently believed by Herodotus and his contemporaries.

Voyage of Sataspes.

[1] iv. 42. [2] Ibid. [3] i. 202.

plishing the circumnavigation, not however because it was impossible, but because he dreaded the length and desolation of the voyage. It was necessary however to assign some other cause for his return, and he therefore declared that his vessel had been stopped, and could proceed no farther. Xerxes disbelieved this excuse, and Sataspes was impaled.[1]

Possibility of circumnavigating Africa, subsequently denied by Plato, B. C. 360.

This belief in the circumnavigation of Libya did not exist in after-times. PLATO virtually denies the fact, for he says that the Atlantic Sea was neither navigable nor to be traced out, being blocked up by the mud produced by the sunken island of Atlantis.[2]

Ephorus, B. C. 340.

EPHORUS expressly rejects the notion, for he says "that they who would sail to the island of Cerne from the Red Sea, are not able from the extreme heat to pass beyond certain columns."[3]

Polybius, B. C. 150.

POLYBIUS, who had himself explored the western coast of Africa,[4] tells us that "Africa lies between the Nile and the Pillars of Heracles," but he adds that "it has never yet been known whether Aethiopia, which is the place where Asia and Africa meet together, be a continent extending forwards to the south, or whether it be surrounded by the sea."[5]

Strabo, A. D. 1.

STRABO believed that Africa terminated in a southern cape, though he erroneously imagined that its eastern coast formed a right angle with its northern, and that its western was the hypotenuse of the triangle; but he disbelieved in the circumnavigation, for he says that no one had advanced more than 5000 stadia beyond the entrance of the Red Sea, now called the Straits of Babel-mandeb, and considered that after a certain distance an isthmus interposed.

Ptolemy, A. D. 150.

This isthmus is laid down by PTOLEMY as stretching away from the coast of Africa, south of the equator, to the eastern verge of the world.[6]

Difficulty in deciding

The question, therefore, still remains undecided,

[1] iv. 43.

[2] Timaeus, § 6, iii. 25. It must be acknowledged, however, that the whole story of the island of Atlantis ought, perhaps, to be considered as a mere myth.

[3] Pliny, Nat. Hist. vi. 31. [4] Ibid. v. i. [5] Polyb. lib. iii.

[6] Strabo and Ptolemy, quoted by Kenrick.

whether the Phoenicians did or did not accomplish the circumnavigation.

whether the Phoenicians sent out by Neco did or did not double the Cape of Good Hope, and return to Aegypt through the Pillars of Heracles; and as the subject must necessarily be of great interest to all students in ancient geography, we shall first examine into the possibility of the achievement, and then endeavour to point out the degree of credibility which ought to be attached to the narrative of Herodotus.[1] Our author's own account is as follows:

Herodotus's account of the voyage.

"The Phoenicians, setting out from the Erythraean, navigated the southern sea. When autumn came they sowed the land at whatever part of Libya they happened to be sailing, and waited for the harvest; then, having reaped the corn, they put to sea again. Two years thus passed away. At length, in the third year of their voyage, having sailed through the Pillars of Heracles, they arrived in Aegypt, and related what does not seem credible to me, but which may be believed by others, that as they sailed round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand."[2]

Examination into its possibility.

In order to arrive at the practicability of the undertaking, we shall first examine into the nature of the ships and means of navigation, and then follow in the route which we may suppose the voyagers to have taken, and remark upon their means of procuring sufficient supplies of provisions.

Nature of the ships.

The vessels in which the Phoenicians sailed were undoubtedly not war galleys, but merchant ships, carrying a sail, and not propelled by oars excepting in cases of emergency.[3] The voyage must neces-

[1] Rennell and Larcher believed in the circumnavigation: Mannert and Gosselin doubted it. More recently the writer of the article on Africa, in the Penny Cyclopaedia, and Mr. Cooley, in his edition of Larcher's Notes, have decided on rejecting it altogether.

[2] iv. 42.

[3] The Phoenician vessels that resorted to the Piraeus are admirably described by Xenophon. "I remember," said Ischomachus to Socrates, "I once went aboard a Phoenician ship, where I observed the best example of good order that I ever met with: and, especially, it was surprising to observe the vast number of implements which were necessary for the management of such a small vessel. What numbers of oars, stretchers, ship-hooks, and spikes, were there for bringing the ship in and out of the harbour! What numbers of shrouds, cables, halsers,

sarily have been performed along the shore, and only during the day-time, especially as the nature of the coast must have been totally unknown.

Character of the voyage.

Extent of coast to be traversed by the circumnavigators.

Mean rate of sailing.

The entire distance from Suez, round Africa, coastwise, through Gibraltar, to the mouth of the Nile, is calculated by Rennell[1] to be about 224 degrees of a great circle, or 13,440 geog. miles. The mean rate of sailing, judging from the rate at which Nearchus proceeded in his exploring voyage from the Indus to the Euphrates, was about twenty-two and a half miles per day.[2] According to this estimate, the voyage itself would occupy about twenty months, and if a twelvemonth more is added for the harvest, for repairs of vessels on the way, and for rest and refreshment, the aggregate would be only

Aggregate length of the voyage.

ropes, and other tackling, for the guiding of the ship! With how many engines of war was it armed for its defence! What variety, and what numbers of arms, for the men to use in time of battle! What a vast quantity of provisions were there for the sustenance and support of the sailors! And, besides all these, the loading of the ship was of great bulk, and so rich, that the very freight of it would gain enough to satisfy the captain and his people for their voyage: and all these were stowed so neatly together, that a far larger place would not have contained them if they had been removed. Here, I took notice, the good order and disposition of everything was so strictly observed, that, notwithstanding the great variety of materials the ship contained, there was not anything on board which the sailors could not find in an instant; nor was the captain himself less acquainted with these particulars than his sailors: he was as ready in them, as a man of learning would be to know the letters that composed the name Socrates, and how they stand in that name. Nor did he only know the proper places for everything on board his ship; but, while he stood upon the deck, he was considering with himself what things might be wanting in his voyage, what things wanted repair, and what length of time his provisions and necessaries would last: for, as he observed to me, it is no proper time, when a storm comes upon us, to have the necessary implements to seek, or to be out of repair, or to want them on board; for the gods are never favourable to those who are negligent or lazy; and it is their goodness that they do not destroy us when we are diligent." Oecon. c. 8.

[1] Geog. of Herod. sect. xxiv., concerning the circumnavigation of Africa by the ships of Neco, to which I am indebted for many particulars upon the subject.

[2] The mean rate of Nearchus during his whole voyage was only twenty-two and a half miles per day; and even when he was sailing through the Persian Gulf it was only thirty miles. This indeed is an unusually low rate, but is preferred in the present case because the expedition of Nearchus was performed under somewhat similar circumstances to the voyage of the Phoenicians. Rennell adopts it, but quotes other examples of the rate of sailing, by which he would raise the mean to thirty-five or thirty-seven miles per day, but they are all cases in which the route was well known.

two years and eight months, or four months within the three years specified.

Description of the supposed circumnavigation by the light of modern geography.

We will, however, now follow in the route which we may suppose the voyagers to have taken, and in order to do this effectually, we shall describe the voyage as having actually taken place, without expressing any opinion upon its truth.

B. C. 613, *August.* Suez.

The Phoenician expedition probably left Suez in the beginning of August, B. C. 613.[1] We specify an approximate date for the sake of clearness, and fix upon the month of August, because at that time the monsoon of the Arabian Gulf would be blowing from the north. We may also take it for granted that the voyagers were experienced in the navigation of this sea; that they knew it would take them at least 40 days to arrive at the Straits of Babel-mandeb;[2] and that consequently they would reach the Indian Ocean about October, when they could either proceed southward, along the eastern coast of the unknown continent, by the assistance of the monsoon of the Indian Ocean, which at this time begins to blow from the north-east, or they might turn back under the influence of the monsoon of the Arabian Gulf, which chops round at the same time, and through the winter months blows from the south.[3]

Monsoon in the Arabian Gulf, blowing from the north.

October. Straits of Babel-mandeb.

We may next presume that the Phoenicians actually did reach the Indian Ocean about the latter end of

[1] A date for the voyage may be arrived at thus. Neco ascended the throne, B. C. 617. His first recorded acts were to dig the canal from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, and to build the two fleets. His expedition against Assyria, which was attended with the defeat and death of Josiah, took place B. C. 610; and we may suppose that the Phoenician voyage of discovery started in B. C. 613, and returned B. C. 610, whilst Neco was engaged in foreign conquest; and this presumption would account for the fact of such a very meagre account of the voyage having been preserved.

[2] See Herodotus's own calculation of the distance, at page 315. It must however be remarked, that if the voyage was performed in 40 days, this would be at the rate of 32 miles per day.

[3] The Indian Ocean and the Arabian Gulf have each of them peculiar monsoons, which differ in their directions. In the Indian Ocean south-westerly winds prevailed during the summer, and north-easterly during the winter. On the other hand, in the Arabian Gulf northerly winds prevail during the summer, and southerly during the winter. These facts must have been well known to the intrepid seamen, who had reached Tarshish and Ophir.

October, and that having doubled Cape Guardefui and passed by the land of frankincense, they found the monsoon of the Indian Ocean favourable to their enterprise, and resolutely proceeded towards the Mozambique Channel; being probably encouraged by the fact, which they may very well have believed, that should they find themselves impeded in their course, the monsoon would certainly change again the ensuing March, and could easily waft them back again to the Straits of Babel-mandeb.

Cape Guardafui. Land of frankincense. Monsoon of the Indian Ocean, blowing from the north-east.

Onward then we may suppose the intrepid voyagers to have proceeded. After crossing the equator, they would observe that the remarkable phenomenon which had sometimes taken place in the more southerly quarter of the Arabian Gulf was now perpetual, and that the sun was always on their right hand, or rather to the north of their vessels. On reaching the 10th degree of south latitude, they would begin to feel the current of the Mozambique Channel, which would run in their favour the whole way round the Cape of Good Hope. By the end of January, B. C. 612, that is, in the midst of the summer of the southern hemisphere, they might have reached the tropic of Capricorn. They would thus have a great part of the summer and autumn before them, for accomplishing the most difficult part of their voyage, namely, the doubling of the southern promontory of Africa. We must of course presume that in about two months and a half more they achieved this dangerous undertaking; the current of the Mozambique Channel carrying them safely round the Cape, at the most favourable season of the year, which, according to the above calculation, we fix about the middle of April. The Phoenicians next entered the Atlantic Ocean, and turned their prows towards the mysterious north. It must here be remarked, that in the Atlantic, from the 30th degree of south latitude northwards to the equator, there prevails in the open sea a regular south-east wind, which is called the trade wind; but that off the coast and within the influence of land, a south-

Sun perpetually on the right hand.

Current of the Mozambique Channel running round the Cape of Good Hope.

B. C. 642, *January.* Tropic of Capricorn.

April. Doubling of the Cape of Good Hope.

Atlantic Ocean. Wind from the south blowing along the coast.

erly wind prevails, varying only some points to the eastward or westward, according to the season or time of day. This is more particularly the case in April and May, and consequently during this part of the voyage the Phoenicians would find a fair wind and but little bad weather. Three months more, at the least, would elapse before they could reach the equator and St. Thomas's island, and this would bring them to the middle of July; but as they may have been delayed by the state of their ships, or by prolonged attempts to procure water or provisions, the probabilities are that they did not reach St. Thomas's until much later in the year. One thing however is certain, that whether they reached St. Thomas's in July, in August, or in September, they could not leave it and commence the westward voyage along the coasts of Guinea and Sierra Leone before the beginning of November; for in this quarter a south-west wind, accompanied by rainy weather, blows until October, when it is succeeded by a north-east wind and dry weather, which would be more favourable to their progress. A brief notice of the currents of the Atlantic would also give the reader a further insight into the circumstances of the voyage.

July. St. Thomas's island.

Unfavourable wind and current lasting till October.

There are two great counter-currents on the western coast of Africa, one coming from the north, and the other from the south, and these two apparently meet near St. Thomas's island, and form together the great equatorial current which runs westward towards the opposite coast of South America. By a glance at the map of Africa, it will be seen that the northern current, keeping along the coast, must take an easterly course through the Gulf of Guinea before it meets the southern stream; and that the great equatorial current running out due west, necessarily flows parallel with it, though in an opposite direction. As however the Phoenicians would be sure to keep close to the coast, they would avoid the danger of being carried out into the open Atlantic by the equatorial current; at the same time, in their

General course of the currents of the Atlantic.

October. Wind blowing from the north-east: slow westward progress against the current.

westward voyage from St. Thomas's, they would have to contend against the northern current, which runs close along the shore. Giving them therefore the advantage of the north-easterly wind, already mentioned, they would make but slow progress against the current, and lowering the mean rate of sailing to 18 miles a day, it must have taken them at least four calendar months to get from St. Thomas's to the mouth of the river Senegal.[1] This brings us to the Senegal by the beginning of March, B. C. 611, when 19 months of the voyage were completed. At this river the Phoenicians may have waited until the harvest in the ensuing September, and may then have again set sail and proceeded towards the Pillars of Heracles. The first part of this voyage would be very slow, for they would have to contend both against the northern current and the north-east trade wind; and not less than 40 days of sailing, at the rate of 15 miles per day, can be allowed them for clearing the limits of this trade wind. Having passed beyond the trade, the prevalent winds would be fair the whole way through the Pillars of Heracles to the mouth of the Nile, a distance of about 2800 miles, which would occupy about 110 days, at the rate of 25½ miles per day. The voyage from the mouth of the Senegal to that of the Nile would therefore occupy 150 days, or about five months, and the Phoenicians would thus return to Aegypt in February, B. C. 610, being the third year of the entire voyage, and after having been absent for a period of two years and six months.

B. C. 611, *March.* River Senegal. Stay for the September harvest.

Slow progress against the current to the limits of the north-east trade wind.

Favourable winds through the Pillars of Heracles to the mouths of the Nile.

In connexion with the voyage, we have to deal with the subject of provisions. Herodotus's account of the sowing of the seed and waiting for the harvest seems at first sight to be a mere fiction. But the interval between seed-time and harvest in the

Story of the Phoenicians obtaining supplies on their voyage by sowing corn and waiting for

[1] A very long and learned, but most bewildering, account of the currents of the Atlantic Ocean is given by Major Rennell; but it is to him, and to the valuable physical Atlas of Mr. Johnstone, that I am indebted for all the actual facts I have brought forward to illustrate this presumed circumnavigation of Libya.

tropical climate of Africa, would be only three months; and though the Phoenician vessels were well fitted to carry a large supply of provisions,[1] yet some extraordinary arrangements were doubtless made to enable crews to supply themselves during such a very long voyage as the one under consideration. That voyages did often extend over two or three years is proved from sacred[2] as well as from profane history, and the idea of travellers depending in some shape on a harvest of their own, is not confined to the present instance; for in the preparations made by Tamerlane for his march into China, in A. D. 1405, were included waggon loads of seed-corn, to sow the fields on the road.[3] With respect to the victualling of the Phoenician fleet, we may observe that the power of the Aegyptian king Neco, combined with their own experience, would enable the navigators to obtain sufficient provisions throughout the whole length of the Arabian Gulf; whilst their commercial relations with the people lower down along the eastern coast of Africa, would procure them still further supplies, and they might be nearly as well victualled when they arrived at Mozambique or Sofala, as when they left the head of the Arabian Gulf. Between Sofala on the eastern coast, and Angola on the western shore, they might not have been able to secure a fresh supply; but Angola is a fruitful and productive country, and here it is probable that they made their first long halt after leaving Aegypt. The Senegal river, we have seen, was not reached before March, B. C. 611, and probably not till much later, but this would depend upon the length of their presumed stay at Angola. This river is the most likely spot throughout the whole voyage, where the Phoenicians, having arrived by analogy at some idea of the probable length of the remaining part of their voyage, might

the harvest, not incredible.

Probably well victualled as far as Sofala, and again fresh supplied at Angola.

Bank of the Senegal river the most likely spot for the Phoenicians to have chosen for sowing corn.

[1] See note to page 337.

[2] 1 Kings x. 22, quoted by Rennell. The voyages of Hanno, of Scylax, and of Nearchus, beside those of the Phoenicians to the Cassiterides, are too well known and authenticated to require mention.

[3] Sheref. Timur, vi. 28, quoted by Rennell.

resolve to victual themselves for the whole of that interval. The harvests in this quarter are said to be in September, and the seed-time in June or the beginning of July; but though this was a long time to wait, yet the people of the country might not have had a stock sufficient for themselves and the strangers also, without the aid of the expected harvest; and the time might also have been most profitably employed in repairing the ships and restoring the crews to health and spirits.

Examination into the credibility to be attached to Herodotus's relation.

We have thus proved that the circumnavigation of Libya was practicable under certain circumstances; it now remains for us to ascertain the degree of credit which ought to be attached to the narrative, which was evidently believed by Herodotus and his contemporaries, but rejected by succeeding authors, and doubted by many of the ablest geographers of modern times. The story which the Phoenicians told of their having had the sun on their right hand by no means obliges us to believe that they did circumnavigate the continent, for the same phenomenon might have occurred at a certain time of the year northward of the Straits of Babel-mandeb.

Story of having the sun on the right hand, no evidence of its truth.

Failure of Sataspes no evidence of its falsehood.

Neither, on the other hand, does the failure of Sataspes oblige us to conclude that the Phoenicians were equally unsuccessful; for we have already seen how much more easily the voyage might have been conducted from the eastern than from the western side. The Phoenicians, who must have had some experience of the trade winds, might have been able to take advantage of the monsoon of the Arabian Gulf, then of that of the Indian Ocean, and then might have been carried round the Cape by the Mozambique current; and, in short, would have met with but little impediment beyond the probable want of provisions and water until they arrived at the Gulf of Guinea. Sataspes, however, would no sooner have reached this latter station than all his troubles would have commenced. The strong current from the Cape, strengthened by the south-east trade wind, would have carried him away in

Phoenicians assisted by monsoons and currents which would have been adverse to Sataspes.

the equatorial current towards South America, if he once left the coast; and even supposing that by the assistance of oars he approached the Cape, it is certain that it would have been morally impossible for him to have doubled this formidable promontory. There can also be no doubt but that the Phoenician expedition was really sent out. Neco was an enterprising and powerful prince. He commenced the canal from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf,[1] and built two fleets of triremes;[2] and it was he who defeated King Josiah in the valley of Megiddo, and gained a splendid victory over the Assyrian power on the banks of the Euphrates. Was it therefore possible for the Phoenicians to have subsequently deceived him, and could they have transported their vessels from the Arabian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and after two or three years' absence have reached the Nile and claimed the reward which had been doubtless offered? Such a proceeding would be incredible. The ships could not have been carried, and others would soon have been identified as never having been sent out with the voyagers. We must therefore own ourselves firm believers in the circumnavigation, and in the general truth of Herodotus's narrative. The Phoenicians were notorious for their commercial jealousy, for the concealment of discoveries for the sake of enjoying a monopoly of the commerce, and their report was therefore as brief as possible. Lastly, to those critics who urge that if the circumnavigation had been once effected, it would have been followed by some permanent results, we can only say that, difficult and dangerous as the voyage must undoubtedly have been, it could have had no more effect upon the commerce of the ancients than the discovery of the north-west passage is likely to have upon the trading voyages of modern times. India was to be approached from the Arabian Gulf, and the eastern and north-western coasts of Africa were already reached by the nearest

Enterprising character of Neco in perfect keeping with his having organized such an expedition.

Convincing reasons for believing in the circumnavigation, and in the truth of Herodotus's narrative.

[1] ii. 158. [2] ii. 159.

routes. Communications with the interior were sufficiently opened by the caravans from Carthage; and no merchandise of any description could be obtained from Southern Africa which would at all repay the most adventurous and enterprising voyager, for any attempt to prove whether the story of the Phoenician expedition was true or mythical. Thus, after the lapse of ages, the narrative was either forgotten or doubted, and the great geographical problem still remained as though it had never been solved.

Herodotus's general knowledge of the African continent. Considered it to be a great acte spreading out from Asia at the Isthmus of Suez.

The next subject to be considered is, the character and extent of Herodotus's knowledge of the continent at large. According to his map of Asia,[1] he considered the Libyan continent as forming the second great acte which ran westward from Asia. At Aegypt the country was narrow, for between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf the neck of land (now called the Isthmus of Suez) was only 100,000 orgyae across; but from this narrow neck the tract which was called Libya became very wide.[2] The western extremity was formed by the promontory of Soloeis.[3] The soil was reddish and sandy,[4] but watered by numerous rivers.[5] The region above, or to the south of Aegypt, was exceedingly hot; the winds were very heating; and there was neither rain nor snow. The inhabitants also became black from the excessive heat; kites and swallows remained there the entire year, and the cranes, to avoid the cold of Scythia, repaired to these countries for their winter quarters.[6] The air was always clear, the soil always hot, and the winds never cool;[7] whilst the peculiar course of the sun[8] rendered the climate of Libya one eternal summer.[9] Thus the Libyans, and next to them the Aegyptians, were the healthiest of all men, because they had nothing to suffer from the change of seasons.[10]

Extreme heat of the climate.

[1] See page 200. [2] iv. 41. [3] ii. 32. [4] ii. 12. [5] ii. 20.
[6] ii. 22. [7] ii. 25. [8] See page 12. [9] ii. 26. [10] ii. 77.

It is difficult to decide where Herodotus would draw the boundary line between Libya and Asia. We have already seen that the eastern tract between the Nile valley and the Red Sea was assigned to Arabia, and our author himself seems doubtful whether Aegypt belonged to Libya or to Asia. Objecting, as he did, to the arbitrary continental divisions of the other Greek geographers, he seems more inclined to divide the world into tracts, or countries. He therefore says that the only line of division he knows between Asia and Libya is the frontier of Aegypt,[1] but whether that frontier was on the east or the west, he nowhere specifies. Again, he certainly does say that Libya commenced from Aegypt, but then immediately afterwards he says, that from the narrow neck which joins the acte to the main-land, the tract which was called Libya was very wide:[2] thus in the same chapter implying, first, that Libya commenced from Aegypt; and, secondly, that it commenced from the Isthmus of Suez. We are therefore led to conclude that the continent of Libya and the country of Libya were two totally different things. The continent certainly included Aethiopia;[3] whilst Libya Proper, which was inhabited by the Libyans, comprised only the northern territory between Aegypt and Cape Soloeis. That Aegypt was not included in the Libyan continent may be distinctly proved by the following passage. "Thus much I know," says Herodotus, "four nations occupy Libya, and no more; two of these nations are aboriginal, and two not. The Libyans and Aethiopians are aboriginal, the former lying northward and the latter southward in Libya; the foreign settlers are Phoenicians and Greeks."[4] This passage we shall ignore in obedience to modern geography, and consider the Aegyptians as included within the present quarter of the globe.

Difficulty in discovering Herodotus's boundary line between Asia and Africa.

Probably arose from a confusion between the country of Libya and the continent of Libya.

The continent of Libya must be thus divided into

Division of the Libyan

[1] ii. 17. [2] iv. 41. [3] ii. 17; vii. 70. [4] iv. 197.

continent into three tracts, viz. Aegypt, Aethiopia, and Libya Proper.

three distinct tracts, viz. Aegypt, Aethiopia, and Libya Proper; Aegypt and Aethiopia including the countries watered by the Nile, and Libya Proper embracing the region of Mount Atlas and desert of Sahara; and this division we shall implicitly follow in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER II.

AEGYPT.

General description of Aegypt—a fertile valley, bounded on the east by the Arabian chain, and on the west by the Libyan.—Herodotus's account.—Situation and boundaries of the country.—Supposed to be a gift of the Nile, as in the reign of Menes, B. C. 2200, all Middle Aegypt was a morass, and all Lower Aegypt was under water; but in the time of Herodotus, B. C. 450, the whole had been filled up by alluvial soil brought down by the Nile.—Lower Aegypt said by the priests to have been anciently a bay, corresponding to the Arabian Gulf.—Three facts in favour of the hypothesis.—1. Shells found on the mountains and saline humour on the pyramids.—2. Contrast between the black soil of Aegypt and the rock and clay of Arabia and Syria on the east, and the red sand of Libya on the west.—3. Gradual rise of the land.—Ionian theory, that Aegypt Proper was included in the Delta, proved to be absurd, as the Aegyptians were an ancient people, but the soil of the Delta of recent formation.—Theory of Herodotus—that the Aegyptians had advanced northward as fast as fresh soil was formed, and that Aegypt properly included all the country inhabited by Aegyptians—supported by the oracle of Ammon.—Voyage of Herodotus up the Nile, by Heliopolis and Thebes, to Elephantine on the southern frontier of Aegypt.—Aegypt north of Heliopolis, (i. e. the Delta,) a broad flat.—Aegypt south of Heliopolis, a narrow valley between the Arabian and Libyan mountains.—Extent of the voyage.—Error in Herodotus's calculation of the number of stadia.—Herodotus's personal knowledge bounded on the south by Elephantine.—Could learn but little concerning the Nile.—Three different causes assigned by the Greeks for its periodical overflow. 1st, That it was occasioned by the Etesian winds. 2nd, That it was caused by the river Ocean. 3rd, That it was produced by the snows of Aethiopia.—Theory of Herodotus, the Nile drained during the winter by the sun, which is driven southward by Boreas; but overflowing in summer, when the sun returns to the centre of the heavens.—Origin of the three previous theories.—That of the Etesian winds, taught by Thales.—That of the river Ocean, by Hecataeus, though perhaps in part derived from the Aegyptian tradition of the revolution of the sun.—That of the melted snow, taught by Anaxagoras, and followed by Euripides and Aeschylus.—Real cause of the inundation first discovered by Democritus and Callisthenes, viz. the very heavy rainy season in Aethiopia.—Period of the inundation.—Singular theory of the philosophers of Memphis as described by Diodorus.—Sources of the Nile: Herodotus unable to obtain any information concerning them.—Hoaxing story told by the bursar of the Athene temple at Sais.—Effects produced by the inundation.—Aegypt like a sea, and her cities like islands.—Navigation carried on across the plain of the Delta.—Cities protected by mounds.—

Seven mouths of the Nile, viz. Pelusiac, Canopic, Sebennytic, Saitic, Mendesian, Bolbotine, and Bucolic.—Their identification on the modern map.—Divisions of Aegypt not distinctly laid down by Herodotus.—Supposed by him to have included Lower Aegypt, or the Delta, and Upper Aegypt, or Heptanomis.

AFRICA. CHAP. II.

General description of Aegypt—a fertile valley, bounded on the east by the Arabian chain, and on the west by the Libyan chain.

AEGYPT in primeval times consisted of a long rocky valley terminating in a deep bay. The river Nile, which flowed from the highlands of Aethiopia, traversed the entire length of the valley, and emptied its waters into the bay. In the time of Herodotus the Nile had covered the rocky valley with rich and teeming earth, and by its continual deposits had filled up the bay, and transformed it into that extensive and fruitful territory known as the plain of the Delta.[1] Aegypt thus included, first, the long and narrow valley which follows the course of the Nile from Assouan, the ancient Syene, northwards to Cairo; and, secondly, the extensive plain of the Delta, which stretches from Cairo northwards to the Mediterranean. The two mountain ranges which enclose the Nile valley are called by an Arabian writer, "the wings of the Nile." That on the east may be named the Arabian chain; that on the west, the Libyan chain. In Upper and Central Aegypt they are each interscected by defiles, which on the eastern side lead to the shores of the Red Sea, and on the western side lead to the oases. As these two ranges approach the apex of the Delta

[1] This opinion is in accordance with Herodotus's own theory. (ii. 5. See also *Savary's Letters on Egypt*, Letter I.) It has however been stoutly opposed by Sir J. G. Wilkinson and the learned writer of the article on Egypt in the new edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, who, though it is admitted on all hands that the land of Aegypt and the bed of the river are both slowly rising, yet contend that the limits of the Delta to the north are the same now as in the remotest antiquity. But, even admitting that the northern limits of the Delta are the same now as they were in the days of Herodotus, it does not invalidate his statement, which we shall quote and remark upon further on in the present chapter, that the cultivated portion of Aegypt is the *gift of the river*. The chain of sand-banks, which skirt the Delta on the north, may have existed long before the Delta attained its present form; but, at the same time, there is no reason to doubt that the cultivable land of which the Delta is composed really and wholly consists of deposits brought down by the Nile, and that the lakes or lagoons, which lie along the shore to the south of the chain of sand-banks, are the last remains of the sea by which the Delta was anciently covered.

near Cairo, they recede eastward and westward; one, named Gebel Nairon, stretching north-west to the Mediterranean, and the other, named Gebel Attaka, running north-east to Suez, and both forming an angle of divergence of about 140°. A little to the north of the spot where the two ranges diverge, the river divides into two large branches, one flowing to Rosetta, and the other to Damietta; and these two branches thus contain between them the triangular piece of insulated land, which the Greeks called from its shape the Delta, Δ.[1] The entire length of Aegypt from Syene to the Mediterranean is about 450 geog. miles, and the mean width of the valley which stretches from Syene to Cairo is about nine miles. Such was the country whose physical formation, whose history, and whose religion, attracted so much of the attention of our curious and inquiring author. It was divided into three parts: 1. Northern Aegypt, or the Delta. 2. Middle Aegypt, or Heptanomis. 3. Southern Aegypt, or Thebais. And in reading Herodotus it is necessary to remember, that by Lower Aegypt he means the northern division, or the Delta; and by Upper Aegypt he means the middle and southern division.

Herodotus's account. Situation and boundaries of the country.

Aegypt was supposed by Herodotus to lie under nearly the same meridian as Cilicia, Sinope, and the mouths of the Ister.[2] Its northern boundary was formed by that portion of coast washed by the Mediterranean, which lay between the bay of Plinthenites on the west, and Lake Serbonis on the east; a distance of 60 schoeni, or 3600 stadia, the schoeni being an Aegyptian measure equivalent to 60 stadia.[3] Its southern boundary might be formed by a line drawn east and west at the city of Elephantine,[4] which was situated directly opposite Syene, and just below the lesser cataract; and it should be remembered that from Elephantine north-

[1] It need scarcely be mentioned that to the Greeks, coming from Greece, Lower Aegypt presented the exact shape of the letter delta; but that on the modern map, which points in an exactly opposite direction, Lower Aegypt appears like a delta upside down.

[2] ii. 34. [3] ii. 16. [4] ii. 18.

wards to the Mediterranean, the Nile was navigable the whole distance.

Supposed to be a gift of the Nile, as in the reign of Menes, B. C. 2200, all Middle Aegypt was a morass, and all Lower Aegypt was under water, but in the time of Herodotus, B.C. 450, the whole had been filled up by alluvial soil brought down by the Nile.

The territory of Aegypt was considered by our author to be a gift of the Nile.[1] In the reign of Menes, the whole of Aegypt, excepting Thebais, was a morass, and all the country north of Lake Moeris was under water;[2] whilst in the time of Herodotus, this Lake Moeris was distant from the sea a seven days' voyage up the river Nile.[3] It was thus evident to all who saw the country, that the Delta, or that part of Aegypt which was visited by the Greek merchantmen, was a gift from the river, and that the parts for a three days' passage southward of the Lake Moeris were of the same description. The actual existence of these alluvial deposits might however be proved by sailing one day's voyage from the coast, and casting in a lead; upon which the voyager would bring up mud, and find himself in eleven fathoms water.[4] Indeed, as the priests told Herodotus, and as also appeared to him to be the case, the Nile valley, as far as the country south of Memphis, was formerly a bay of the sea,[5] extending from the Mediterranean towards Aethiopia, in the same way that the Arabian Gulf extended from the south towards Syria; and if the Nile were to turn its stream into the Arabian Gulf, as it did into the Aegyptian bay, the gulf also would be filled up in 20,000, if not in 10,000 years.[6]

Lower Aegypt said by the priests to have been anciently a bay, corresponding to the Arabian Gulf.

Three facts in favour of the hypothesis.

That this was the ancient condition of the country was perfectly evident to Herodotus, especially when

[1] ii. 5.

[2] The priests who gave this information to Herodotus spoke without any historical authority. They saw what Herodotus himself says was evident to any one who used his eye-sight, that the Delta consisted of land which had been brought down by the Nile; but being ignorant of the rate at which such phenomena proceed, and conceiving the commencement of their own special history to be the commencement of everything, they declared that the formation of the Delta, which must have been the work of many thousands of years, began in the reign of Menes, because he was the first king of Aegypt. The period however of those great physical changes which raised the Delta above the level of the sea, stretches far beyond the annals of the human race, and Menes did not found his capital that he might reign over a marsh. See Kenrick, *Anc. Egypt*, vol. ii.

[3] ii. 4. [4] ii. 5. [5] ii. 10. [6] ii. 11.

he saw that Aegypt projected into the Mediterranean beyond the adjoining land; that shells were found on the mountains, and that a saline humour everywhere covered the surface, and even corroded the pyramids; whilst, on the other hand, the mountains southward of Memphis consisted wholly of sand. Moreover, the soil of Aegypt was quite different from that of the neighbouring countries, Arabia, Libya, and Syria; for it was black and friable, as if it were mud and alluvial deposit brought down by the river Nile from Aethiopia; whilst the soil of Libya was reddish with a substratum of sand, and that of Arabia and Syria was clayey, with a substratum of rock.[1] Another proof of the gradual elevation of the country by alluvial deposits was also brought forward by the priests, who assured Herodotus that in the reign of King Moeris, if the Nile only rose eight cubits it covered all Aegypt north of Memphis;[2] whereas, at the time they gave him this information, which was only 900 years after the death of Moeris, the river could not overflow the country unless it rose sixteen cubits, or fifteen at the least. If therefore the soil of the Delta continued

1. Shells found on the mountains, and a saline humour on the pyramids.

2. Contrast between the black soil of Aegypt and the rock and clay of Arabia and Syria on the east, and the red sand of Libya on the west.

3. Gradual rise of the land.

[1] ii. 12. "Modern science," says Mr. Kenrick, "has added little to this simple hypothesis. Borings made in the Delta to the depth of forty-five feet, have shown that the soil consists of vegetable matter and an earthy deposit, such as the Nile now brings down; but as no marine remains are found in the mud which covers the upper and middle portion of the Delta, it appears that the present alluvium must have been deposited upon a surface previously elevated above the Mediterranean. That Aegypt has undergone changes not recorded in history, nor surmised by its ancient inhabitants or visitors, is evident from the phenomena of the petrified forest in the neighbourhood of Cairo. The platform on which it lies is considerably above the present level of the Nile, on the side of the Mokattam range. The trees, some of which are from fifty to sixty feet in length, are scattered over a space of three and a half miles wide, and four miles long; their substance is in many cases converted into silex, agate, and jasper, and they are partially covered with rolled pebbles and sand. It is difficult to account for these appearances without supposing that they have been submerged subsequently to their growth, and again elevated to their present position. (Newbold, *Geology of Egypt*, Proc. Geol. Soc. 3, 2, 91. 1842.) If the agatized wood in the Bahr-be-la-Ma is of the same origin, and was deposited there before the valley of the Nile intervened, we are carried far back into that indefinite antiquity which Herodotus prudently assumes."—Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i.

[2] The priests here exhibit their ignorance of the rate of progression, by which the physical changes first described were brought about.

to grow in the same proportion, he considered that the Nile would at length be unable to irrigate the land at all, and that the Aegyptians north of Lake Moeris would perish from drought.[1] Meantime however they had the least trouble in the world in obtaining the fruits of the earth. They neither ploughed nor hoed, but when the river had irrigated their fields and then subsided, each man sowed his own corn and turned in swine, who thereupon trod in the seed, and subsequently at harvest time trod out the corn, and saved the trouble of thrashing.[2]

Ionian theory, that Aegypt Proper was included in the Delta, proved to be absurd, as the Aegyptians were an ancient people, but the soil of the Delta of recent formation.

The Ionians maintained that Aegypt properly embraced only the Delta. They stated that its sea, from west to east, was only forty schoeni in extent, namely, from the tower of Perseus to the Taricheïa of Pelusium; and that from the coast into the interior it only stretched to the city of Cercasorus, where the Nile divides. The rest of Aegypt they assigned partly to Libya, and partly to Arabia. "But, how then," says Herodotus, "if the Delta, or Aegypt Proper, were only created at a recent period, could the Aegyptians be such fools as to suppose that they were the most ancient of all people? But taking it for granted," he continues, "that the theory of the Ionians be a correct one, I will show that neither they nor the Greeks generally know how to count the divisions of the earth. At present, they tell us that there are only three—Europe, Asia, and Libya, and they add, that Asia is separated from Libya by the Nile; but surely if Aegypt is included in the Delta, they ought to reckon it as a fourth division, for being enclosed by the Nile, it necessarily lies between Asia and Libya."[3] Herodotus himself therefore considered that the Aegyptians had existed as long as the human race generally; that they had advanced gradually northward as the land advanced; and that Aegypt

Theory of Herodotus, that the

[1] ii. 14. This notion of Herodotus is based upon a misconception. He forgot that the bed of the river must necessarily rise by the same agency as the surface of the surrounding soil, so that the same relative level would be still preserved.

[2] ii. 14.

[3] ii. 15, 16.

in ancient times, before the Nile had created the Delta, was included in the territory of Thebais, and was only 6120 stadia in circumference.[1]

Aegyptians had advanced northward as fast as fresh soil was formed, and that Aegypt properly included all the country inhabited by Aegyptians—supported by the oracle of Ammon.

Herodotus then places his own view, that Aegypt included all the country inhabited by the Aegyptians, in opposition to that of the Ionians, who considered that all, except the Delta, was halved by the Nile, and one half given to Asia, and the other half to Libya;[2] and he shows how the correctness of his own view was thus proved by the oracle of Ammon. The inhabitants of the towns of Marea and Apis, on the borders of Libya, deemed themselves to be Libyans, and sent to the oracle to say, that as they lived without the Delta, they were desirous of being no longer restricted, like the Aegyptians, from eating the flesh of cows. The god, however, replied that Aegypt comprised all the country that was irrigated by the Nile, and that the Aegyptians included all those who dwelt northward of the city of Elephantine, and drank of the river.[3] This answer was sufficient to prove that Aegypt extended to a very great extent beyond the Delta; for the Nile overflowed not only the Delta, but also inundated the country for two days' journey on either side.[4]

Voyage of Herodotus up the Nile, by Heliopolis and Thebes. Elephantine on the southern frontier of Aegypt.

We next turn to Herodotus's description of the country, which is evidently the result of a voyage up the Nile, from the coast of the Mediterranean to the city of Elephantine. This voyage he divides into three divisions. First, the voyage from the Mediterranean coast to the city of Heliopolis, near the apex of the Delta; secondly, that from Heliopolis to Thebes; and, thirdly, that from Thebes to Elephantine. The first division of the country thus mapped out included the plain of the Delta: the second and third embraced the long narrow valley of the Nile between the Arabian and Libyan mountains from the Delta southwards to Elephantine.

Aegypt, north of Heliopolis,

Throughout the plain of the Delta, namely, from the Mediterranean to Heliopolis, the country was

[1] ii. 15. [2] ii. 17. [3] ii. 18. [4] ii. 19.

broad and flat, without water[1] and yet a swamp. The distance was 1500 stadia, or fifteen stadia less than the road from the altar of the twelve gods at Athens to the temple of the Olympian Zeus at Pisa.[2] Southward of Heliopolis and the Delta, Aegypt became contracted into a narrow valley. On the eastern side the Arabian mountains, containing the stone quarries which were cut for the pyramids at Memphis, extended to the Erythraean. On the western side, bordering on Libya, another long chain, covered with sand, stretched in the same southerly direction. This contraction of the Aegyptian territory extended only for four days' voyage (or 800 stadia) up the Nile. The country was level, and at the narrowest part was only 200 stadia broad, but beyond that point it widened.[3] By a reference to the modern map, the narrow part of the Nile valley, to which Herodotus here appears to refer, extends from Cairo southwards to Fayoum; above this point the valley increases a little in width.

(i. e. the Delta,) a broad flat.

Aegypt, south of Heliopolis, a narrow valley between the Arabian and Libyan mountains.

From Heliopolis up the river to Thebes was a nine days' voyage, or 4860 stadia, which amount to 81 schoeni—an evident error;[4] and by adding these 4860 stadia to the 1500 stadia between Heliopolis and the coast, Herodotus found that the whole distance from the coast of the Mediterranean to Thebes was 6120 stadia; which is another mistake as unaccountable as the former, for the real sum total would be 6360 stadia. From Thebes to the city called Elephantine, the southern boundary of Aegypt was 1800 stadia.[5]

Extent of the voyage. Error in Herodotus's calculation of the number of stadia.

[1] Probably this only refers to the want of springs.

[2] ii. 7. [3] ii. 9.

[4] According to this estimate a vessel would go 540 stadia per day against the stream; and according to the ordinary stadium this would be at the rate of 67½ English miles per day, which is impossible. It so happens that the estimate of nine days' voyage up the river from Heliopolis to Thebes is not incorrect, whilst the number of stadia exceeds the truth by about one half; and therefore some commentators have supposed that Herodotus here used a short stadium. It seems however much more natural to suppose that he over-estimated the distance; and in many other parts, either his copyists or himself have much to answer for in the way of arithmetical errors. See Appendix II.

[5] ii. 9.

To this point of the Nile, namely, to the city of Elephantine, Herodotus carried his researches, and he is therefore enabled to describe the country thus far from personal observation. Some Aegyptians however occupied part of the Aethiopian island called Tachompso, which lay southward of Elephantine; and in describing this island and the voyage to it he is compelled to speak from hearsay.[1]

Herodotus's personal knowledge bounded on the south by Elephantine.

Concerning the river Nile Herodotus was able to obtain very little information, either from the priests or from any one else. In the summer it swelled and overflowed for a hundred days, and then retired and continued low all the winter.[2] Respecting the causes of this swelling, three different views prevailed amongst the Greeks. First, some said that it was the Etesian winds blowing against the river, which prevented it from discharging itself into the sea; but this theory was exploded by the fact that the Nile had overflowed when these winds had not blown, and many rivers also in Syria and Libya, with smaller and weaker currents, flowed opposite the same winds without overflowing their banks.[3] Secondly, others said that the inundation took place because the Nile flowed from the river Ocean, which surrounded the earth; but this opinion was laughed at by Herodotus, for no such river existed at all, excepting in the brains of poets.[4] A third explanation was by far the most specious in his opinion, but at the same time the most untrue. According to that, the Nile flowed from a region of snow, which was necessarily melted during the summer months. But Herodotus could not understand the existence of snow in the hot regions of the south. His own theory was as follows. During the summer the sun stands in the middle of the heavens, and sucks up the waters from all rivers alike. In the winter he is driven by the storms of Boreas into the southern regions, and there sucks up the water from the Nile

Could learn but little concerning the Nile.

Three different causes assigned by the Greeks for its periodical overflow.

1st, That it was occasioned by the Etesian winds.

2nd, That it was caused by the river Ocean.

3rd, That it was produced by the snows of Aethiopia.

Theory of Herodotus—the Nile drained during the winter by the sun, which is driven southward by Boreas;

[1] For Herodotus's account of the upper course of the Nile, see the chapter on Aethiopia.

[2] ii. 19. [3] ii. 20. [4] ii. 21, 23.

only. Consequently, during the winter the Nile was partly dried up by its peculiar proximity to the sun god, and being fed by no rain or tributary streams, it flowed in a weak and shallow stream; whilst other rivers, increased by the rain and snow of the northern regions, were swollen with waters. On the other hand, during the summer, the Nile alone flowed on in its natural, but mighty, flood; whilst the other rivers, no longer supplied with rain and partially dried by the sun, became weak and shallow.[1] Herodotus also adds, that no breezes blow from the Nile, because of the heat of the countries through which it flows.[2]

but overflowing in summer when the sun returns to the centre of the heavens.

Such were the extraordinary theories brought forward to account for the inundation of the Nile. The first, which ascribed the phenomena to the blowing of the Etesian winds, was taught by Thales,[3] and was a real cause, though not sufficient to explain the whole effect. The second, which supposed that it was occasioned by the connexion between the Nile and the river Ocean seems to have been taught by Hecataeus, whose theory concerning the river Ocean has already been noticed.[4] It is however very likely that Herodotus may also have heard of the Aegyptian tradition concerning the diurnal revolution of the sun as connected with the river. It was imagined, or feigned, that the sun's path through the heavens was a huge river or abyss, which he navigated in twenty-four barks, conducted by the twelve hours of the day and the twelve hours of the night. The Nile of Aegypt was a branch, or offset, from this abyss. The celestial Nile, or course of the sun during the day, was called Nen-moou, the Nile of Egypt was Phe-moou, and the infernal Nile, or course of the sun during the night, was called Meh-moou, that is, "full of water," because it was larger than either of the two others, as it received the waters of both. There is a passage in the book of the dead written under

Origin of the three previous theories. That of the Etesian winds, taught by Thales. That of the river Ocean, by Hecataeus; though perhaps in part derived from the Aegyptian tradition of the revolution of the sun.

[1] ii. 24, 25; iv. 50. [2] ii. 27. [3] Diod. i. 38—40.
[4] See page 14.

the picture of the bark of the first hour of the night, which gives us the geography of the Meh-moou. It is thus translated by Mr. Osburn. "This water, which the sun is now navigating, is the pool of Natron, which is joined with the pool of the field of the great hall of judgment." . . . . "Moreover, the waters of the great hall of judgment are joined with the waters of Abydos, and they together are called the way along which Father Athom travels when he approaches the mountains of his rising."[1]

That of the melted snows, taught by Anaxagoras.

The third theory, which attributed the inundations to the melting of the snows of Aethiopia, was brought forward by Anaxagoras, who is also followed by Euripides and Aeschylus.[2]

Real cause of the inundation first ascertained by Democritus and Callisthenes, viz. the very heavy rainy season in Aethiopia.

Democritus and Callisthenes[3] seem to have been the first to ascertain the true cause, namely, the extraordinary character of the rainy season of Aethiopia. During the summer, the north winds are perpetually blowing from the Mediterranean towards the hot regions of Central Africa. These currents of air deposit none of their moisture in their passage over the heated and level soil of Aegypt, and Herodotus himself tells us that no rain falls in this country;[4] but when they reach the lofty mountains of Abyssinia, the cold condenses their vapours into heavy torrents of rain, and the immense mass of waters drains off the western side of the Abyssinian highlands, and is thus poured into the channel of the Nile. In the last days of June, or the beginning of July, the rise begins to be visible in Aegypt. About the middle of August it reaches half its extra height, and from the 20th to the 30th of September it attains its maximum. It then remains stationary for fourteen days; sinks about the 10th of November to the same height as it was in the middle of August, and continues to decrease slowly till the 20th of May in the following year, when it reaches its minimum. The height to which it rises at Cairo is from between

Period of the inundation.

[1] Osburn, *Ancient Egypt*, chap. i.
[2] Athenaeus, Epit. ii. 88.
[3] Ibid. ii. 89.
[4] ii. 27.

eighteen to twenty-four feet, and this agrees pretty well with the statement of Herodotus, that in his time, fifteen or sixteen cubits was the height of a good Nile.[1]

Singular theory of the philosophers of Memphis as described by Diodorus.

As a further illustration of the various theories afloat in ancient times concerning the overflowing of the Nile and physical geography of the universe, we might notice the opinion of the philosophers of Memphis mentioned by Diodorus.

These philosophers divided the earth into three parts, viz.: 1. The inhabited region, by which, of course, they meant the northern hemisphere. 2. An unknown region, where the seasons were exactly opposite to those in the inhabited region, summer being in one whilst winter was in the other; and by this they plainly understood the southern hemisphere. 3. The hot region between the two, which they described as uninhabitable by reason of the extreme heat, and by which they seem to allude to the equator. Having thus developed this system of the universe, which we can see was to a considerable extent based upon actual truth, they began to draw from it certain hypotheses which are startling from their ingenuity. They said, if the Nile rises

[1] ii. 13. For a further account see Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i. chap. iv. Mr. Kenrick and Heeren, however, both say that Agatharchides of Cnidus, in the second century before Christ, was the first who assigned the true cause for the overflowing of the Nile. This seems to be too sweeping an assertion. Diodorus (i. 41) only says that Agatharchides comes the nearest to the true cause, for he ascribed the inundation to the heavy rains in the mountainous parts of Aethiopia, which fell between the summer solstice and autumnal equinox. It is plain, from Diodorus himself, that Democritus of Abdera, as early as the fifth century, B. C., considered that the Etesian gales carried with them, in their course toward the south, the thick vapours which rose from the melted snow and ice in the cold regions of the north; which vapours were not changed into rain until they reached the mountains of Aethiopia, when they fell in mighty torrents, and poured down the highlands into the channel of the Nile. This theory is substantially correct, though Diodorus thinks otherwise. Again, we learn from Athenaeus (Epit. ii. 89) that Callisthenes, the pupil of Aristotle, declared it to be his opinion that the Nile rose in consequence of the heavy rains which fell in Aethiopia, between the rising of the Dog-star and the rising of Arcturus; which rains were produced by the clouds brought by the Etesian gales coming in contact with the Aethiopian mountains. The true cause of the overflowing of the Nile must therefore have been known even in the time of Herodotus, and some centuries earlier than Agatharchides.

from ours—the inhabited—zone, its streams would overflow in the winter-time in consequence of the wintry storms of rain and snow; but as, on the contrary, it overflows in the summer, it most probably rises in the southern zone, where the winter is contemporaneous with our summer. This theory, they added, would account for the fact that no one had discovered the head-springs of the Nile, being unable to penetrate the uninhabited region of the south; and as the Nile must necessarily flow through the torrid zone between the north and southern regions, the waters of the river are boiled by the sun during their progress, and thus become the sweetest river waters in the world. Diodorus, however, evidently disbelieves this theory himself, though he says that it is difficult to confute it; considering it impossible that the river should flow up the southern declivity of the torrid zone, in order to flow down the northern slope towards the inhabited region.[1]

Sources of the Nile: Herodotus unable to obtain any information concerning them.

The sources of the Nile were another subject which engaged the attention of Herodotus. He made repeated inquiries of Aegyptians, Libyans, and Greeks, but no one pretended to be able to offer him any information whatever concerning the springs of this mysterious river, with the exception of the registrar of the treasury of the temple of Athene at Sais, who indeed professed to know all about them, but was considered by our author to be only trifling with him. This registrar, or rather bursar, said that between the cities of Syene and Elephantine, on the southern frontier of Aegypt, there were two mountains terminating in peaks, named Crophi and

Hoaxing story told by the bursar of the Athene temple at Sais.

[1] Diod. i. 40. I cannot here resist the temptation of pointing out the similarity between the theory of the division of earth, taught according to Diodorus, by the philosophers of Memphis, and the theory taught by the Brahmins of Benares. According to Lieut. Wilford, (*Asiat. Res.* vol. iii.,) the orthodox Hindus divide the globe into two hemispheres, which are both called Meru. The northern, or superior hemisphere, is distinguished by the name of Sumeru, which implies beauty and excellence; the southern, or lower hemisphere, is called Cumeru, which signifies the reverse, and is represented as the dreary habitation of demons, in some parts intensely cold, and in others so hot that the waters are continually boiling.

Mophi. That between these two mountains were the sources of the Nile, unfathomably deep; and that from thence one half of the river flowed northward through Aegypt, and the other half southward through Aethiopia. He also added, that Psammitichus had endeavoured to ascertain the depth of the mountains with a sounding line, many thousand fathoms in length, but could not find a bottom. Herodotus thinks that if the bursar spoke the real truth, his account would simply prove that at this point there were strong whirlpools and an eddy, which prevented a sounding line from reaching the entire depth.[1]

Effects produced by the inundations.

The inundation of the Nile totally changed the whole appearance of Aegypt. Herodotus remarked that when the river was at its height the country

Aegypt like a sea, and her cities like islands.

became a sea, and the cities alone were to be seen above its surface, like the islands of the Aegean.

Navigation carried on across the plain of the Delta.

Navigation was no longer confined to the channel of the Nile, but was carried on across the plain; and voyagers from Naucratis to Memphis, instead of sailing by the apex of the Delta and city of Cercasorus, took the shortest and more direct way by the pyramids; whilst the route across the plain from the sea-port of Canopus to the city of Naucratis, lay

Cities protected by mounds.

by Anthylla and the Archandropolis.[2] The cities were originally raised above the surface of the plain by the same multitude of captives whom Sesostris had forced to dig the canals; and at a subsequent period the Aethiopian king, Sabacon, obliged every Aegyptian criminal to heap up mounds round his own city.[3] Sometimes the inundation of the river

[1] ii. 28. Herodotus evidently thought that the bursar was hoaxing him, and he was well able to judge, for he himself had been up the Nile as far as Elephantine, (ii. 29,) and had seen nothing of the mountains Mophi and Crophi. By our author's remark about the whirlpools and eddy, he may have thought it just possible that the fountains of the river were farther up towards Tachompso, and above the first cataract. Lieut. Wilford suggests (*Asiat. Res.* vol. iii.) that the bursar may have been speaking of Azania, or Azan, when Herodotus supposed he was speaking of Assouan or Syene. The suggestion however is not worth much, for the bursar talked about half the river flowing northward, and the other half southward.

[2] ii. 97. [3] ii. 137.

carried away a portion of one or the other of the square allotments with which Sesostris had divided the country amongst the Aegyptians for the purposes of taxation. When this took place the person whose allotment had been injured reported the circumstance at court, in order that his payment of taxes might be diminished in proportion to the land he had lost.[1]

Seven mouths of the Nile.

Lastly, we come to the mouths of the Nile. This river flowed through Aegypt from the cataracts near Syene and Elephantine, which Herodotus considered to be the southern frontier of the country, northwards, in a single stream as far as Cercasorus at the apex of the Delta, thus dividing Aegypt in the middle. At Cercasorus it separated into three channels. The eastern branch was called the Pelusiac mouth; the western was named the Canopic mouth; whilst the central or direct channel divided the Delta in the middle, and was called the Sebennytic mouth. This last had by no means the least quantity of water, neither was it the least renowned. Two other mouths diverged from it, namely, the Saitic and the Mendesian. The Bolbotine and Bucolic mouths were not natural, but the work of men's hands.[2]

Pelusiac. Canopic. Sebennytic. Saitic. Mendesian. Bolbotine. Bucolic.

Their identification on the modern map.

It is not easy to identify the seven mouths of the Nile upon the modern map, for they have frequently deserted their channels, and the river has entered the Mediterranean at different points. 1. The Canopic mouth probably corresponded to the present outlet from the Lake Etko, or else to that of the Lake Aboukir, but it may at one time have communicated with the sea at both places. 2. The Bolbotine mouth doubtless corresponded to the one at Rosetta. 3. The Sebennytic mouth was probably the opening into the present Lake Bourlos. 4. The Bucolic or Phatnitic mouth may be identified with the one at Damietta, only Herodotus says that the Bucolic mouth was artificial.[3] 5. The Mende-

[1] ii. 109. [2] ii. 17.

[3] From the evidence of Herodotus, we thus learn that the only two

sian mouth is lost in the Lake Menzaleh, but is perhaps represented by that of Debeh. 6. The Saitic or Tanitic mouth seems to have left some traces of its termination eastward of the Lake Menzaleh, under the modern appellation of Om-Faridjé; the branch of the Nile which conveyed its waters to the sea corresponded to the canal of Moez, which now loses itself in the lake. 7. The Pelusiac mouth seems to be represented by what is now the most easterly mouth of Lake Menzaleh, where the ruins of Pelusium are still visible.[1]

Aegypt not distinctly divided by Herodotus.

The divisions of Aegypt are not distinctly pointed out by Herodotus, and he nowhere separates the country into the three usual portions of Lower, Middle, and Upper; and though, in estimating the length of the Nile valley, he marks out the distance from the Mediterranean to Heliopolis, and from thence to Thebes, and again from thence to Elephantine, yet this specification of stations will not justify us in believing that he adopted any such triple division. Lower Aegypt cannot have ceased at Heliopolis, for Herodotus himself tells us, that the Delta reached to Cercasorus; and Middle Aegypt cannot have extended to Thebes, as Chemmis, a town northward of that city, still belonged to the Thebaid. Bobrik retains the usual triple divisions, and places in each the towns that are mentioned by Herodotus. This arrangement may be useful to the general geographer, but does not agree with the character of our author's knowledge of the country.

Supposed by him to have consisted of Lower Aegypt, or the Delta, and of Up-

Herodotus evidently considered Aegypt as being divided into Lower Aegypt, or the Delta, and the country above the Delta, which he calls Upper Aegypt; and in this latter division he doubtlessly included the whole extent of the Nile valley, from

branches of the Nile which exist in the present day, namely, those of Rosetta and Damietta, are artificial, and may be identified with the Bolbotine and Bucolic mouths. This seems to fulfil a remarkable prophecy of Isaiah, (xi. 15,) "That men should go over the Nile dry-shod."

[1] Rennell, *Geog. of Herod.* vol. ii. Mém. sur l'Egypte, vol. i. Mém. sur les Bouches du Nil, par Dubois Aymé. Russell's *Egypt.* Wilkinson's *Mod. Egypt and Thebes,* vol. i. etc.

the apex of the Delta southward to Elephantine. The Delta he had apparently explored in every direction, and he mentions no less than eighteen towns and other localities, as being included in this portion of the Aegyptian territory. On the other hand, he only appears to have visited four cities in all Middle and Upper Aegypt; namely, Memphis, Chemmis, Thebes, and Elephantine; and indeed if it were not for his plainly telling us of his voyage up the Nile to Thebes and Elephantine, we might almost conclude that he never went farther south than Memphis. We can however easily account for this silence. The jealous and haughty character of the Aegyptians of the interior, probably rendered it extremely perilous for a Greek traveller to leave his Nile boat and attempt to make any stay at the towns and villages on the banks; at the same time, as our author carefully abstains from introducing any personal adventures in any other part of his history, we readily understand why no account of the political or social state of the inhabitants of these regions should have been handed down for the instruction and amusement of posterity. Accordingly we shall develope our author's topographical description of Aegypt under two distinct headings, each of which will form a separate chapter, viz. 1. Lower Aegypt, or the Delta. 2. Upper Aegypt, including Heptanomis and Thebais.

per Aegypt, or Heptanomis and Thebais.

CHAPTER III.

LOWER AEGYPT, OR THE DELTA.

General description of the Aegyptian Delta.—Aegyptian architecture, its religious character contrasted with the aesthetic character of the architecture of Greece.—Plan of an Aegyptian temple.—Approached by an avenue lined with sphinxes.—Colossi and obelisks before the grand entrance, which consisted of a lofty gateway between two oblong pyramidal moles.—Interior, consisting of an open court, a portico, an hypostile hall, and a holy recess.—Frequent multiplication of the entrances, courts, porticoes, and halls, both in front and on each side of the holy recess.—Names and description of the several parts.—The sacred enclosure or ieron.—The avenue or dromos.—The entrance or propylaea, consisting of a gateway or pylon between two oblong flat-topped pyramids or ptera.—The open court behind the propylaea surrounded by colonnades.—The portico or pronaos supported by columns.—The second pronaos or hypostile hall.—The proper temple or naos, including the holy recess or sekos, and the side adyta.—Chambers, galleries, and passages, for the use of the priests.—Topography of the Delta.—Bubastis.—Magnificent temple of Bubastis or Artemis.—Entirely surrounded by water, excepting at the entrance.—Conspicuous site.—The enclosure or temenus, (ieron,) a square of 600 feet each way, surrounded by a sculptured wall.—Propylaea (ptera) 60 feet high, and adorned with sculptures 9 feet high.—Grove of trees planted round the naos.—Paved avenue or dromos $\frac{3}{8}$ of a mile long, and 400 feet broad.—Ancient settlements of the Ionians and Carians.—Modern site of Bubastis indicated by the mounds of Tel Basta.—Busiris.—Temple of Isis.—Sais.—Palace of Apries.—Temple of Athene.—Splendid propylaea built by Amasis.—Colossi, obelisks, and androsphinxes.—Huge rock chamber, or monolith.—Tombs of the Saïte kings, Apries, Amasis, etc.—Tomb of Osiris.—Circular lake.—Modern site of Sais identified with that of Ssa.—Heliopolis.—Temple of Helios with two obelisks 250 feet high and 12 feet broad, dedicated by Pheron.—Papremis.—Temple of Ares.—Buto.—Temple of Apollo and Artemis.—Temple and oracle of Leto.—Floating island of Chemmis with temple of Apollo.—Naucratis.—Anciently the only Aegyptian port for Greek ships.—The Hellenium sanctuary.—Sanctuaries built by the Aeginetans, Samians, and Milesians.—Anthylla, given to the wife of the Persian satrap.—Archandropolis.—Marea.—Apis.—Momemphis.—Pelusium.—Daphnae.—Magdolus.—Buto.—Taricheia of Pelusium.—Tower of Perseus.—Temple of Heracles at Taricheia.—Lake Serbonis.—Mount Casius.—Marshes of the Delta.—Island of Elbo.—Present state of the Delta marshes.—Great canal from Bubastis to Suez, commenced by Neco, and finished by Darius.—Survey of the course of the canal.—Division of the route into four sections.—1. Line from Suez to the Bitter

Lakes.—2. Basin of the Bitter Lakes.—3. Elbow round through the Wady of Tomlat.—4. Channel from the Wady of Tomlat to Bubastis.—Immense number of canals dug by Sesostris.—Nomes of Lower Aegypt.

General description of the Aegyptian Delta.

LOWER AEGYPT, or the DELTA, is a triangular tract whose soil consists of the mud of the Nile resting upon the desert sand. Its breadth along the Mediterranean coast is now about eighty-five miles, and its length from the Mediterranean to the fork of the Nile is about ninety miles. It is thus shaped like a huge fan, whose green centre from the handle to the broad end is represented by fertile meadows, plantations, and orchards; and whose semicircular border is formed by successive bands of marsh, sand-hills, and beach, beyond which is the blue expanse of the Mediterranean. In the time of Herodotus this region was covered with beautiful cities, and adorned with magnificent temples, obelisks, and colossal statues. But now the scene is changed. Many of the temples have furnished materials for the building of modern towns; obelisks and colossi are buried beneath earth and rubbish; whilst smaller works of art have been broken up or carried away by the successive pillagers of the country. Monuments of Aegyptian art have adorned the cities of Rome and Constantinople; and other European capitals besides our own are enriched with the spoils of this ancient land.

Aegyptian architecture, its religious character contrasted with the aesthetic character of the architecture of Greece.

Before we commence our topographical description, it will be necessary to pay an imaginary visit to an Aegyptian temple, survey its different parts, and form a general idea of its plan and arrangements. At first we are struck with the marked difference between the architecture of Aegypt and that of Hellas, which may be regarded as its offspring. The traveller who visits the sanctuaries of Greece, is filled with admiration at the beauty, the harmony, and the grace of those exquisite creations of refined and thoughtful intellect; but he who penetrates the gigantic masses which compose an Aegyptian temple, is impressed with the deepest awe and reverence; he sees, not the elegance and

loveliness of classic art, but the solemn approaches to the inner dwelling-place of mysterious deity. The pyramid seems to be the type of the whole building. The walls and gateways are perpendicular on the inside, but on the outside they slope upwards, as if towards a common centre which they never reach. The entire structure thus appears self-reposing and immoveable. In ancient times it was approached by a long paved avenue, lined on each side with colossal sphinxes—mysterious compounds of the human form with that of a lion or of a ram, thus denoting the union of intellect and strength in the attributes of deity. At the termination of the avenue, and in front of the vast entrance, stood colossal figures in attitudes of profound repose, or obelisks of granite placed in pairs. The entrance itself consisted of a lofty gateway between two huge wings or oblong pyramidal moles, flat at the top, and of immense breadth, height, and thickness, and covered with sculptures. Within these wings probably dwelt the porters or priests. Over the gateway in the centre was the emblem of the Good Genius, Agathodaemon, consisting of a Sun supported by two asps with outspread vulture's wings. Passing through the gateway the worshipper entered a spacious court, open to the sky and surrounded by colonnades. On the opposite side of this court was the portico, supported by columns, and leading to a covered court or hall, also supported by pillars. Beyond this hall was the proper temple or holy recess, in which appeared the image of the deity or the sacred animal which formed his emblem.

Plan of an Aegyptian temple.

Approached by an avenue lined with sphinxes.

Colossi and obelisks before the grand entrance, which consisted of a lofty gateway between two oblong pyramidal moles.

Interior consisting of an open court, a portico, an hypostile hall, and a holy recess.

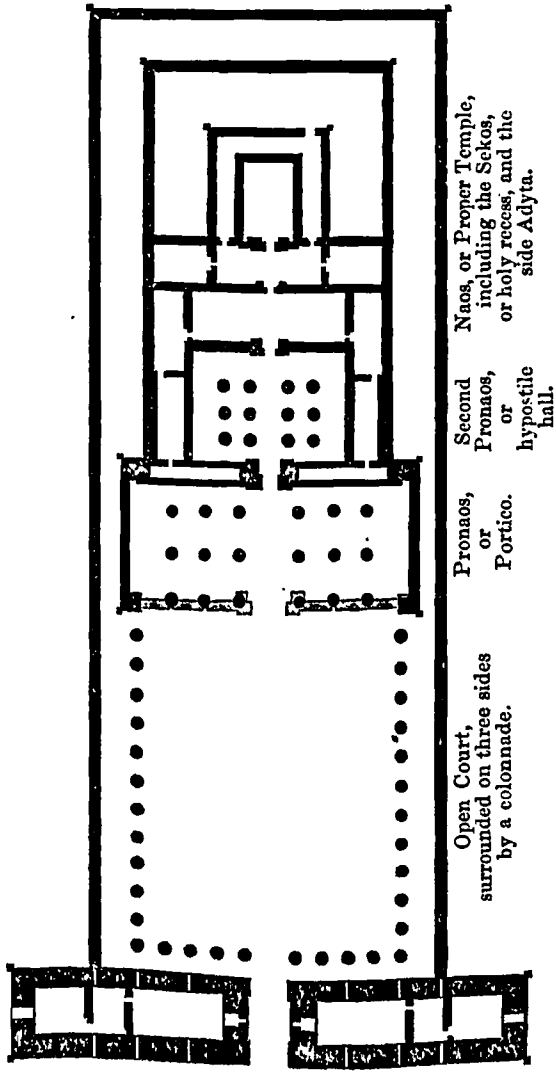
Such was the general arrangement of the Aegyptian temple—an avenue of sphinxes, a lofty gateway with pyramidal wings, an open court surrounded by colonnades, a portico, a covered hall supported by columns, and lastly, the holy recess. It will however readily be seen, that the vast entrances and exterior courts and halls might be multiplied to an indefinite extent, and not only in front of the sacred recess, but on each of its sides. The holy recess

Frequent multiplication of the entrances, courts, porticoes, and halls, both in front and on each side of the holy recess.

itself was frequently separated into three or four saloons, which were probably intended for processions; and only the last saloon, consisting of a monolith of granite or porphyry, contained the sacred animal, or statue of the deity. Again, on both sides of the saloons as well as behind them were corridors leading into chambers and apartments for the use of the priests; and these were all carefully protected by outer walls from the gaze of the vulgar crowd.

Names and description of the several parts.

We must now mention the names of the several parts of the Aegyptian temple, and enter into a


Naos, or Proper Temple, including the Sekos, or holy recess, and the side Adyta.
Second Pronaos, or hypostile hall.
Pronaos, or Portico.
Open Court, surrounded on three sides by a colonnade.

Propylaea.

more detailed description, which will be best understood by a reference to the accompanying ground-plan. The sacred enclosure, which we may call the temenus, or ieron, was generally a square surrounded by a wall, and it was within this square that the temple was most frequently situated. From a gateway in the wall a broad avenue of sphinxes, called a dromos, led to the great entrance of the temple, but we have not room to represent the outer wall of the temenus, or the dromos, upon our present plan.

The sacred enclosure, or ieron.

The avenue, or dromos.

The entrance including the wings was called the propylaea; the gateway being called the pylon, whilst the wings or pyramidal moles were named the ptera.[1] The open court with the colonnades was sometimes considered as belonging to the propylaeum. In our ground-plan, which is that of the temple of Edfou, there are sixteen columns, and the space between the tops of these columns and the walls are roofed over, and thus is formed the colonnade. This court seems to have been intended for the congregation of the people, in order that they might see the holy processions and ceremonies at a certain distance. Beyond the court was the portico, which was called the pronaos, and was supported by three or four rows of immense columns. In our ground-plan there are three rows of six columns each, making eighteen in all; the intercolumniation between the central ones being the greatest, and forming the doorway. The intercolumniations of the front pillars were built up to more than half the height. To this great pronaos a second pronaos, or hypostile hall, generally succeeded, as in our ground-plan. The roof of this hall, in the temple of Edfou, is flat, and formed by large beams of stone resting on the pillars, and covered with thick flat slabs. Light was obtained through small apertures in the roof. All beyond the pronaos was called the

The entrance, or propylaea, consisting of a gateway, or pylon, between two oblong flat-topped pyramids, or ptera. The open court behind the propylaea surrounded by colonnades.

The portico, or pronaos, supported by columns.

The second pronaos, or hypostile hall, with stone roof, also supported by columns.

The proper temple, or

[1] Strabo, p. 805, Casaub. There is however some uncertainty, as Strabo has apparently confounded the ptera of the propylaea with the pronaos. Herodotus sometimes refers to the propylaea, and sometimes only to the ptera under the name of propylaea.

naos, or the proper temple, and included the holy recess, which was called the sekos,[1] cella, or adytum, in which the image or emblem of the deity, was placed, together with the side adyta. By referring to the ground-plan it will be seen that on leaving the hypostile hall there is a long and narrow chamber, from which are two small entrances to the side-galleries, which are again connected with two long but smaller chambers between the hall and the pronaos. Passing another doorway we enter another chamber, with an apartment on each side of it, probably for the use of the priests. In this last-mentioned chamber there is a central doorway, leading to the holy recess, or sekos; and two other doorways also communicate with the two ends of a gallery which runs round the sekos. A doorway in the gallery behind the sekos enabled the priests to walk into a large, but perfectly retired place, all round the sanctuary; and a flight of steps also permitted them to ascend to the roof and enjoy the freshness of the open air. The reader will thus bear in mind that the temple properly consisted of a dromos, a propylaea, including a pylon between two ptera,[2] a court with colonnades, a pronaos, a second pronaos or hypostile hall, and the naos, including the sekos or adytum, and the side adyta; and that numerous other chambers, galleries, and passages for the use of the priests, were apparently included in the sacred walls, whilst an outer wall connected with the propylaea embraced the whole.

naos, including the holy recess, or sekos, and the side adyta.

Chambers, galleries, and passages, for the use of the priests.

We now proceed to visit the cities and temples of the Aegyptian Delta, which are mentioned by Herodotus. The city of Bubastis is the first we shall notice. Our author tells us that it contained a beautiful temple of the goddess Bubastis, the Artemis of the Greeks; and though many temples might have been larger or more costly, yet none were

Topography of the Delta.

Bubastis.

Magnificent temple of Bubastis, or Artemis.

[1] In Greek temples where oracles were given, or where the worship was connected with the mysteries, the cella was called the adytum.

[2] The two ptera, or wings, are however called propylaea by Herodotus.

so pleasant to behold. Its site was an island, excepting at the entrance; for two canals branched off from the Nile and flowed round it as far as the entrance, one on the one side, and one on the other, without coming in contact.[1] Each canal was 100 feet wide, and the banks were lined with trees. The temple was situated in the centre of the city, and could be looked down upon from every quarter; for its site had remained, whilst that of the city had been mounded up to a greater height than at any other place throughout Aegypt.[2] The sacred enclosure (or temenus, as it is usually called, but which Herodotus here names ieron) was an exact square, each side measuring one stadia;[3] and it was surrounded by a wall adorned with sculptured figures. The propylaea (or oblong pyramidal moles on each side of the pylon or gateway) were ten orgyae or sixty feet high, and carved with sculptured figures six cubits or nine feet high. Within the wall of the square enclosure a grove of trees was planted round the naos, which included the holy recess, or sekos, containing the image of the goddess. A paved road or dromos,[4] three stadia long and four plethra broad,[5] led from the propylaea eastward across the public market to the temple of Hermes,[6] and was lined on each side by very lofty trees.[7]

Entirely surrounded by water, excepting at the entrance.

Conspicuous site.

The enclosure, or temenus, a square of 600 feet each way, surrounded by a sculptured wall.

Propylaea (ptera) 60 feet high, and adorned with sculptures 9 feet high.

Grove of trees planted round the naos.

Paved avenue, or dromos, three-eighths of a mile long and 400 feet broad.

[1] Thus the temple was surrounded by water excepting at the entrance; the Nile being at its back, and a canal on each side.

[2] Criminals, instead of being punished by death, were compelled to heap up mounds against the city to which they belonged (ii. 137). The superior height of the mounds of Bubastis, therefore, casts a decided slur upon the character of its inhabitants; and yet we are told that the festival of the titular goddess was more rigidly observed at Bubastis than that of any other deity in any part of Aegypt (ii. 59). This does not reflect much credit upon the Aegyptian religion, and indeed we find (ii. 60) that drunkenness and indecency were considered to especially belong to this rigidly observed festival. See further on, at chap. v.

[3] i. e. about 600 feet.

[4] Herodotus simply calls it ὁδὸς.

[5] i. e. three-eighths of a mile long, and 400 feet broad.

[6] Bubastis was the Aegyptian Pasht, the cat-headed goddess, of whom there are several figures in the British Museum. Bubastis is evidently Pi-bast, or Pi-pasht, Pi being merely the Aegyptian article prefixed. Hermes was the Aegyptian Thoth, the ibis-headed god of letters. The Aegyptian mythology is developed and explained in chap. v., to which the reader is referred for a further account of these deities.

[7] ii. 137, 138. I have somewhat transposed the description of Herodotus in order to make it more intelligible to the general reader.

A little below the city of Bubastis, and on both sides of the Pelusiac mouth, were situated some lands called Stratopeda, which were given by Psammitichus to the Ionians and Carians, who assisted him in obtaining the kingdom. Amasis subsequently removed the descendants of these settlers to Memphis, where he formed them into a body-guard for himself against the Aegyptians; and Herodotus himself saw their docks and ruined buildings which still remained at the time he visited the place.[1]

Ancient settlement of the Ionians and Carians.

The site of Bubastis is distinctly indicated by the lofty mounds of Tel Basta, which fully confirm our author's accounts of the great elevation of the ancient city, and the position of the temple of Bubastis. The temple is entirely destroyed, but the stones that remain are of the finest red granite. The plan however might possibly be obtained by a little examination, but granite makes capital millstones, and much of it has undoubtedly been carried away by the Arabs. The total length of the temple appears to have been about 500 feet, but its breadth is no longer traceable. The sacred enclosure immediately around it, was, as Herodotus tells us, about 600 feet square; and the outer circuit, including the canals, measured, according to Sir J. G. Wilkinson, 940 feet by 1200, the breadth exceeding the length. The street leading from the temple of Bubastis to that of Hermes has also been identified by Wilkinson, and found to measure 2250 feet in length, that is, from the circuit of one temple to that of the other. This exceeds the three stadia of Herodotus, which would only amount to 1818 feet. On the way is the market-place, or public square, mentioned by Herodotus. It is about 900 feet from the temple of Bubastis, and is now about 200 feet broad, though, if we make due allowance for the fallen houses with which it is encumbered, we may suppose its original size to have been much greater. The temple of Hermes is in a still more ruinous state, and a few blocks of red granite alone mark its site.[2]

Modern site of Bubastis indicated by the mounds of Tel Basta

[1] ii. 154.

[2] Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, vol. i.

Busiris was situated in the centre of the Delta, and the largest temple in honour of Isis was erected in this city.[1]

Busiris. Temple of Isis.

Sais contained the splendid and magnificent palace of Apries,[2] and also a large temple of Athene,[3] the Aegyptian Neith, of which Herodotus has furnished us with some interesting particulars. The beautiful propylaea were built by Amasis, and far surpassed all others in height and breadth, as well as in the massive dimensions and fine quality of the stones. Amasis also dedicated colossal statues to be erected in front of the propylaea, and huge men-sphinxes for the dromos or avenue leading to the great entrance.[4] Herodotus himself saw one of these colossal statues, which was 75 feet long; it had been overturned, and was at that time lying on its back.[5] Amasis likewise procured huge stones for repairs. Some of inferior quality were quarried in the Libyan mountains, near Memphis, close by the site of the pyramids. Others of the largest size, and composed of red granite, he brought from Elephantine, which was about 20 days' journey from Sais. One work however attracted the admiration of Herodotus more than all the others. This was a monolith, or chamber hewn out of a single stone. Two thousand pilots[6] were occupied for three years in conveying this stupendous rock-chamber from Elephantine. Outside it was twenty-one cubits long, fourteen broad, and eight high. Inside it was eighteen cubits and twenty digits long, twelve cubits wide, and five cubits high.[7] It was placed near the pylon, or gateway, of the sacred enclosure, for

Sais. Palace of Apries. Temple of Athene. Splendid propylaea built by Amasis.

Colossi, obelisks, and androsphinxes.

Huge rock-chamber, or monolith.

[1] ii. 59. For a further account of Isis, called Demeter by the Greeks, see chap. v.

[2] ii. 163. [3] ii. 59. [4] ii. 175. [5] ii. 176.

[6] The Aegyptian caste of river navigators were called pilots, because the pilot or steersman was the captain or principal man of the vessel. See further on, at chap. vi.

[7] This monolith was evidently intended to form the sekos, or adytum, for the reception of the statue or emblem of Neith, the deity to whom the temple was erected. On the outside it was 31½ feet in length, 20 feet in breadth, and 12 feet in height; inside it was 27 feet in length, 18 feet in breadth, and 7½ feet in height.

Amasis would not, from a religious scruple, have it brought within the temenus, because, as some said, the architect heaved a deep sigh from weariness, whilst it was being drawn along. Others however said that it remained outside, because it crushed one of the men who were employed at the levers.[1] All the kings who had sprung from the Saïte nome were buried in the sacred enclosure or temenus. The tombs of Apries and his progenitors were very near the temple, and on the left hand after passing the gateway. The tomb of Amasis was farther off, but still within the wall of the temenus. It consisted of a large stone chamber, decorated with columns shaped like palm trees, and other ornaments. Inside the chamber were folding doors, leading to the sepulchre.[2] The tomb of Osiris was within the same enclosure, but behind the naos and extending along the entire wall of the temenus. Large stone obelisks also stood in the temenus, and near them was a circular lake ornamented with a stone margin or facing, about the same size as the circular lake in Delos;[3] and at night, under the name of mysteries, the Aegyptians performed on it a representation of the adventures of that person, (Osiris,) respecting whom Herodotus must observe a discreet silence, though accurately acquainted with the particulars.[4]

Tombs of the Saïte kings, Apries, Amasis, etc.

Tomb of Osiris.

Circular lake.

The site of Sais is sufficiently indicated by some lofty mounds, a little to the north of the village of Sa-el-Hagar, or Sa of the stone; and the remains of the temple of Athene and the circular lake may still be identified. A large enclosure, measuring 2325 feet by 1960, is surrounded by massive walls 70 feet thick, constructed of crude bricks, bound together by layers of reeds. The north side of it is occupied by the lake mentioned by Herodotus; but as this lake is no longer circular, but long and irregular, we may presume that it has, since the time of our author, encroached upon the temenus, which was situated more to the west. Parts of the wall, on

Modern site of Sais identified with that of Sa.

[1] ii. 175. [2] ii. 169. [3] ii. 170.
[4] ii. 171. See further on, chap. v., on Mythology of AEGYPT.

two sides of the temenus, may still be traced, by which we see that it was about 720 feet in breadth.[1]

Heliopolis. Temple of Helios with two obelisks 150 feet high, and 12 feet broad, dedicated by Pheron.

Heliopolis contained a temple of Helios or the Sun,[2] the Aegyptian Ra.[3] Here king Pheron, the son of Sesostris, out of gratitude for his restoration from blindness, dedicated to Helios two obelisks, each of which were one hundred cubits in height, and eight cubits in breadth, and consisted of a single stone.[4] The Heliopolitans were more learned in history than all other Aegyptians;[5] though Herodotus says that the inhabitants of the Aegyptian corn-lands generally were better acquainted with past events than any other class of men with whom he ever came in contact.[6]

Papremis. Temple of Ares.

Papremis contained a sanctuary of Ares. The nome of Papremis was the only one where the hippopotamus was regarded as sacred.[7]

Buto. Temple of Apollo and Artemis. Temple and oracle of Leto.

The large city of Buto was situated on the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile at some little distance from the sea. It contained a temple of Apollo and Artemis,[8] and another of Leto. The temple of Leto was very spacious, and contained the oracle. The propylaea were ten orgyae, or 60 feet, in height, but the most wonderful thing within the temenus was a naos, or proper temple of the goddess, having all its sides hewn out of a single stone, and forming a perfect cube, each side measuring 40 cubits, or 60 feet.[9] Another block was laid on the top to form the roof, and this had a cornice,[10] four cubits deep.[11] The next most wonderful thing that Herodotus saw at Buto

Floating island of Chemmis,

[1] Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, vol. i. [2] ii. 59.
[3] See chap. 5. Heliopolis was the On of Scripture, Gen. xli. 45.
[4] ii. 111. [5] ii. 3. [6] ii. 77. [7] ii. 71.
[8] Apollo and Artemis were Horus and Bubastis, or Pasht, the son and daughter of Osiris and Isis. See chap. v.
[9] It is uncertain whether Herodotus means the naos, or proper temple, here described, was hewn out of a single rock, or whether each side was formed of one stone, and was thus covered with the enormous slab which overhung each side by four cubits, or six feet. As far as the mechanical difficulty is concerned it is almost as easy to fancy it one thing as the other.
[10] Letronne observes, that in the Aegyptian architecture the cornice generally occupies a ninth of the whole height of the edifice. In this naos, or proper temple, of Leto it would seem to occupy a tenth.
[11] ii. 155.

was the island called Chemmis, which was situated in a deep and broad lake near the sanctuary. The Aegyptians said it was a floating island, but Herodotus did not see it either float or move, and was much astonished at the information. Upon it stood a large temple of Apollo, or Horus, in which their altars were erected; and a great number of palm and other trees, some producing fruit and others not, also grew upon the island. Here Leto was said to have concealed Apollo from Typhon, and from this circumstance the island was made to float.[1]

with temple of Apollo.

On the Canopic branch of the Nile was the city of Naucratis, which in ancient times was the only haven in Aegypt where the Greek merchants were permitted to trade. If a man entered any other mouth of the Nile he was obliged to swear that he had been driven there against his will, and then to try in the same ship to reach the Canopic mouth. If contrary winds prevented his effecting his purpose, he was forced to unload his goods and carry them in barges round the Delta, and thus to reach Naucratis.[2] Amasis gave this city as a residence for those Greeks who wished to settle in Aegypt; but to those who only wish to trade with Aegypt by sea, he granted places where they might erect altars and sanctuaries. The largest and most celebrated of these sanctuaries was called the Hellenium, and was erected at the common charge of the following cities: namely, the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae; the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; and the Aeolian city of Mitylene. The Hellenium sanctuary therefore belonged to the inhabitants of the above cities; and they appointed officers to preside over the haven. Especial sanctuaries were also built by the Aeginetans to Zeus, by the Samians to Hera, and by the Milesians to Apollo.[3] Previously, Psammitichus had given to the Ionians and Carians the districts called Stratopeda, which we have already mentioned.[4]

Naucratis, anciently the only Aegyptian port for Greek ships.

The Hellenium sanctuary.

Sanctuaries built by the Aeginetans, Samians, and Milesians.

[1] ii. 156. [2] ii. 179. [3] ii. 178. [4] ii. 154, see page 373.

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Sailing from Naucratis across the plain to the sea-coast and Canopus, a vessel would pass the towns of Anthylla and Archandropolis.[1] Of these Anthylla was a city of importance, and, after the Persian conquest, was assigned to the wife of each succeeding satrap of Aegypt, ἐς ὑποδήματα, as pin-money. Archandropolis appeared to Herodotus to derive its name from Archander, the son-in-law of Danaus.[2] The town of Marea, which was garrisoned against the Libyans in the reign of Psammitichus, and also after the Persian conquest,[3] together with the town of Apis, were both situated on the Libyan borders.[4] Momemphis is barely mentioned.[5] Pelusium, and the place called Daphnae, were garrisoned by Psammitichus, and subsequently by the Persians, against the Arabians and Syrians.[6] Magdolus,[7] or Migdol, was the place where Neco defeated the Syrians of Palestine.[8] Buto, a second city of that name, evidently differs from the former, or Herodotus would not notice it as being situated very near to a place in Arabia.[9]

Anthylla, given to the wife of the Persian satrap.
Archandropolis.
Marea.
Apis.
Momemphis.
Pelusium.
Daphnae.
Magdolus.

Herodotus also mentions the Taricheia of Pelusium, and the Tower of Perseus, as being situated forty schoeni distant from each other, and each, according to the Ionians, forming the extremities of the coast line of the proper Delta.[10] At Taricheia, upon the Canopic mouth, was a temple of Heracles, which was still standing in the time of Herodotus; and if a slave took refuge there and devoted himself to the god, by having the sacred signs impressed upon his body, no one could seize him.[11] Lake Serbonis and Mount Casius lay 1000 stadia distant from the Arabian Gulf.[12]

Taricheia of Pelusium.
Tower of Perseus.
Temple of Heracles at Taricheia.
Lake Serbonis.
Mount Casius.

In the swamps of the Delta the blind King Anysis sought refuge from Sabaco the Ethiopian.[13] Here

Marshes of the Delta.

[1] ii. 97. [2] ii. 98. [3] ii. 30. [4] ii. 18.
[5] ii. 163. [6] ii. 30. [7] ii. 159.
[8] Herodotus has here confused Megiddo, the plain at the foot of Mount Carmel, where Josiah was defeated and slain by Neco, with Magdolus, or Migdol, in Lower Aegypt, twelve miles east of Pelusium.
[9] ii. 75. [10] ii. 15. [11] ii. 113.
[12] ii. 6, 158. Lake Serbonis is now completely choked up with sand.
[13] ii. 137.

he lived fifty years, and as the Aegyptians secretly carried him provisions he requested them also to bring him presents of ashes. By these means he at length formed the island called Elbo of ashes and earth, about ten stadia square; and for 700 years no succeeding king was enabled to find out this island, but at the expiration of that time it was discovered by Amyrtaeus.[1]

Island of Elbo.

The marshes of the Delta still exist a little to the south of a ridge of sand banks which form the northern limits of the Delta. Perhaps the swamps alluded to by Herodotus refer more immediately to the coast between Rosetta and Damietta. This portion of the shore consists for about eight or ten miles inland, of desert and marshy sand, and more than half its breadth is filled by the Lake Bourlos, which is about twenty miles in length, and six in breadth. The lake is shallow, and separated from the sea by a narrow ridge, penetrated only in one point by a channel, which seems to be that of the ancient Sebennytic branch. In the present day it is inhabited by a race of bold and rude fishermen, who hold themselves nearly independent of the national authorities.

Present state of the Delta marshes.

The great canal leading from the Nile to the Erythraean Sea was began by the Aegyptian king, Neco, but subsequently completed by Darius. It was a four days' voyage in length, and sufficiently wide to permit two triremes to sail abreast. It left the Nile a little above Bubastis, and, passing near the Arabian city of Patumos, at last reached the Erythraean Sea, or Arabian Gulf. Operations were first commenced in the plain which lay towards Arabia, along the southern base of the mountain which stretches towards Memphis, and contains the stone quarries. Accordingly the canal left the Nile in an easterly direction, and having stretched through the defile of the Arabian mountains, elbowed round towards the south, and thus reached the Arabian Gulf. The shortest and most direct passage from

Great canal from Bubastis to Suez; commenced by Neco and finished by Darius.

[1] ii. 140.

the northern or Mediterranean Sea, to the southern or Arabian Gulf, would however have been at Mount Casius, where the two seas are only 1000 stadia apart, for the canal is more winding and therefore very much longer. Neco stopped further operations after 120,000 Aegyptians had perished at the work, because an oracle assured him that he was only labouring for the Barbarian.[1]

Survey of the course of the canal.

The precise line of this extraordinary canal was ascertained by the French survey, made in 1799, and fully confirms the truth of Herodotus's description. The length of a canal from the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf, following the most suitable ground, would be 93 miles; that of the ancient excavation from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf was about 92 miles.[2] Herodotus says that it required four days for a vessel to pass through it, an estimate which supposes a day's sail to be 23 miles; and as we have already seen that he calculates a day's journey, either on land or in a voyage in a vessel with oars, to be about 20 miles, there is a remarkable coincidence between his estimate and the results of the modern survey. Again, he states that the canal was broad enough to admit two triremes to move abreast, whilst Pliny calculates its width at 100 feet, and Strabo at 100 cubits, or 150 feet; and all three authors may be correct, because the breadth must have varied with the nature of the ground, and, as the vestiges still show, did actually vary from 100 to 200 feet or upwards.[3]

Division of the route into four sections.

We shall now endeavour, by the assistance of the French survey, to point out the exact course taken by the canal. It commenced, as Herodotus states, in the neighbourhood of Bubastis, on the Pelusiac or eastern branch of the Nile, and finally conducted the waters of the river to Arsinoë, at the

[1] ii. 158.

[2] The *direct* distance from the northern extremity of the Arabian Gulf to the nearest part of the Mediterranean is about 75 miles, and to the site of the ancient Bubastis, on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, is about the same.

[3] Russell's *Egypt.* Comp. also Edin. Phil. Journal, No. xxvi.

head of the western arm of the Arabian Gulf, now called the Gulf of Suez. It comprehends four distinct sections. The first section begins about a mile and a half to the north of the town of Suez, and extends across the low, sandy isthmus, in a northerly direction, for about thirteen miles and a half to the Bitter Lakes. Throughout nearly the whole of this route, the vestiges of the canal can be distinctly traced. The remains of the banks on either side are from twelve to twenty-four feet in height; and the space between them, or width of the watercourse, is generally about 150 feet. The second section consists of the basin of the Bitter Lakes, twenty-seven miles long, and from five to seven miles broad, running in a north-westerly direction. Here no cutting or embankment would be required, for the bottom of the valley is from twenty-five to sixty feet below the high-water mark at Suez, and about the same distance below the opposite waters of the Mediterranean.[1] At present however the basin contains no water, excepting some pools in the deepest parts; but its boundary is accurately traced on the declivities by lines of gravel, shells, and marine debris, of the same kind, and precisely at the same level, as those found at high-water mark on the beach of the Gulf of Suez. The third section elbows round towards the west, through the Wady of Tomlat, for a distance of nearly forty miles. This valley is from half a mile to two miles in breadth. Its bottom is about thirty feet lower than the level

1. Line from Suez to the Bitter Lakes.

2. Basin of the Bitter Lakes.

3. Elbow round through the Wady of Tomlat.

[1] It was supposed, until very recently, that the waters of the Mediterranean were 30 feet below the level of the Arabian Gulf; but Sir John Stephenson, in surveying the ground for the railroad, discovered that there was scarcely any difference between the level of the two seas, beyond what might be occasioned by the difference in the tides. It is however certain that the Aegyptian engineers supposed the Mediterranean to be lower than the Arabian Gulf. Diodorus (lib. i. c. 3) distinctly informs us that the canal of Neco was left unfinished by Darius, because the latter was told that if he cut through the isthmus all Aegypt would be drowned, for the Arabian Gulf lay higher than Aegypt. Pliny also (lib. xvi. c. 29) tells us that the canal stretched only from the Nile to the Bitter Lakes; as its extension southward would have endangered Aegypt, whose soil was calculated to be three cubits below the level of the Arabian Gulf.

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of the surrounding desert, and nearly as much below the tide of the Red Sea. The waters of the Nile are shut out by transverse dykes. The canal runs along the northern side, where the surface of the ground is some feet higher than the rest of the valley, so that the water collected in it can be conveniently used for irrigation.[1] The canal in the western half of the valley is very entire, but in the eastern half all traces of the work, excepting at particular spots, have been obliterated by the accumulating drift-sands of the desert. The fourth section extended from the western entrance of the valley to Bubastis on the Nile, a distance of about twelve miles. Here we lose the traces of the channel, as the country is all under cultivation, and regularly covered by the annual inundations of the Nile; but some of the aqueducts which traverse it, and which are now used solely for the purposes of agriculture, are believed to be the remains of the ancient canal. The four sections may be summed up as follows:

4. Channel from the Wady of Tomlat to Bubastis.

	Miles.
1. Channel from Suez to the Bitter Lakes	13½
2. Basin of the Bitter Lakes	27
3. Basin of the Wady of Tomlat	40
4. Channel from the Wady of Tomlat to Bubastis	12
Total	92½

Immense number of canals dug by Sesostris.

Besides the canal of Neco, Herodotus mentions that Aegypt was traversed by a countless number of small canals. These were dug in ancient times by Sesostris, who employed, for the purpose, the multitude of captives whom he had carried away from the countries he had subdued. Previously Aegypt had been a level plain, and the inhabitants of the inland towns had been obliged to drink a brackish

[1] The valley called the Wady of Tomlat, was formerly much broader than it is at present; for the moveable sands of the desert, which on the southern side form hillocks thirty or forty feet high, are swept into it by the wind, and are thus continually encroaching upon the arable surface. There is good reason for believing that it may be identified with the land of Goshen, the original settlement of the Israelites in Aegypt. Some ruins found at Aboukeshed, are supposed to mark the site of Heroopolis, an ancient town of some importance, and usually identified with the Pithom of the Scriptures.—See *Russell.*

water, which they procured from wells, excepting at such times as the Nile overflowed its banks. These canals therefore, which intersected Aegypt in every direction, obviated this evil, but rendered the country impassable for chariots or horses.[1]

Nomes of Lower Aegypt.

The nomes in Lower Aegypt mentioned by Herodotus are as follows: Busirites, Saites, Papremites, and the island Prosopitis, which was nine schoeni in circumference, and included numerous cities, especially Atarbechis, which contained the temple of Aphrodite, where the bones of all the dead bulls were interred.[2] Also the nomes of Natho,[3] Pharbaethites, Amphthites, Tanites, Mendesius, Sebennytes, Athribites, Thmuites, Onuphites, Anysius, and Mycephorites, which last was situated in an island opposite the city of Bubastis.[4] The nome of Thebes is also mentioned, which was evidently different from the nome of the same name in Upper Aegypt.[5]

[1] ii. 108. [2] ii. 41. [3] ii. 165. [4] ii. 166.
[5] ii. 4, 91. See Dönniges, p. 66, quoted by Bobrik.

CHAPTER IV.

UPPER AEGYPT.

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AFRICA. CHAP. IV.

UPPER AEGYPT according to Herodotus included, as we have seen, the whole of the Nile valley from the apex of the Delta southwards to Elephantine. This region is usually divided into Middle Aegypt, or Heptanomis, and Upper Aegypt, properly so called, or the Thebais. Our author's account of both Middle and Upper Aegypt will therefore be developed in the present chapter: his topography of the former comprises a description of the city of Memphis, the pyramids of Gizeh, the great Labyrinth, and the Moeris lake; whilst that of Upper Aegypt only consists of a few notices of the cities of Thebes, Chemmis or Panopolis, and Elephantine.

Upper Aegypt of Herodotus included Heptanomis and Thebais.

MEMPHIS was the great city of Middle Aegypt described by Herodotus, and it was here that he obtained his principal information respecting the country.[1] Menes, the first king of Aegypt, built this city at a time when all the Delta was under water, and he obtained a site by the following contrivance. The Nile had previously flowed close by the sandy mountain of Libya on the eastern side. Menes dug a canal elbowing out more in the centre of the valley between the Libyan and Arabian mountains; and then, having dammed up the old channel of the Nile about 100 stadia to the south of the site of Memphis, he conducted the river into the canal. Upon the ground thus recovered Menes built the city of Memphis, and protected it by a mound; and in after-times the banks of the canal, which formed the new channel of the Nile, were carefully secured by the Persians, lest the river should break through and flood the city. Memphis was situated in the

Memphis. Built by Menes on a site recovered from the Nile.

[1] ii. 3.

narrow part of Aegypt where the valley is contracted between the Arabian and Libyan mountains. On the east was the river Nile, and on the north and west Menes excavated a lake which was supplied by the river.

Lake excavated by Menes.

The foregoing description requires a few words of explanation. That Menes excavated an entirely new channel for the great body of water brought down by the Nile, is evidently an exaggeration of the priests of Memphis. The story however is based upon fact. The Nile in reality has two channels. One, which Herodotus calls the ancient channel, and which he describes as flowing close to the Libyan mountains, was the northern part of the Bahr Yusuf, or Canal of Joseph;[1] the other, which he supposed to have been dug by Menes, and which flowed more in the centre of the valley, is the present bed of the river.

Explanation of Herodotus's description of the ancient and modern channels of the Nile.

A brief description of the Canal of Joseph is here necessary. It breaks off from the Nile at Farshout in Upper Aegypt, near the ancient city of Chemmis,[2] and flows in a northerly direction, along the foot of the Libyan chain, and parallel with the Nile, until it finally joins the Bolbotine or Rosetta branch. Its average width is 170 feet. The northern part is evidently an ancient branch of the river, and not an artificial canal; for no mounds of excavated soil are to be seen along its banks like those which accompany the courses of all ancient canals; and the windings of its bed are alone almost sufficient to prove that it was not dug by the hand of man.[3] There is no occasion however for believing that the change in the course of the Nile was effected

Description of the Canal of Joseph.

[1] It is now generally believed by scientific travellers, that the apex of the Delta was much farther to the south in ancient times than in the present.

[2] The Bahr Yusuf is generally said to begin at Devint-el-Sherif, and the southern continuation of it, which extends to Farshout, is called Souhadj. But both the Bahr Yusuf and the Souhadj may be regarded as all one canal.

[3] Memoire sur le Lac Moeris, par Linant de Bellefonds, etc. Alexandrie, 1843. This valuable tract may be found in Mr. Borrer's Journey to Naples and Jerusalem, etc. We shall have especial occasion to refer to it when developing our author's description of Lake Moeris.

by Menes, for it may have been brought about by natural causes; though it certainly was important for a city like Memphis to have such a barrier as the Nile on its eastern side. Aegypt was in no fear of invasion from scattered desert tribes on her west; but the nations beyond her eastern frontier, the Arab, the Syrian, the Mesopotamian, the Persian, and even the savage Scythian, frequently proved formidable and dangerous aggressors.

Site of Memphis identified with that of Mitranieh.

The site of Memphis is identified with that of the modern village of Mitranieh, about ten miles to the south of Cairo; and the district still bears amongst the Copts the traditional name of Mimf. The position of the village accords with the account of Herodotus that Memphis was situated in the narrow part of Aegypt, for it stands in the contracted part of the Nile valley, having the plain of the Delta on the north, and the expansion towards Fayoum on the south, thus commanding the communication between Upper and Lower Aegypt.

Celebrated temple of Hephaestus, or Pthah, built by Menes.

Memphis was especially celebrated for its vast and wonderful temple of Hephaestus,[1] or Pthah. This was originally constructed by Menes, but many of his successors contributed something towards its enlargement and decoration. Moeris built the propylaea facing the north. Sesostris employed the multitude of captives which he had brought from the various countries he had subdued in conveying huge masses of stone to the temple;[2] and he erected in front of the propylaea six colossal statues, namely, himself and his wife, each thirty cubits, or forty-five feet, high, and his four sons, twenty cubits, or thirty feet, high.[3] Rhampsinitus built the propylaea facing the west, and erected two statues before it, each twenty-five cubits high. The one standing to the north, the Aegyptians called Summer, and wor-

Northern propylaea built by Moeris.

Six colossal statues erected before it by Sesostris.

Western propylaea, and two statues of Summer and Winter,

[1] ii. 99. See chap. v. [2] ii. 108.

[3] ii. 110. Sesostris corresponded most nearly with Rameses II. and III., and in the neighbourhood of Mitranieh there still lies a colossal statue of Rameses II. of crystalline limestone, mutilated at the upper and lower extremities, but which, when perfect, must have been nearly forty-three feet in height. Bonomi, quoted by Kenrick.

shipped and honoured; that on the south they called Winter, and treated in quite a contrary manner.[1] Asychis built the eastern propylaca, which was by far the largest and most beautiful; for it was decorated with sculptured figures more than all the others, and exhibited the greatest variety of architecture.[2] Psammitichus erected the southern propylaca,[3] and opposite to it he built a court for Apis. This court was surrounded by a colonnade, supported by colossal statues twelve cubits, or eighteen feet, high, instead of pillars, and covered with sculptured figures. Apis, the supposed manifestation of Osiris in the form of a calf, was entertained in this court whenever he appeared in Aegypt.[4] A colossus, seventy-five feet high, was dedicated by Amasis, and in the time of Herodotus lay before the temple in a reclining posture. On the same base with it were two statues of Aethiopian stone twenty cubits, or thirty feet, high, standing one on each side of the temple.[5] Finally, there was standing in the time of Herodotus the stone statue of the priest-king Sethon, with a mouse in his hand,[6] and bearing this inscription: "Whosoever looks on me, let him revere the gods!"[7]

erected by Rhampsinitus.

Eastern propylaca built by Asychis.

Southern propylaca, and court for Apis, constructed by Psammitichus.

Colossus 75 feet high dedicated by Amasis.

Stone statue of Sethon with a mouse.

On the south side of this splendid temple of Hephaestus was a sacred enclosure, or temenus, of Proteus, very beautiful and richly decorated. Within this temenus was a temple (ieron) of Aphrodite the stranger, which, according to Herodotus's conjecture, originated in Helen's sojourn in Aegypt, where she lived for some time under the protection

Temenus of Proteus, including the temple (ieron) of Aphrodite the stranger

[1] ii. 121. [2] ii. 136.

[3] It will be seen from the foregoing description, that the temple of Pthah at Memphis presented many points of resemblance to the temple at Karnac, and was an illustration of the multiplication of propylaea and courts already noticed.

[4] ii. 153. [5] ii. 176.

[6] This statue was erected to commemorate the destruction of the Assyrian army of Sennacherib. According to holy writ, the army was destroyed by an angel of Jehovah. Herodotus says that the destruction was occasioned by field-mice, who ate up the bowstrings, quivers, and shield-handles of the invaders. Our author was most probably misled by the sculptured mouse in the hand of the stone image of Sethon, for a mouse is the symbol in Aegyptian hieroglyphics for destruction and slaughter.

[7] ii. 141.

of Proteus; for no other temple was ever dedicated to this foreign Aphrodite. Around the temenus dwelt the Phoenician settlers from Tyre, and the tract was called the Tyrian camp.[1] Amasis also built in Memphis a large and curious temple of Isis.[2]

Phoenician settlement called the Tyrian camp. Temple of Isis.

Memphis was apparently surrounded by walls;[3] a suburb also is mentioned,[4] and the White Fortress, which was garrisoned by the Persians and their allies, who were annually supplied with 120,000 measures of corn by the satrapy of Aegypt and Libya.[5] Twenty stadia from the city lay a temple of Demeter.[6]

Walls. Suburb. White Fortress. Temple of Demeter.

On the route from Memphis to Naucratis were the celebrated pyramids,[7] known in modern times as the PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH. They commence at Gizeh, nearly opposite to Cairo, and about five miles westward of the Nile; and they extend for a considerable distance towards the south. Herodotus describes them as standing upon a hill,[8] about 100 feet high,[9] and we still find them seated on a rocky platform, rising at its highest part about 100 feet above the plain, and forming the first step in the ascent of the Libyan mountains. This rocky range, which thus supports the pyramids, projects from Fayoum along the western border of the Nile valley, rising in height as it advances towards the north-east.

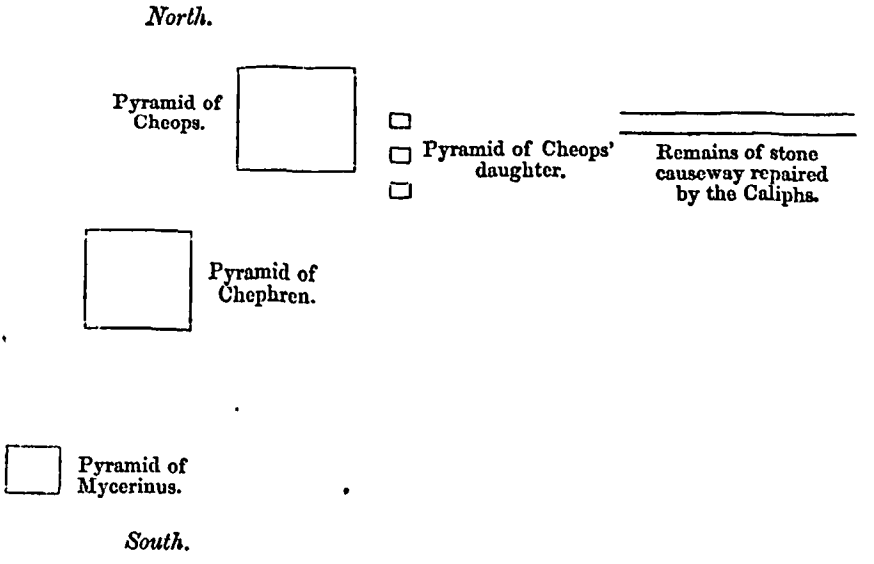
Pyramids described by Herodotus identified with those of Gizeh. General description of their site and relative position.

Six pyramids are mentioned by Herodotus, three large and three small. Of the three large pyramids, the first, or Great Pyramid of Cheops, lies the nearest to the Nile, and the farthest towards the north; the second, or Pyramid of Chephren, is placed about as much more to the west as the breadth of the first; and the third, or Pyramid of Mycerinus, in like manner, retires towards the west by somewhat more than the breadth of the second.[10] The three small pyra-

[1] ii. 112. [2] ii. 176. [3] iii. 13. [4] iii. 14. [5] iii. 91. [6] ii. 122. [7] ii. 97. [8] ii. 124. [9] ii. 127.

[10] A fourth large pyramid is described by Herodotus as having been built of brick by king Asychis, but it is impossible to identify it with

mids, of which the centre one is said to have been built by the daughter of Cheops, lie near the south-eastern angle of the great pyramid. We append a ground-plan of their relative size and situation, reduced from the plan in the great French work.[1]



Recent explorations of Col. Howard Vyse and Mr. Perring.

The pyramids themselves have been recently explored in a more complete manner than before by Colonel Howard Vyse, and we are indebted to his liberality and enterprise, and to the intelligence of his engineer, Mr. Perring, for much valuable information. Accordingly we shall proceed to develope the description of Herodotus, and then explain and illustrate it as far as we are able from the results worked out by Colonel Vyse and Mr. Perring, and the researches of other travellers and antiquarians.

Herodotus's description of the causeway, 3000 feet long, 60 feet wide, and 48 feet high, laid down by Cheops.

The first thing to be noticed is the polished causeway, which was laid down by Cheops upon the same principle as we should now lay down a line of rails. Herodotus tells us that the stones used in the erection of the pyramids, were brought from the quar-

certainty. We shall, however, notice what our author says concerning it further on.

[1] Description de l' Egypte, vol. v. pl. 6.

ries in the Arabian mountain; then carried over the Nile in boats; and at length drawn across a road or causeway to the Libyan mountain, where the pyramids were to be erected. This causeway was constructed of polished stone, carved over with figures of animals. It was five stadia, or 3000 feet, long, ten orgyae, or 60 feet wide, and eight orgyae, or 48 feet, high, in the highest part. Cheops employed the Aegyptians for ten years, in constructing this road and forming subterranean apartments in the hill on which the pyramids were built.[1]

Explanation of the description.

According to the foregoing account, this causeway was 3000 feet long, 60 feet, wide, and in its loftiest part 48 feet high; and it appears to have been an inclined plane, rising from the level below, towards that of the rocky plateau, on which the pyramids were seated. It has been said that Herodotus makes the causeway too low, for the plateau itself is 100 feet above the plain; but he is not speaking of the absolute height of the causeway above the level of the plain, but of the magnitude of the work itself, which in some parts, owing of course to the inequalities of the ground, were, as he tells us, as much as 48 feet high.

Traces of the ancient causeway still existing.

The remains of a causeway still exist, beginning near the Great Pyramid, and running eastward for a considerable distance across the plain, in the direction of the Nile. It can still be traced for 1400 or 1500 feet, but beyond that point has been buried under the alluvial soil left by the Nile, after its yearly inundations. This causeway has been identified with the one described by Herodotus. The polished stones, covered with carved figures of animals, are however no longer to be seen. It has therefore been supposed by others that the ruins now existing are the remains of a causeway constructed by Asadi, the emir of Saladin the Great. Saladin directed Asadi to build the citadel and walls of Cairo, and to quarry his materials at Memphis and the pyramids; and Abdollatiph, a contemporary writer, plainly states

[1] ii. 124.

that the causeway between the pyramids and the Nile was constructed by Asadi.[1] But the present ruins may be remains of both the causeway described by Herodotus and the one mentioned by Abdollatiph. It is very probable that Asadi merely repaired the one laid down by Cheops, and this supposition would fully account for the non-existence of the polished marble, and figures of animals. It is also certain that the size of the blocks of which the present causeway is composed, suits with ancient Aegyptian, rather than with Saracen, workmanship.[2]

The three great pyramids.

We now proceed to Herodotus's account of the three larger pyramids, which we shall describe in regular order, viz. first, that of Cheops; secondly, that of Chephren; and thirdly, that of Mycerinus.

1. The Great Pyramid of Cheops.

1. The Great Pyramid of Cheops was a work of twenty years. Cheops was a tyrannical and profligate sovereign, who barred the avenues to every temple, and forbade the Aegyptians to offer sacrifices to the gods; after which he compelled the people at large to perform the work of slaves. Some he condemned to hew stones out of the Arabian mountains, and drag them to the banks of the Nile; others were stationed to receive the same in vessels, and transport them along the causeway to the edge of the Libyan desert. In this service 100,000 men were employed, who relieved each other every three months.[3]

Herodotus's description. Time and labour employed.

Dimensions.

The pyramid was of a square form, each side measuring eight plethra in length, and as many in breadth.[4] It was composed of polished stones, fitted together with the utmost exactness, and none of

Mode of construction.

[1] Richardson, *Travels along the Mediterranean*, etc., vol. i.

[2] The traces of another causeway have also been discovered on the eastern bank of the Nile, and about nine miles to the south of Cairo. It appears to have served for conveying to the river the blocks which were quarried in the Gebel Mokattam, and which were then carried across the stream in boats, and at last brought along the causeway of Cheops to the scene of operations.

[3] ii. 124.

[4] The measurements will be found reduced to English terms further on.

them were less than thirty feet in dimension.[1] The ascent was regularly graduated by what some called crossae, or steps, and others bomides, or altars. When the workmen had finished the first tier they elevated the stones to the second by the aid of machines, constructed of short pieces of wood; from the second tier the stones were raised by a similar machine to the third; and so on to the summit. Thus there were as many machines as there were courses in the structure of the pyramid; though there might have been only one machine, which, being easily manageable, could be raised from one layer to the next in succession: both modes were mentioned to Herodotus, but he does not know which of them deserves most credit. The summit of the pyramid was first finished and coated, and the process was continued downward till the whole was completed.[2] Subterranean chambers were excavated in the hill on which the pyramid was built, and amongst them was the burial vault containing the body of Cheops. This vault was constructed in a kind of island, being surrounded by an artificial channel of water, conducted thither from the river Nile.[3] Upon the exterior of the pyramid was an inscription, in Aegyptian characters, showing how much had been expended in radishes, onions, and garlic, for the workmen; and the interpreter, who read it to Herodotus, told him that the whole amounted to 1600 talents of silver. If this was really the case, says our author, how much more must have been expended in iron tools, bread, and clothes for the labourers?[4] Cheops indeed was so pressed for money that it was said he raised money by the prostitution of his daughter, whom we shall have further occasion to mention.

Ascent by steps, or altars.

Machines constructed of short pieces of wood.

Summit first completed.

Burial vault of Cheops surrounded by a channel conducted from the Nile.

Inscription declaring the sums expended upon provisions for the workmen.

Comparison of the account of Herodotus with modern investigations.

We must now compare Herodotus's account in detail with the results of modern investigations; and here we shall have especial occasion to remark upon his measurements, and his description of the ma-

[1] ii. 124. [2] ii. 125. [3] ii. 127. [4] ii. 125.

terials employed, the mode of construction, the exterior casing, and the subterranean chambers.

Ancient and modern measurements.

First, as regards the measurement. Herodotus describes the pyramid of Cheops as a square measuring eight plethra, or, according to a rough calculation, 800 English feet, every way, and also eight plethra, or 800 feet, in height. It is exceedingly remarkable that scarcely any travellers agree in their estimate of the magnitude of this or of the other pyramids.[1] The measurements however of Colonel Vyse and Mr. Perring may be regarded as thoroughly trustworthy, and we accordingly append a few of those which refer to the Great Pyramid.

	Feet.	Inches.
Former base	764	0
Present base	746	0
Former height perpendicular by casing-stones	480	9
Present height perpendicular	450	9
Former height inclined	611	0
Present height inclined	568	3

Angle of casing-stones 51° 50′.

It will thus be seen that our author's estimate of the base was very near the mark, but that, with respect to the height, he culculated the slant, or inclined height, from the base to the summit, which Mr. Perring found upon measurement to be 611 feet. Here however, as elsewhere, Herodotus preferred round numbers to exactness, and he doubtless

[1] The difference is so great between the estimates of the several writers as to justify the suspicion that either their standards were different, or that the summit of the Great Pyramid has been considerably lowered in modern times. The following table will exhibit a few of the discrepancies.

	Height of the Great Pyramid.	Length of the side.
ANCIENTS.	Feet.	Feet.
Herodotus	800	800
Strabo	625	600
Diodorus	600	700
Pliny	—	708
MODERNS.		
Le Brun	616	704
Prosper Alpinus	625	750
Thevenot	520	612
Niebuhr	440	710
Greaves	444	648
Davison	461	746
French Savans	440 (470 English)	704

thought it would be less burdensome to the memory of his readers if he calculated the length of every side, and the height, from base to summit, at eight plethra, than if he entered into more minute, though more correct, detail. From Colonel Vyse's measurement this Great Pyramid is calculated to be about 100 feet higher than St. Paul's. Supposing its contents to be entirely solid, they would exceed three millions of cubic yards, and the mass of stone contained in it would be six times as great as that contained in the Plymouth breakwater.[1]

Three kinds of materials employed.

We next come to the materials. Herodotus says that all the stone was brought from the Arabian mountains, or the Gebel Mokattam, on the eastern side of the Nile valley. Mr. Perring discovered that three qualities of stone were employed in the construction of the pyramids. 1. The internal masses were chiefly quarried on the spot, being taken from the Libyan rocks on which the massive structures are erected. These rocks are of a loose and granulated texture, abounding with marine fossils, and consequently unfit for fine work and liable to decay. 2. The stone for the casing of the exterior and for the lining of the chambers and passages, excepting where granite is expressly named, was brought from the Gebel Mokattam, near the Gebel Attaka, on the Arabian side of the Nile valley, as Herodotus distinctly states; and the ancient quarries seem to have been in the neighbourhood of the modern village of Tourah, a little to the south of Cairo.[2] It is a very compact limestone, containing but very few fossil remains, and is called by geologists, swinestone, or stinkstone, because when struck item its a foetid odour. 3. A beautiful red granite was also used for similar purposes to the limestone,

1st, Blocks Quarried from the Libyan rock used for the internal masses.

2nd, Compact limestone from the Arabian mountains used for casing-stones.

3rd, Red granite from the

[1] Comp. Egyptian Antiquities, vol. ii. Lib. of Ent. Knowledge.

[2] The face of the Tourah is not cut away according to the most common mode of quarrying, but excavated in spacious chambers, whose openings resemble those of a line of sepulchral grottoes. Beside the quarry marks of the workmen, there are inscriptions recording the sovereigns under whom the quarries were wrought, and the buildings erected or repaired by them. Perring in Vyse, vol. iii. Kenrick, vol. i.

and was apparently obtained from the granite region between Syene and Philae, being brought down in boats on the river Nile to the polished causeway which led to the Great Pyramid.[1]

cataracts of Syene, also used for lining and casing stones.

The mechanical means adopted in constructing the pyramids cannot be clearly ascertained. Herodotus says, as we have seen, that none of the stones were less than thirty feet long, and that they were raised to their respective places on the several tiers by machines constructed of short peices of wood.[2] The first statement, respecting the size of the stones, is incorrect, and may have been a mere exaggeration on the part of his priestly informants; for the exterior coating, which we shall presently describe, prevented his ascertaining the real truth. The loss of the casing, which was stript off at a subsequent period, shows us that from 5 feet to 12 is the common size of the stones; that they were laid in courses varying from 2 feet 2 inches to 4 feet 10 inches in depth; and that each course projected about a foot beyond the one above it, and thus now present the appearance of steps, and furnish an easy ascent to the summit, though originally presenting a smooth surface, having the spaces between the courses filled up by casing-stones. The blocks composing the Great Pyramid appear to have been finally prepared on the level rock in front of its northern face. Here there are several rows of holes.

Character of the mechanical agencies employed.

Internal blocks not so large as Herodotus describes.

[1] A short sketch of the geology of Aegypt may perhaps assist the student in bearing in mind the physical geography of the country. LOWER AEGYPT is, as we have already seen, principally composed of alluvium deposited by the waters of the Nile. In UPPER AEGYPT three geological regions can be distinguished. 1. *The limestone region*, extends from the Delta to some days' journey south of Thebes, near Esneh. 2. *The sandstone region*, extends from Esneh to Syene, and is a comparatively recent deposit. Its colours are white, grey, and yellow. It is very soft and easily united, but was used in building the great temples, and many pillars and obelisks, which were however protected from the weather by being covered with a coloured varnish. 3. *The granite region*, extends from Syene through the cataract region to Philae, and besides granite affords syenite and some other crystalline primitive rocks, which are red and highly crystallized, and remarkable for the durability and the fine polish which they are capable of receiving. Colossal statues, pillars, obelisks, and even whole temples are constructed of these beautiful rocks.

[2] ii. 125.

Each row being about four or five feet from the others, and including three or four holes of about a foot in diameter and eight or ten inches deep. These holes were apparently cut for the insertion of shears, or for the erection of scaffolding for turning and moving the blocks. .Wherever also the courses are exposed, circular holes are to be observed in the stone, eight inches in diameter and four inches deep, which probably supported the machinery made of short pieces of wood described by Herodotus.[1]

Holes for the insertion of the machines still visible.

Exterior coating of casing-stones of limestone or granite, carefully cemented, and beautifully polished.

We now come to the exterior coating. Herodotus tells us that the summit was first finished, and that the process was continued downward till the whole was completed.[2] This without doubt is perfectly accurate. The casing-stones were of a far finer quality than the interior blocks, and, as we have seen, were brought either from the limestone quarries in the Arabian mountains, or from the granite region between Syene and Philae. Those for the Great Pyramid were brought from the Mokattam quarries in the Arabian mountains, as Colonel Vyse discovered under the rubbish accumulated at the base, two of the casing-stones in their original position. Those found were 4 feet 11 inches in perpendicular height, and 8 feet 3 inches long, the outer face sloping with an angle of 51° 50′. They were carefully cemented with a mortar composed entirely of lime, which was also employed in the lining of the passages; whilst in the body of the pyramid a mortar was used, made of ground red brick, gravel, Nile earth, and crushed granite, or of calcareous stone and lime; and in some places the

[1] See Vyse, vol. ii. Mr. Perring suggests that the machine mentioned by Herodotus may have resembled the polyspaston described by Vitruvius. If however I may judge from the drawing of the polyspaston in the second volume of Newton's Vitruvius, it is a kind of crane in which numerous pullies are employed; and though doubtless very well adapted for the elevation of such blocks as those of which the pyramids are composed, yet totally unlike a machine made of short pieces of wood. I would suggest that a succession of wedges were introduced, which gradually raised the blocks on short supports, or piles, and that it was to these wedges or piles that Herodotus is alluding when he talks of machines.

[2] ii. 125.

blocks were only joined together by a grout or liquid mortar of desert sand and gravel. Part of the casing being left unfinished in another of the pyramids,[1] Mr. Perring was enabled to make the following additional observations. He found that the beds and sides of the casing blocks were worked to a perfect surface, so that when put together the joints were scarcely visible; but the faces of the blocks were roughly hewn, and projected so as to preserve the edges from being injured in raising the stones required for the higher parts of the edifice above them. When the whole was completed, the levelling commenced from the summit downwards, one set of workmen probably trimming off the projecting parts, whilst another planed down the whole to a perfect and beautiful surface.

Mr. Perring's observations on the mode of construction.

The reader must now go with us into the interior of the Great Pyramid. We may here remark, that every pyramid has each of its sides facing one of the four cardinal points; that the entrance to each of them is to be found on the north side in or near the centre; and that the passage leading towards the interior invariably slopes downward at an angle of about 26° 41′. Over the entrance of the Great Pyramid is a block of unusual size, on which rest four others, meeting so as to form a kind of pointed arch; an arrangement which lessened the pressure from above, and preserved the opening from being crushed in. The sloping passage before us is 3 feet 5 inches in height, and the same in width, and is roofed and paved with broad flat blocks of red granite, smooth and highly polished. After a sloping descent of 63 feet the passage divides, one continuing the descent, and the other ascending towards the centre of the pyramid. The descending passage is prolonged for 320 feet from the exterior entrance, and with such exactness that we can see the sky from the further end; it then runs for 27 feet further in a horizontal direction, and terminates in a Subterranean Chamber, 90 feet below the base of the pyra-

Interior of the Great Pyramid.

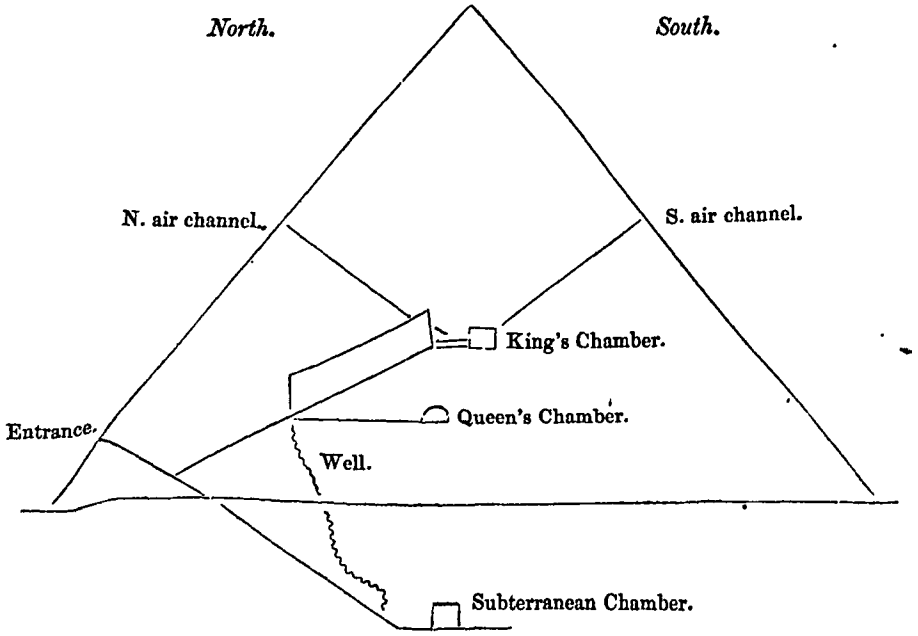
Sloping passage descending towards the centre.

Passage divides; one continuing the descent till it reaches the Subterranean Chamber; the other ascending, and then again dividing, one branch run-

[1] The eighth, which is not noticed by Herodotus.

mid. The ascending passage continues for 125 feet at an angle of 26° 18′, when it again divides; one branch runs horizontally for 110 feet to the Queen's Chamber; the other branch in the shape of a great gallery leads to a vestibule, which forms the entrance to the King's Chamber. This gallery ascends in the same angle as the previous passage; it is 150 feet long, 28 feet high, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide; but this width is lessened by a projecting stone seat or ramp which runs along each side, 19 inches wide and 2 feet high. The side walls are formed of eight assizes of stone, which projecting inward over each other, give the passage the appearance of being arched. The accompanying diagram exhibits the course of the passages and position of the chambers.

ning horizontally to the Queen's Chamber, and the other inclining upward to the King's Chamber.



Great Pyramid of Cheops. Sections from North to South.

Description of the Subterranean Chamber.

Having thus hastily run through the various passages, we will visit the chambers in succession. The SUBTERRANEAN CHAMBER is 46 feet long and 27 broad. No sepulchral remains have been found in it. On

its southern side there is a passage 2 feet 7 inches high, which continues for a little more than 50 feet, but ends in nothing. Herodotus mentions a channel supplied with water from the Nile, and surrounding a burial vault containing the body of Cheops. Col. Vyse was most anxious to discover this channel, being convinced, by the distinctness of our author's description, that such an artificial tunnel does really exist. Accordingly he sought for it in connexion with the Subterranean Chamber, which is the lowest apartment hitherto discovered. But this chamber is considerably above the level of the Nile, even at its highest inundation, and must have been much more so in ancient times, when the bed of the river was considerably lower. Col. Vyse, however, sunk a shaft through the floor of the Subterranean Chamber to the depth of 36 feet, but though he thus reached the level of the Nile, yet his labours were attended with no discovery. Notwithstanding this failure, the existence of a secret water communication may still be presumed, and Col. Vyse tells us that there is yet a chance of finding it by removing the sand and earth along the foot of the rocky platform which supports the pyramids, from the northern dyke to the Sphinx, and as low down as the level of the Nile; by which means any subterranean canal that might have been made must necessarily be discovered.[1]

Burial vault of Cheops not to be found.

[1] Lieutenant Wilford tells us, (Asiat. Res. vol. iii.,) that on describing the Great Pyramid to several very learned Brahmins, they at once declared it to have been a temple; and one of them asked if it had not a communication under-ground with the river Cālì (or Nile). When he answered that such a passage was certainly mentioned as having existed, they unanimously agreed that it was a place appropriated to the worship of Padmā-Dévì, (the goddess in the lotos,) and that the supposed tomb was a trough which on certain festivals her priests used to fill with the sacred water and lotos flowers.

This information would be exceedingly valuable if it could be trusted. That there are pyramidal temples at Benares, which are said to have a similar communication with the Ganges, cannot be doubted; but after the painful though manly acknowledgment which Wilford makes, in a subsequent volume, of the impudent forgeries imposed upon him by an ungrateful pundit, and which even deceived Sir William Jones himself, it is very difficult to say how far the above statements of the Brahmins are to be believed.

Queen's Chamber.

The QUEEN'S CHAMBER is 17 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 20 feet high. It stands immediately under the apex of the pyramid, and is roofed with blocks meeting in a point. From the careful finish of the slabs with which it is lined, it appears to have been intended for the reception of an embalmed body; but nothing whatever has been found in it, and if a sarcophagus be concealed anywhere, it must be under the paved floor. It is from the passage leading to this chamber, and just at the point where the ascending line of way diverges in a horizontal direction, that a well may be noticed, descending partly through the masonry of the pyramid, and partly through the solid rock, till it meets the passage leading to the Subterranean Chamber. It is called a well, though it seems intended for the purposes of ventilation and communication. It is 191 feet in depth, and about 2 feet 4 inches square, and it can be ascended or descended by means of projections, which still remain. It is perpendicular for the first 26 feet, but afterwards more or less inclined.[1]

[1] Mr. Davison, who was the British consul at Algiers in 1764, and who, having accompanied Wortley Montague to Egypt, resided 18 months at Cairo, describes this downward passage as a succession of wells or shafts. The account of his descent is exceedingly interesting. Conceiving it to be very deep, he provided himself with a large quantity of rope, one end of which he tied round his waist; and letting down a lantern attached to a small cord, he resolutely prepared to follow. With no small difficulty he prevailed on two of his servants and three Arabs to hold the line; for the latter assured him that there were ghosts below, and that he must not hope to return. Taking with him a few sheets of paper, a compass, a measure, and another lighted candle, he commenced the descent, and soon reached the bottom of the first well or shaft. Eight feet from the spot where he landed, he saw a second opening, which descended perpendicularly to the depth of five feet only. Five feet from the bottom of this he discovered a third shaft, the mouth of which was nearly blocked up with a large stone, so that there was barely sufficient opening to permit a man to pass it. Here he let down his lantern to ascertain the depth, and whether the air was pernicious or otherwise. The shaft however was so tortuous that the lantern soon became invisible. The consul however was determined to descend to the bottom, but such was the superstitious dread of the Arabs, that it was only after many prayers and threats, and promises of money, and of all the treasure that should be discovered, that he prevailed upon one man to come down to him and hold the rope, whilst he proceeded farther. Here the poor Arab stared about him, pale and trembling, and appeared more like a spectre than a human being. Mr. Davison however pushed

King's Chamber, containing an empty sarcophagus.

The KING'S CHAMBER is the principal apartment in the pyramid, and is approached through a vestibule, which terminates the large gallery already described. This chamber is 34 feet long, 17 feet wide, and 19 feet high, and it is situated not exactly in the centre of the pyramid, but a little to the south and east of the vertical line. Its name, as well as that of the Queen's Chamber, rests upon no better authority than the caprice of tourists now converted into a local tradition. Its magnificence however entitles it to the distinction which it has obtained. It is lined all round with large slabs of highly-polished granite, reaching from the floor to the ceiling; which last is flat and formed of nine immense flags, which stretch from wall to wall. Towards the west end of the room stands the sarcophagus lying north and south. It is 7 feet 6 inches long, and 3 feet 3 inches broad. It consists of red granite highly polished, but without either sculpture or hieroglyphs. No body, nor any indication of the former presence of one, is to be found, nor is there even a lid. In the projecting stone seat or ramp, which runs along each side of the large gallery, holes are cut at intervals, apparently for the insertion of the machinery by which the sarcophagus was raised.

forward with the rope round his body, and keeping the lantern a little before him, and availing himself of little holes made in the rock, he at length reached the bottom, where he found all further passage precluded by a large accumulation of sand and rubbish. At this point he began to be afraid of two things; first, that the multitude of bats which he had disturbed would put out his candle; and second, that the immense stone at the mouth of the shaft might slip down and close the passage for ever. On looking about the bottom he found a rope-ladder, which, though it had lain there for sixteen years, was as fresh and strong as when it was new, and which is supposed to have been used by Mr. Wood, the celebrated author of the work on Balbec and Palmyra, to assist his progress downwards. Mr. Davison at last effected his return to the man whom he had left at the bottom of the first shaft; but here the candles fell and went out. The poor Arab now thought himself lost. He laid hold of the rope as Mr. Davison was about to ascend, and declared that he would rather have his brains blown out than be left alone there with the devil. The consul therefore permitted him to go before, and though it was much more difficult to ascend than to descend, yet he scrambled up with a rapidity which presented a laughable contrast to the reluctant and dilatory manner in which he had made his descent. See *Walpole's Memoirs*, *Russell's Egypt*, etc.

The vestibule was also evidently intended to have been closed by four portcullises of granite. Three of these had been lowered, but the fourth remained in its original position, as the lower part of the groove, by which it was to have been lowered, had never been cut away to allow of its descent. The King's Chamber was ventilated by two air passages, one on the north, and the other on the south, which terminate in the exterior faces of the pyramid. Above the chamber are five vacant spaces, one over the other, and about ten feet apart from each other. They are each 38 feet long, and 17 feet wide, and from $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. The four lowest have flat roofs; the highest has its roof formed of blocks meeting at an angle, and is $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet high in the centre. They have been apparently left vacant, in order to lessen the pressure upon the King's Chamber.[1]

Inscription mentioned by Herodotus, not to be found, on account of the removal of the casing stones.

The inscription mentioned by Herodotus, which recorded the sum spent on vegetables for the workmen, and which was translated to him by an interpreter, cannot of course be now found upon the surface; neither can the numerous inscriptions, noticed by Abdollatiph and other Arabian writers, be discovered.[2] The casing-stones, as we have related, have all been removed. Many of them were apparently used by the emir of Saladin in the buildings of Cairo, and there they can still be traced, but they bear no marks of ever having been inscribed.

II. Pyramid of Chephren. Herodotus's description.

II. The SECOND PYRAMID, or that of CHEPHREN, stood, according to Herodotus, on the same hill as the pyramid of Cheops, but was 40 feet less in height, and had no canal nor subterranean vaults. The first course was composed of variegated Aethiopian stone.[3]

Site, and present dimensions.

Such is all the information concerning this pyramid which we can derive from Herodotus. It stands

[1] The chamber above the King's Chamber is called Davison's Chamber, after Davison, who first discovered it. The four others above it have been successively named, by Col. Vyse, who discovered them, Wellington Chamber, Nelson's Chamber, Lady Arbuthnot's Chamber, and Col. Campbell's Chamber.

[2] Vyse, vol. ii. [3] ii. 127.

about 500 feet from the Great Pyramid, and as the Libyan rock rises to the westward it was necessary to level it for the site of the pyramid. At the south-western and north-western angles, however, a portion of the rocky superstructure is included in the body of the pyramid, and is here stepped up in horizontal layers to correspond with the courses of the masonry. The dimensions of the pyramid, which we give on the authority of Col. Vyse and Mr. Perring, are but little inferior to those of the pyramid of Cheops.

	Feet.	Inches.
Former base	707	9
Present base	690	9
Former height perpendicular	454	3
Present height perpendicular	447	6
Former height inclined	572	6
Present height inclined	563	6

Angle 52° 20′.

From this table we can see that Herodotus's mistake in estimating the height of the Great Pyramid arose not from his ignorance of the truth, but from his fondness for round numbers. The pyramid of Chephren, he says, was 40 feet less in height than the pyramid of Cheops. The following is their respective heights according to Col. Vyse's measurement.

	Feet.
Pyramid of Cheops—former height inclined	611
Chephren ditto	572½
Difference in height between the two pyramids	38½ feet.

Herodotus's statement that there were no subterranean chambers in it, confuted by the investigations of Belzoni.

Of subterranean passages Herodotus tells us there were none in this pyramid. Respecting this point however he was misinformed. The truly great and enterprising Belzoni was enabled to discover and give his name to a subterranean chamber, whose existence was denied by the father of history.[1] It is now ascertained that this pyramid has two entrances. The first, which was discovered by Belzoni, is at about the same relative height as the entrance of the

Entrance discovered by Belzoni.

[1] The pyramid had been opened and closed again some centuries previously by the caliphs, but this fact, which was only first discovered by Belzoni, does not in the slightest degree detract from the merit of his discovery, the result of the most indomitable perseverance and industrious intelligence.

Great Pyramid, and descends at the same angle. The second is from the pavement at the base, and runs first in a horizontal direction, but then inclining upwards it meets the former passage, and the two united proceed in a horizontal line to the sepulchral room called Belzoni's Chamber.[1] This

Sepulchral room called Belzoni's Chamber.

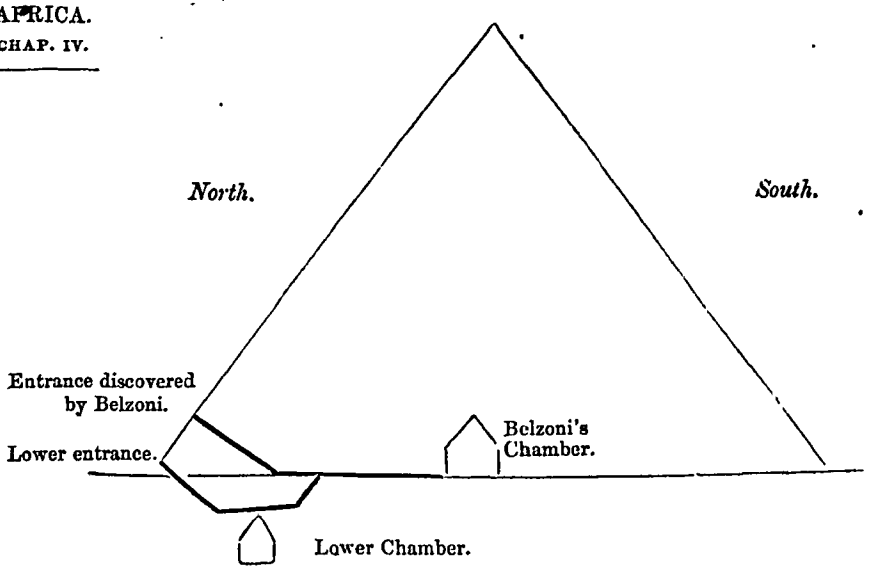
[1] It is impossible to pass over this account of the second pyramid, or that of Chephren, without some notice of the circumstances connected with Belzoni's discovery. The French savans who accompanied Buonaparte's army into Aegypt made several efforts to find an entrance, but were compelled to leave it in despair. Belzoni however, by his solitary exertions, accomplished more than this united band of philosophers. His success in detecting the sepulchral labyrinths of Thebes inflamed him with the desire and hope of penetrating the secret chambers of Chephren. He began by forcing a passage in the centre of the north side, which he was soon obliged to abandon as hopeless to himself and dangerous to his work-people. He next minutely examined the exterior of the Great Pyramid. He saw that the passage ran in a straight line to the eastern extremity of the King's Chamber. Now as this chamber was in the centre of the pyramid, a straight passage running to its eastern extremity must necessarily begin as far to the east of the centre of the exterior as it ends eastward of the centre of the chamber. He therefore concluded, that if there were any chamber at all in the pyramid of Chephren, the entrance to the passage leading to it could not be in the centre of the northern side where he had commenced this excavation, but, calculating by the position of the passage in the Great Pyramid, nearly 30 feet farther to the east. Accordingly he recommenced operations at this spot, and so correct was his theory and measurement, that he subsequently found that he had not deviated more than two feet from the mouth of the passage which was to lead him into this vast edifice. After clearing away a great deal of rubbish and cutting through massive stones, during which labours he was cheered by hearing the native workmen occasionally muttering their opinion of him in the expressive term "magnoon," denoting madman or fool, he at length had the satisfaction of seeing a block of granite inclining downward at the same angle as the entrance passage of the Great Pyramid. At last the right entrance was opened, and proved to be a passage 4 feet high and 3½ feet wide, formed with granite, and descending 104 feet towards the centre. This passage had to be cleared of large stones which had fallen from the upper part and slid down the slope. Last of all Belzoni reached a portcullis, which being a fixed block of stone, appeared at first sight to stop all further progress, for it made a close joint with the groove at each side, and the top seemed as firm as the rock which formed the passage. On a closer inspection however he perceived that at the bottom it was raised about eight inches from the lower part of the groove, which was cut beneath to receive it; and he found by this circumstance that the barrier before him was nothing more than a large slab of granite, 1 foot 3 inches thick. Observing a small aperture at the top, he thrust a straw into it upwards of three feet, a discovery which convinced him that there was a vacuum above prepared to receive the portcullis. The raising of this slab however was a task of no small difficulty, on account of the smallness of the passage. As soon as it was elevated high enough for a man to pass, an Arab entered with a candle and announced that the place was very fine. A little more room enabled

chamber is 46 feet long, 16 broad, and 22 high. Belzoni found it to contain a sarcophagus, of red granite, 8 feet 7 inches long on the outside and 7 feet within, without sculpture or hieroglyphics. No mummy was within the sarcophagus, but some bones were discovered mixed with sand and gravel, which on examination were ascertained to belong to the bovine species, and have been generally supposed to be the remains of a sacred bull. No argument however can be drawn as to the destination of the pyramid from the state in which Belzoni found it, for he perceived an inscription at the western end of the chamber which distinctly proves that it had been previously opened by the caliphs.[1] Beneath the lowest point of the lower passage is another chamber excavated in the rock, and resembling the Queen's Chamber in the Great Pyramid. It has an angular ceiling, and is 34 feet long, 10 broad, and 8 high in the highest part. It is supposed to have been intended for a sepulchral chamber, but only contained some loose stones. The following diagram, on the top of the next page, is intended to represent the general course of the passages and position of the chambers.

Lower Chamber.

Mr. Belzoni to squeeze his person through, and thus, after thirty days, find himself in the way to the central chamber. See Belzoni, *Narrative of Operations and Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia*, vol. i.

[1] This inscription was translated by Mr. Salamé for Belzoni, as follows:—"The master Mohammed Ahmed, lapicide, has opened them; and the master Othman attended this (opening), and the King Ali Mohammed, from the beginning to the closing up." Professor Lee, however, in a letter to Lord Aberdeen, quoted by Col. Vyse, translates it as follows:—"The master Mohammed, son of Ahmed, the stone-cutter, first opened them (i. e. the chambers in the pyramid); and upon this occasion were present, El Melec Othman, and the master Othman, and Mohammed Lugleik."



Pyramid of Chephren. Section from North to South.

Aethiopian stone used for the first course found to be granite from the cataracts.

The first course of this pyramid, described by Herodotus as being constructed of variegated Aethiopian stone, is composed of granite brought from the cataracts between Syene and Philae. Loose blocks of this granite are still to be found at the base, and fully confirm the accuracy of our author's statement.

Upper casing formed of limestone.

Above the course of granite right up to the summit the pyramid was cased with the same fine limestone from Mokattam as the Great Pyramid, and for about 130 to 150 feet from the summit the limestone casing still remains.

The general masonry of the pyramid, with the exception of the granite casing and the passages which are lined with granite, is decidedly inferior to that of the Great Pyramid.

Mr. Perring's view of the construction of the interior.

Mr. Perring thought that the interior was divided, by massive walls of wrought stone, into various square compartments, which had been filled up by a sort of gigantic rubble-work composed of large blocks and mortar. Indeed the whole is so irregularly built, that since the removal of the casing the desert sand and rain have penetrated in several places to a considerable distance.[1]

[1] Vyse, vol. ii. It was this looseness of construction which impeded the operations of Belzoni.

III. The THIRD PYRAMID, or that of MYCERINUS, is described by Herodotus as being still smaller than the preceding ones. The length of each side was 20 feet less than 3 plethra. It was constructed half way up of the Aethiopian stone. Some of the Greeks supposed it was the work of the courtesan Rhodopis, but, in the first place, she flourished at a much later period, in the reign of Amasis;[1] and, secondly, she could not possibly have been able to expend so many thousand talents as would have been required for the erection of so vast a building.[2]

III. Pyramid of Mycerinus. Herodotus's description.

Herodotus thus calculates the base of the pyramid of Mycerinus to be about 280 feet. This cannot be reconciled with the real measurement, which was ascertained by Col. Vyse and Mr. Perring to be as follows:—

Present dimensions irreconcilable with Herodotus's estimate.

[1] Rhodopis was a Thracian by birth, and the servant of Iadmon the Samian. Aesop, the writer of the Fables, also belonged to the same master at the same time, and was thus the fellow-servant of Rhodopis. Subsequently, in the reign of Amasis, Xanthus the Samian took Rhodopis to Aegypt in order to gain money by her person. Here she was ransomed for a large sum by Charaxus of Mitylene, the brother of Sappho the poetess; and when Charaxus returned to Mitylene his sister ridiculed him in an ode. Rhodopis having thus obtained her freedom, continued to reside in Aegypt, and being exceedingly lovely, acquired great riches for a person of her condition, but certainly not sufficient to build a pyramid. A tenth of her wealth might be seen at Delphi in the days of Herodotus; for, being desirous of leaving behind her such a memorial as had never before been dedicated in a temple, she set aside that portion of her property for the purchase of iron spits, which were then piled up behind the altar in the Delphian temple.

Such is the account given by Herodotus. Sappho seems to have accused Rhodopis of robbing her brother of his property, calling her by the name of Doricha. Probably Doricha was her real name, and she received that of Rhodopis, which signifies the "rosy-cheeked," on account of her beauty. The origin of the story recorded by Herodotus has been explained, with great probability, by Zoega and Bunsen. In consequence of the name Rhodopis, "rosy-checked," she was confounded with Nitocris, the beautiful Aegyptian queen, and the heroine of many an Aegyptian legend, who is said by Julius Africanus and Eusebius to have built the third pyramid. Another tale about Rhodopis, related by Strabo, (xvii. p. 808,) renders the supposition of her being the same as Nitocris still more probable. It is said, that as Rhodopis was one day bathing at Naucratis, an eagle took up one of her sandals, flew away with it, and dropt it in the lap of the Aegyptian king, as he was administering justice at Memphis. Struck by the strange occurrence, and the beauty of the sandal, he did not rest till he had found out the fair owner of the beautiful sandal, and as soon as he had discovered her made her his queen. The reader can scarcely forget the story of Cinderella. Cf. also Smith, *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Biog. and Myth.*, art. *Rhodopis*.

[2] ii. 134.

	Feet.	Inches.
Base	354	6
Former height perpendicular	218	0
Present height perpendicular	203	0
Former height inclined	278	2
Present height inclined	261	4

Angle of casing, 51°.

The only suggestion I can offer is, that his measurement applies not to the length of each side, but to the inclined height, which we see was anciently 278 feet 2 inches. Though of much smaller dimensions than the two others, this pyramid was the most elaborately finished. The site was levelled, not by cutting away the rock, but by raising, on the eastern side, a superstructure ten feet in height, composed of two tiers of immense blocks. There was no vestige of an entrance, nor tradition of the pyramid having ever been opened, until the operations begun by Caviglia, and concluded by Col. Vyse in 1837, upon which it appeared that, like the others, it had been previously opened in the time of the caliphs. The entrance was found as usual on the north side, and about 13 feet above the base. The passage descends at the same angle as that of the Great Pyramid for a distance of 104 feet, when it reaches an ante-room, the walls of which are panelled with sculptured partitions. Beyond the ante-room are the usual portcullises of granite, and a horizontal passage terminating in a large chamber, 46 feet long and 12 broad, lying nearly under the centre of the pyramid.

More elaborately finished than the pyramids of Cheops and Chephren.

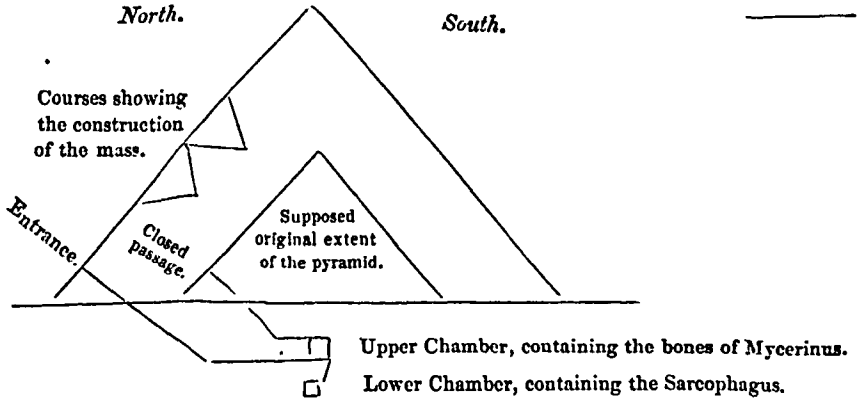
Entrance discovered by Caviglia and Colonel Vyse.

Upper Sepulchral Chamber.

Two passages lead from the chamber; one, near the top of the side-wall, returns toward the exterior, and probably reached it, but was closed again by the builders themselves; the other descends from the floor for about 30 feet, and ends in a Lower Sepulchral Chamber, 21 feet long, 8 broad, and 11 high.[1] The following diagram exhibits the course of the passages and position of the Upper and Lower Chambers.

Lower Sepulchral Chamber.

[1] Seven steps further down from the lower chamber is a third room, with two niches on each side, which were probably designed for the reception of upright mummies. This niche room is not represented in the diagram. It is 17 feet long, and 6 feet in breadth and height.



Pyramid of Mycerinus. Sections from North to South.

It may here be remarked, that the pyramid has been enlarged from its original dimensions, and upon that occasion the mouth of the upper passage was closed up by the added masonry, and the lower passage was extended, being, as Mr. Perring observes, cut outwards from within.[1]

Sarcophagus in the Lower Chamber.

The two apartments included in this pyramid consist, as we have seen, of an Upper and Lower Chamber. At one end of the Upper Chamber there is a depression in the floor evidently designed for the reception of a sarcophagus, though nothing was found in it. The Lower Chamber, which is lined with granite, contained a sarcophagus of basalt without inscriptions or hieroglyphics, but sculptured in slender and graceful compartments, and having a deep cornice.[2] The sarcophagus had evidently been

[1] The reader must not fall into the error of supposing that this enlargement took place since the time of Herodotus, and that it would account for his calculating the base of the pyramid so much less than its actual size. We shall have occasion to return to the subject further on, when we mention the discovery of Lepsius, in connexion with pyramid architecture.

[2] This sarcophagus, which weighed nearly three tons, was got out with great difficulty, for it was not much smaller than the passages through which it had been introduced. It was sent to England, but the vessel in which it was embarked was lost off Carthagena in 1838.

violated and the mummy removed by some previous visitor.[1] The lid was broken, and the greater part of it was found near the entrance of the passage which descends from the Upper Chamber. In the Upper Chamber itself were also discovered the fragments of the top of a mummy-case inscribed with hieroglyphics, and lying on a block of stone; and close by were a skeleton consisting of ribs, vertebrae, and bones of the feet and legs, enveloped in a coarse woollen mummy cloth of yellow colour, which exhibited some remains of the resinous gum in which the body had been embalmed. It therefore seems that the previous visitors had opened the sarcophagus in the Lower Chamber, but being unable to move it up the inclined passage, had taken out the wooden case containing the body, and carried it into the Upper Chamber, which was nearly twice as large, for more minute examination.

Extraordinary discovery of the mummy-case and bones of Mycerinus in the Upper Chamber.

There is every reason for believing that the remains thus discovered are those of the king whom Herodotus names Mycerinus. The masses of granite and calcareous stone which filled up the entrance, together with the portcullises and in some places solid masonry, which secured the apartments, sufficiently indicate the veneration in which the sepulchre was held; and therefore the importance of the personage to whom it belonged. The two lines of hieroglyphics upon the lid of the mummy-case have been made out by Mr. Birch of the British Museum. In these the king Mycerinus is called Men-kah-re, but we append the literal meaning of the hieroglyphics as given by Mr. Birch.

Undoubted identity of the remains.

Mr. Birch's interpretation of the hieroglyphics on the lid of the mummy-case.

"Osirian, king Menkahre of eternal life, engendered of the Heaven, child of Netpe . . . . . who extends thy mother.

"Netpe over thee, may she watch thy abode of rest in Heaven, revealing thee to the God (chastiser?)

[1] Edrisi, quoted by Vyse, says that the Red Pyramid (the name which the Arabian writers applied to the present one) had been opened a few years before, and in the sarcophagus the decayed body of a man had been found, with golden tablets beside him, inscribed with characters which no one could read.

thy impure enemies, king Menkahre living for ever."[1]

Men-kah-re, or Mycerinus, belonged to the fourth dynasty of the old monarchy of Menes, and as he must have lived some time before the invasion of the Hyksos, we cannot suppose him to have been posterior to the patriarchs. Herodotus, who visited Aegypt about the time of Nehemiah, gazed upon his pyramidal tomb, and tells us the story of his reign—his love for his daughter, and his efforts to falsify the oracle. The reader of the present volume may now enter the mummy-room of the British Museum, and there, amid embalmed cats, and painted coffins, and other relics of a bygone world, he will see on a plain shelf on his right hand all that remains of the bones and coffin of Men-kah-re; a monarch who reigned long ere the siege of Troy, and probably before the little ark of Moses was set adrift upon the ancient Nile.

Bones and mummy-case to be seen in the British Museum.

But to return to our description. The Aethiopian stone of which, according to Herodotus, the pyramid was cased to half its height, was apparently the red granite from the cataracts between Syene and Philae, hence it is called the Red Pyramid by the Arabian writers. Diodorus[2] describes the first fifteen courses as covered with black stone, and Strabo[3] says that half the height of the pyramid from its base upwards was cased with the same material. Both authors however appear to have taken their information from Herodotus, and to have supposed that he meant black stone.[4] A portion of the casing was removed by Osman Bey, as may be seen by the diagram. We thus see that the pyramid was built in steps or stages, gradually diminishing,

Mode of construction adopted in the Pyramid.

[1] Osiris was the son of Netpe by Seb, or Chronos. Netpe seems to have presided over births and nursing, and was called the mother of the gods.

[2] Diod. i. 64.

[3] Strabo, xvii. 808.

[4] If the casing-stones had been really black, they must, as Mr. Kenrick remarks, have been of basalt, which however is not to be found amongst the fragments. Grobert (Denon, vol. i.) speaks of remains of black marble, of which however no mention has been made by subsequent travellers.

the angular spaces being afterwards filled up so as to complete the pyramidal form.

The Three Small Pyramids including the Pyramid of the daughter of Cheops.

The Three Small Pyramids mentioned by Herodotus, and including the Pyramid of the Daughter of Cheops, are still to be found near the south-eastern angle of the Great Pyramid. The centre of the three was the one which, according to our author, was erected by the Aegyptian princess. He tells us that Cheops was so pressed for money that he even stooped to raise a sum by the prostitution of his daughter, and that the lady in her turn wishing to immortalize herself in the same manner as her father, requested each of her lovers to bring her a stone, (or finished block,) with which she built the pyramid in question. The base he describes as being one plethron and a half,[1] or 150 feet, which corresponds pretty well with the measurement of Col. Vyse, who makes it 172 feet.

Herodotus's description.

Present state.

The three pyramids appear to have been originally about 100 feet in height, but are now much lower. They have all inclined passages, beginning either at the base or a little above it, and leading into a subterranean chamber, but in neither of them has anything been found by which the original occupant could be identified. It may be remarked, that a few casing-stones which have been found at the foot of the central pyramid, resemble those which covered the Great Pyramid of Cheops, and therefore afford some countenance to the strange tradition recorded by Herodotus.

Brick pyramid of Asychis.

A pyramid of brick is also mentioned by Herodotus as having been built by Asychis. This king, says our author, was desirous of surpassing all his predecessors, and therefore left behind him a pyramid made of bricks, upon which the following inscription was carved in stone.

"Despise me not because of the pyramids of stone, for I excel them as much as Zeus surpasses the other gods. For by plunging a pole into a lake and

[1] ii. 126.

collecting the mud which hung to the pole, men made bricks and erected me."[1]

Probably the same as the northern pyramid of Dashoor.

This pyramid cannot be identified with the same certainty as the others. The most northern of the pyramids of Dashoor, which are situated some little distance to the south of those of Gizeh, has, however, been generally supposed to be the one mentioned by Herodotus. It is composed of crude bricks, and cased with stone from the Mokattam quarries, and is not only the most considerable of all the brick pyramids, but is also within a short distance of the temple of Hephaestus which Asychis assisted to embellish. The solidity of its construction is most remarkable, and almost justifies the boasting inscription preserved by our author; for it is difficult to imagine a mass more solid, and also more durable, as long as it was protected by an external casing of stone from the effects of the atmosphere. As however the whole of the bricks are not composed of alluvial soil, the latter part of the inscription can only refer to those formed of the mud or clay drawn out of one of the sacred lakes.[2]

Character of Herodotus's description of the pyramids, and reasons for his various omissions.

Such then were the pyramids of Aegypt, as seen and described by Herodotus. That they excited in him an extraordinary interest cannot be questioned, though a feeling of religious awe probably restrained him from imparting much information, which he might otherwise have given. Moreover, it is remarkable that he describes only those of whose builders he is enabled to give some account; and he only names the three little pyramids before the Great Pyramid of Cheops, because he wished to describe the central one, which he had been told was erected by Cheops's daughter.[3] Such omissions however are in perfect keeping with the general tone of his narrative. He only cared for antiquities so far as they illustrated or explained his history; and his description of the pyramids and other public works in Aegypt are not included in his account of the

[1] ii. 136. [2] Vyse, vol. iii. [3] ii. 126.

country, but in his chronological annals of the Aegyptian kings. That he may have seen numerous other pyramids besides those he has named, we may take for granted, from the exceedingly careless manner in which he refers to the one on each side of that built by the daughter of Cheops.[1] Probably, however, as he could obtain no information concerning them which came within the scope of his epic history, he did not think it advisable to load his work with details of a purely architectural character. If however the origin, or description, of any building would illustrate any historical fact, he pursued his investigations to the utmost, and we find him making a voyage to Tyre, for the special purpose of ascertaining the origin of the temple of Heracles, in reference to the antiquity of the worship of that deity.[2] It was his religious reserve, or the absence of trustworthy information concerning its founder, that doubtless prevented him from describing the Great Sphinx, though it stands on the same rocky plateau as the pyramids of Gizeh, and is only about 650 yards to the east of the Pyramid of Chephren.[3] We shall also find in his account of Upper Aegypt, that he makes no mention of the magnificent temples of Thebes, but merely notices the wooden colossi of the chief priests, which seemed to him to throw some light upon the antiquity of the Aegyptian nation and deities.[4]

State of the pyramids at the time of his visit.

The state in which Herodotus found the pyramids 2300 years ago, may to some extent be gathered from his description. They must have appeared to

[1] ii. 126. [2] ii. 44.

[3] It is singular that neither Herodotus, nor Diodorus, nor any ancient author before the Roman age, mentions the sphinx, especially as the inscriptions, which have been found on it, prove it to be at least as old as the reign of Thothmes IV. in the fourth dynasty of the Old Monarchy. Most probably its existence is coeval with that of the pyramids themselves, and certainly, the design of carving a rock, which broke the view of the pyramids, into a gigantic sphinx, was worthy of the grandeur of Aegyptian conceptions in architecture and sculpture. For a description of the sphinx, I cannot do better than refer the reader to Mr. Kenrick's *Ancient Egypt*, vol. ii. An account of the discoveries of Caviglia, who cleared away much of the sand, and a translation of the inscriptions, may be found in Col. Vyse's work, vol. iii.

[4] ii. 143.

him to be solid quadrangular masses, covering an immense area, and presenting on each of their four sides a beautifully polished and perfectly even surface, gradually narrowing until it terminated at the summit. He appears to have entered the interior of the Great Pyramid of Cheops,[1] but denies the existence of any chambers in the Pyramid of Chephren;[2] and we may also infer that he was equally ignorant of the interior of the Pyramid of Mycerinus. His notions of the material of which the pyramids were constructed, were evidently derived from an examination of the exterior casing only; thus he says that the Pyramid of Cheops was built of stone, brought from the Arabian, or Mokattam, mountain;[3] that the first course of the Pyramid of Chephren was composed of variegated Aethiopian stone,[4] or, rather, of granite brought from Syene; and that the Pyramid of Mycerinus was constructed half way up of the same material.[5] But recent researches, as we have already shown, distinctly prove that the limestone and granite, of which he speaks, were only employed for the exterior casing, and the lining of the internal passages and chambers; and that the masses, which form the body of the pyramids, were quarried from the rocky plateau on which they stand. His information concerning the manner in which the works were carried on, is most likely accurate, though he was apparently misled by his informants concerning the size of the stones employed.

His ignorance of the interiors of the Pyramids of Chephren and Mycerinus.

The circumstances connected with the first building of the pyramids are as much unknown to the modern explorer as they were to the great father of history three and twenty centuries ago. "The Aegyptians," says Herodotus, "call the pyramids after Philition,[6] a shepherd, who at the time of their

Origin of the pyramids unknown.

Called by the Aegyptians after Philition,

[1] ii. 127. [2] Ibid. [3] ii. 124. [4] ii. 127. [5] ii. 134.

[6] The name Philition bears a strong resemblance to that of the Philistines, though we shall presently see that the builders of the pyramids flourished some centuries before the invasion of the Hyksos, or Shepherd kings. Ancient traditions seem to indicate that the Shepherd kings, after their expulsion, separated into three divisions. One passed

erection kept his cattle in that region; and so strong is the hatred of the people against them that they are not very willing to name them."[1] From this passage it has been generally concluded, that the princes who constructed these stupendous works belonged to the foreign dynasty of Hyksos, or Shepherd kings; and, as our author also states with an emphatic distinctness, that during the whole period of their domination the temples were shut and the sacrifices prohibited,[2] it has been taken equally for granted that the invaders professed a religion hostile to the animal worship of the Aegyptians. But, since the pyramids have been explored, no doubt can remain that they are the work of native kings who reigned long before the invasion of the Hyksos. The period of the Hyksos extended over what is called the Middle Monarchy, and thus stretched from the thirteenth to the seventeenth dynasties inclusive.[3] But the three builders of the three great pyramids mentioned by Herodotus—Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus, have been discovered to belong to the fourth dynasty in the Old Monarchy of Menes. In Manetho the second, third, and fourth kings in this dynasty are named Suphis, Souphis, and Mencheres. Cheops of Herodotus has been identified with both

and therefore supposed to have been built by the Hyksos.

Recently discovered to have been built prior to the Hyksos, by the kings of the fourth dynasty of the Old Monarchy of Menes.

Cheops identified with the Suphis and Souphis of Manetho,

over into Greece under Inachus; a second occupied south-western Palaestine, and were called Philistines; whilst a third, or remnant, accompanied the Israelites part of the way after the exodus under the designation of a mixed multitude.

[1] ii. 128. [2] ii. 124.

[3] Aegyptian history, during what may be called the Pharaonic period, has been divided into three distinct periods. 1. The old empire of Menes, comprising the first twelve dynasties. 2. The middle empire of the Hyksos, comprising the five dynasties following, or the thirteenth to the seventeenth inclusive. 3. The new empire of the eighteenth dynasty downwards.

The Aegyptian history of Herodotus is nothing more than a narration connected with public monuments, and on monuments too either in, or near, Memphis; indeed we may restrict ourselves to the single temple of Hephaestus, or Phtha. The history commences with Menes, the founder of the temple; it mentions three of his successors who embellished it; it treats those kings as tyrants who made no addition to it; and of those princes who left no monuments the priests could only give a dry catalogue of names. Hence the line of kings contains many wide chasms (ii. 137); it is also interwoven with allegorical narrations. (ii. 111, 121, 122.)

Suphis and Souphis. In the chambers above the King's Chamber in the Great Pyramid, already described,[1] Col. Vyse discovered some shields in the common phonetic character drawn with red paint upon the walls. One of these shields contained four characters, which it is agreed should be pronounced Chufu, or Shufu; whilst another shield presented the same group of characters, but having the same jug and ram prefixed to it which are found with the figures of Kneph, the ram-headed god of Thebes.[2] It has been supposed that Cheops or Shufu was buried in the Queen's Chamber, and that his successor, Kneph Shufu, finished the pyramid, and was buried in the King's Chamber; and that as they were both engaged in the building, and were both buried in it, they were supposed by Herodotus to be one and the same person. Chephren cannot be found in Manetho, but in the tombs near the Second Pyramid the shield of a king, whose name reads Shafre, has been found together with the figure of a pyramid. Mycerinus, we have already shown, can be identified with Mencheres by the hieroglyphics on his mummy-case, which have been translated by Mr. Birch.[3] All therefore that we can gather from the statement of Herodotus is, that the Aegyptians hated the very memory of the pyramid kings, and would gladly have regarded them as a foreign race. The popular dislike against Cheops is exhibited in the story preserved by Herodotus, of his compelling his own daughter to raise money by prostitution;[4] and even Mycerinus, who is acknowledged to have been a pious, just, and able monarch, is charged with having indulged in an unnatural passion for his own daughter,[5] and with deceitfully endeavouring to convict the oracle of falsehood.[6]

through the shields discovered by Col. Vyse.

Chephren not yet identified.

Mycerinus, or Menkah-re, identified with the Mencheres of Manetho.

That the pyramids were specially erected as sepulchres for kings is now generally admitted. The inclined passages were for the conveyance of the sarcophagi; the blocks which filled up the entrance

The pyramids undoubtedly erected as sepulchres, the inclined

[1] See page 404. [2] See chap. v. [3] See page 412.
[4] ii. 126. [5] ii. 131. [6] ii. 133.

were intended to prevent disinterment and violation; and, as the pyramids were closed with solid masonry, it is certain that they could not have been used for astronomical observation, nor for initiation or other mysterious purposes. Around the larger structures are smaller pyramids, in which queens may have been deposited; whilst the chief officers of state and religion were buried in excavated tombs near the vast sepulchres of their masters.

passages being intended for the conveyance of the sarcophagi into the internal chambers.

Interesting discovery by Dr. Lepsius relative to pyramidal construction.

These latter theories however may be considered as almost exploded by the discovery of Lepsius, whose examination of a pyramid, in which the interior was partly laid open, enabled him to arrive at the following results. At the commencement of each reign the rock chamber, destined for the monarch's grave, was excavated, and one course of masonry erected above it. If the king died in the first year of his reign, a casing was put upon it and a pyramid formed; but if the king did not die, another course of stone was added above, and two of the same height and thickness on each side: thus in process of time the building assumed the form of a series of regular steps, which, on the death of a monarch, were cased over with limestone, or granite. The different sizes of the pyramids is therefore to be accounted for, by the difference in the duration of the several reigns, and the length of a reign might be ascertained if it were possible to learn the number of courses over the internal rock chamber, in which the monarch himself was deposited.

Effect produced by the pyramids upon the modern traveller.

The traveller approaching the pyramids for the first time, views them without enthusiasm, and almost without emotion. From the clearness of the atmosphere the larger ones seem to be close at hand, when they are four or five miles off; and the want of a proper standard by which to measure them disables him from forming any idea of their size, until he stands at their base and gazes up the slanting side of the quadrangular mass. Gradually he comprehends the magnitude of the pile. His ideas become colossal, and his imagination, expanding as he con-

templates these vast sepulchres of primeval royalty, is filled with visions of ancient greatness and bygone empires. The plain narrative of Herodotus however breaks somewhat rudely upon these day-dreams. The old Halicarnassian was of a truly practical turn of mind. He tells us of a great people harassed by toil and hating their oppressors; of temples closed, sacrifices forbidden, and families starving; and of wealth wasted, and time and labour lost, upon these useless monuments. Most plainly is it to be seen, that religious awe alone prevented his expressing his sympathies with a nation so enslaved by its priestly and superstitious rulers.

Other buildings or mounds similar to the pyramids.

It is difficult to leave the subject of the pyramids without remarking upon the other buildings, or mounds, in various parts of the world, and even in the western hemisphere, which seem to have been erected after a similar pattern, though in a rougher fashion. Passing over those of Upper Aegypt and the ancient Meroe, we think of the huge mass of Birs Nimroud, which brought down the vengeance of Jehovah himself upon the presumptuous and idolatrous builders;[1] the great tumulus of Alyattes,[2] and the pyramids of Mexico[3] and India.[4] Lastly, we may mention the remarkable mound in Wiltshire, called Silbury hill, which is about the same

Birs Nimroud.

Tumulus of Alyattes.

Pyramids of Mexico and India.

Silbury hill in Wiltshire.

[1] See pp. 258, 259. [2] See p. 230, and *note*.

[3] The great teocalli, or pyramid of Cholula, in Mexico, stands in the extensive plain of Puebla. It consists of four receding platforms of equal elevation, and appears to have its sides exactly opposite to the four cardinal points; but in its present state it seems impracticable to determine this fact with certainty. Humboldt calculates its perpendicular height to be only 177 feet, and each side of its base to be 1440 feet; the area of its base is consequently more than three times that of the great pyramid. It is apparently constructed of alternate layers of clay and brick. A square chamber has been found in its interior, containing two dead bodies, two basalt idols, and a great number of vessels varnished and painted. A description of other Mexican pyramids may be found in Humboldt, *Vue des Cordillères*, tom. i., quoted by Long.

[4] The pyramidal buildings of India have their sides also turned to the four cardinal points. Some temples of this form, near Benares, have a subterraneous communication with the Ganges, which forms a curious point of resemblance between the Hindoo building and Herodotus's story about the Nile communicating with the chamber of Cheops, which we have already noticed at page 401. Bohlen, *Altes Indien*, quoted by Long.

height as the pyramid of Mycerinus, but has been calculated to cover a space of double its area.[1] We have however already trespassed too much on the attention of our readers, and must now return to our author.

The Labyrinth and Lake Moeris.

Two other great works, the Labyrinth and Lake Moeris, excited the wonder and admiration of Herodotus; but, before we proceed to develope his description, it will be necessary to glance at the face of the country, which is presumed to include their ancient sites.

Description of the oval basin of Fayoum.

The Nile valley, as we have already seen, is formed on its western side by the Libyan range. About 50 miles south of Cairo, this range elbows round towards the west, and then again approaches the bank of the river; it thus encloses the oval-shaped basin of Fayoum,[2] anciently called the nome of Arsinoe, whilst the narrow gorge of Illahoun alone connects the basin with the Nile valley. This oval valley of Fayoum is 40 miles from east to west, and 30 miles from south to north, and included the Labyrinth, the Moeris Lake, and the city of Crocodiles. It consists of three terraces of different elevations. The first and highest occupies the eastern portion of the valley. The second, nearly 24 feet lower, encompasses the first on the west and north. The third is a hollow, in the deepest part of which lies the Lake Keïroun,[3] whose surface is 65 feet lower than the second terrace. In short, the whole valley may be said to decline gradually from east

Consists of three different levels.

[1] Silbury hill is in the form of a truncated cone. The circumference of the base is 2027 feet; the diameter at the top 120 feet; the sloping height 316 feet; and the perpendicular height 170 feet: it covers an area of 5 acres and 34 perches. It is chiefly composed of chalk, upon which a thin soil has formed, now covered with short grass.

[2] The name of Phiom, "the sea," (*Quatremère Recherches*, vol. i.,) was probably given to this district from the inland sea, the Lake Moeris, the Piom of Champollion; or, because at some primeval period, it may have formed the basin of a large sea. The name Fayoum, now retained by the Arabs, is thus but a slight modification of the ancient Aegyptian appellation.

[3] Lake Keïroun is more properly called Birket el Korn, i. e. Lake of the Cape, or of the promontory of a mountain jutting forward into a flat country.

to west, but much more decidedly as it approaches the borders of Lake Keïroun. Through the gorge of Illahoun, which is about six miles in length, a branch of the Canal of Joseph, already described,[1] cuts its way through the rock, and, as it approaches the centre of Fayoum, spreads out into various small branches, which render the province exceedingly fertile. The eastern portion of Fayoum is also torn by ravines formed by torrents, which, in comparatively modern times, have broken through from the Canal of Joseph, and flowed in a westerly direction towards Lake Keïroun. By means of these ravines we are enabled to learn the geological constitution of the soil. About 20 feet beneath the slimy sediment, deposited by the inundations of the Nile and of the Canal of Joseph, we find calcareous strata of 20 or 25 inches in thickness, separated one from the other by argillaceous strata, which present nearly the same declination, from Illahoun down to the lake, as the surface of the land.[2] The banks of the channel, which flows from the Canal of Joseph, are connected at the entrance of the gorge by a bridge of three arches, and provided with a number of reservoirs to regulate the masses of water during the inundation.[3]

Watered by a branch from the Canal of Joseph.

Geological constitution of the soil.

On the first or eastern terrace, are the remains of the ancient city of Crocodiles, and between 5 and 6 miles towards the south are the ruins of the Labyrinth. It is therefore certain that the site of Lake Moeris must be in the immediate neighbourhood.

First or eastern terrace, comprising the Labyrinth.

[1] See page 387.

[2] Linant, *Mémoire sur le Lac Moeris.* To the translation of this valuable Memoir, appended to Borrer's Travels, I must refer the reader as my authority, for most of the information which I have been able to bring together respecting Fayoum. M. Linant was a surveyor in the service of the pasha of Aegypt, and surveyed the Fayoum as an engineer; and to him is due all the merit of having discovered the supposed site of Lake Moeris.

[3] The channel which connects the Canal of Joseph with Fayoum is cut through the solid rock, and can therefore have never been at a lower level than at present. Its level at the entrance of Fayoum is now 150 feet lower than the level of the canal itself, where the latter receives its waters from the Nile, 180 miles farther off to the south.

But before we attempt to point it out, we must return to our author.

Herodotus's description of the Labyrinth. Erected by the twelve kings.

The Labyrinth was built by the twelve kings, who shared the country amongst them, between the reigns of Sethon and Psammitichus.[1] These twelve kings determined to leave behind them a common memorial. Accordingly, they constructed a Labyrinth a little to the south of Lake Moeris, and near the city of Crocodiles. Herodotus himself saw this wonderful monument, and found that it exceeded all that had been said of it; for it must have cost, he says, more labour and money than all the public buildings in Hellas put together, not excepting the temples of Ephesus and Samos, and it even surpassed the pyramids themselves. This Labyrinth consisted of twelve courts enclosed with walls, and having their doors opposite to each other, six facing the north, and the other six facing the south. One wall surrounded the whole. Three thousand chambers were included in these twelve courts; one suite, of fifteen hundred chambers, being above ground, and another of the same number being beneath. Of the former Herodotus can speak from his own knowledge and observation, but of the chambers under ground he can only speak from the information which he received, as the Aegyptians in charge would not permit him to enter them, alleging that they were the sepulchres of the twelve kings, and of the sacred crocodiles. The upper chambers however he describes as surpassing all human works that he had ever seen. The almost infinite number of winding passages, which led through the different courts and corridors, presented a thousand occasions for wonder; and he passed from spacious halls through smaller chambers, and from these again to large magnificent courts, in the utmost amazement at the infinite variety of the communications. The

Cost more labour and money than all the public buildings in Greece.

Consisted of twelve courts, in two parallel ranges of six courts each, and included 3000 chambers, half above ground and half under.

Upper chambers visited by Herodotus.

Subterranean chambers, tombs of the twelve kings, and of the sacred crocodiles.

[1] According to Herodotus, the Dodecarthy, or government of twelve kings, was established soon after the destruction of Sennacherib. The period of the government is fixed at 671—650, B. C.

ceilings and walls were all of stone, and the walls were richly carved with sculptured figures. Each court was surrounded by a colonnade of white stone closely fitting together, and at the extremity of the Labyrinth was a pyramid, 40 orgyae, or 160 cubits, in height, which communicated with the interior of the Labyrinth by a subterranean passage. Large figures were carved on the exterior of this pyramid.[1]

Recent discovery of the remains of the Labyrinth by the Prussian Expedition under Dr. Lepsius. General confirmation of the truth of Herodotus's statements.

The foregoing description is rendered doubly interesting at the present moment, from the circumstance of the remains of the Labyrinth having been recently explored by the Prussian Expedition, sent out under the direction of Dr. Lepsius. It consists, according to Lepsius, of three mighty clumps of buildings, surrounding a square 600 feet long, and 500 feet wide. The fourth side is bounded by the pyramid, which is 300 feet square, and therefore does not quite come up to the side wings of the great building. The square included the two ranges of halls, which were probably separated from each other by a wall, and thus had their faces turned in opposite directions towards the innumerable chambers of the Labyrinth, which formed the sides of the quadrangle. This square is covered with the remains of great monolithic pillars of fine red granite, in the old Aegyptian style with lotus-bud capitals. Fragments of this costly material also lie about, and show that it had been also used for shrines and statues. Numerous columns are also to be seen, of hard white limestone, gleaming like marble, which had been brought from the Mokattam quarries. Of the chambers there are literally hundreds, by and over each other, often very small, by the side of others larger and greater, supported by pillars, and with thresholds, niches, and remains of pillars, and single wall slabs, and connected together by corridors, according to the description of Herodotus, without any serpentine cave-like windings. We may however reasonably doubt whether there were

[1] ii. 148.

really 3000 chambers, as Herodotus mentions; for the exactness of the statement must entirely rest on the fidelity of his guides. He himself was evidently in a state of utter bewilderment, and only came away with a vague impression of "no end" of halls, chambers, colonnades, and corridors. It is also very improbable that the Labyrinth should have been commenced and completed by the twelve kings; and though it certainly was an Aegyptian fashion for a prince to prepare a tomb for himself during his lifetime, yet it is not at all likely that the Dodecarths should have been deposited there after Psammitichus had dethroned them. Besides, the statement of Herodotus to that effect is contrary to Aegyptian usages, which would scarcely permit the same building to be used as a palace and a cemetery, though it is not unlikely that embalmed crocodiles were deposited in the vaults. Most probably the Pyramid mentioned by Herodotus was the place of sepulture, and the Labyrinth was the royal palace, and it is thus that Strabo describes them;[1] and the subterranean communication between the two may have led to our author's confounding them with one another. The Pyramid is plainly to be identified with that of Howara, which stands about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south of the ruins of Crocodilopolis, and near the point where the gorge from the Canal of Joseph spreads out into the basin of Fayoum. Its sepulchral chamber has been explored by Lepsius, who discovered the name of Ammenemes III., the last king in the twelfth dynasty of the Old Monarchy. The shield of this sovereign also occurs everywhere in the ruins of the Labyrinth, nor has any other name been found by the Prussian Expedition.[2] This discovery removes all doubt respecting the time and purpose of the erec-

Doubt as to whether it really included 3000 chambers, and whether it was built by the twelve kings, and contained their tombs.

The Pyramid probably the place of sepulture, and the Labyrinth the royal palace.

Pyramid at present known as the Pyramid of Howara.

Discovery of the name of Ammenemes III., the last king of the Old Monarchy of Menes.

[1] Strabo, lib. xvi. pp. 787, 811.

[2] The name of Ammenemes also occurs in a quarry of hard white stone, in the Mokattam mountains. Here there is an inscription, which records the working of the quarry in the reign of a sovereign of that name. Vyse's *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii.

tion of the pyramid, and enables us with tolerable certainty to assign the foundation of the Labyrinth to the same monarch, Ammenemes.[1]

Dimensions and construction of the Pyramid.

The Pyramid is about 80 feet from the remains of the Labyrinth, and is composed of bricks of immense size, which appear to be very ancient. When entire it must have been about 348 feet square. Strabo says it was 400 feet square, and of equal altitude. Herodotus says it was 40 orgyae, or 240 feet, high. Its present height, according to Mr. Perring, is about 106 feet, and its base 300 feet, as already mentioned. It appears to cover a rock, which rises to a height of about 40 feet within it. Several stone walls, intersecting it in regular lines, act as binders to the intermediate mass of brickwork, built in between them; and the outside was apparently originally coated with a stone casing.[2]

Lake Moeris. Herodotus's description.

Lake Moeris is described by Herodotus as being even a more surprising work than the Labyrinth.

[1] Cf. also Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. ii. Probably the erection of the Labyrinth was attributed to the twelve kings, from the circumstance of its including twelve principal courts. Strabo (xvi. p. 787, 811) describes the Labyrinth as consisting of the same number of palaces as there were anciently Aegyptian nomes. Herodotus, as we have seen, mentions that there were twelve courts or palaces; and the establishment of an oligarchy of twelve, during the temporary suspension of monarchy, points to the previous existence of a territorial division into twelve nomes, which probably corresponded to that of the temples of the twelve gods of the second class.

The account of Diodorus differs from that of Herodotus. Diodorus (i. 66) follows Herodotus in stating that the twelve kings wished to leave behind them a common memorial, and he describes them as building a square fabric of polished marble, measuring one stadium in length on every side, and supported round by pillars, forty on each side; whilst the roof was composed of a single stone, splendidly carved and painted. The site of this enormous sepulchre he fixes near the Lake Moeris, and consequently on or near the same spot as the Labyrinth. The Labyrinth however he says, (i. 61,) was built by a king who lived before the foundation of the pyramids, and who was called Mendes by some, and Marrus by others. Mr. Kenrick has pointed out that even here there is some analogy between Diodorus and Herodotus. Mendes, or Marrus, was made king immediately after the termination of the Aethiopian invasion under Actisanes, and was followed by an interregnum of five generations; and in Herodotus the retreat of the Aethiopians was followed by an interregnum of the priest Sethos, and then by the builders of the Labyrinth. Mendes was also of the same peaceful character as Sethos.

[2] Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, vol. ii. Vyse and Perring, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, etc., vol. iii.

It was situated near the Labyrinth, and near the city of Crocodiles. It was 60 schoeni, or 3600 stadia, in circumference, an extent equal to the sea-coast of Aegypt. It stretched lengthways from north to south, and was fifty orgyae, or 300 feet, deep in the deepest part. That it was all artificial was proved by the circumstance, that two pyramids stood in the middle of the lake, each rising fifty orgyae, or 300 feet, above the surface of the water, and extending just as deep down, under the water. Upon each pyramid was a stone statue, sitting on a throne.[1] The water did not spring from the excessively dry country in the neighbourhood, but was conducted from the river Nile by a canal; and for six months it flowed from the Nile into the lake, and for the other six months out of the lake again into the river. Whilst the water was flowing out, the fish from the lake yielded a silver talent every day to the royal treasury;[2] whilst however the water flowed in the fish only produced twenty minas per diem.[3] The natives assured Herodotus that the lake discharged itself through a subterranean passage, running westward into the Libyan Syrtis; and that the excavated soil was thrown into the Nile, and soon dispersed by the river.[4]

Attempt to find the site of Lake Moeris on the modern map.

In endeavouring to find Lake Moeris on the modern map, the reader must bear in mind the physical features of Fayoum—an oval basin, 40 miles by 30, sloping in three distinct terraces, from east to west, and terminating in a rapid decline at the low salt lake of Keïroun. A branch from the Canal of

[1] Thus the pyramids were one hundred orgyae in height, which were equal to a stadium of six plethra; the orgyae measuring six feet, or four cubits; the cubit being six palms, and the foot four palms. Herod. ii. 149.

[2] Lake Keïroun is now farmed for 30 purses (£210) annually. Of every 90 piastres derived from the sale of fish, 10 are paid for the boat, 40 to the fisherman, and 40 to the farmers of the fish. In 1837 there were only six boats in the lake.

[3] ii. 149.

[4] ii. 150. From the saltness of the waters, and the sandy nature of the surrounding soil, Strabo also conjectured that this lake had once been connected with the Mediterranean. No such communication, or outlet, however is at present known.

Joseph enters a gorge at the eastern extremity, and spreads in various small channels over the district; and the remains of the city of Crocodiles, and those of the Labyrinth, are both situated near the entrance of the basin.[1] Lake Moeris has been generally identified with Lake Keïroun. Pliny however says that the Lake Moeris was between the nome of Arsinoe and that of Memphis;[2] and Lake Keïroun is not situated between the two districts, but at the western extremity of the nome of Arsinoe. Pomponius Mela also says that the site of Lake Moeris was formerly a champaign country;[3] but this is an aspect which Lake Keïroun could never have presented. In the present day it is on a level with the sea; its water, as well as its soil, must always have been impregnated with various salts; and it must always have been either covered with water or else have been a salt marsh. Accordingly, it has been supposed that the Lake Keïroun anciently extended from the mountains, which now bound it on the north-west, to the line which terminates the second terrace of Fayoum.[4] To this hypothesis the following objections have been raised. Between the line which terminates the second terrace and the eastern borders of the lake there are some ruins; and along the chain of mountains north-west of the lake are some excavated sepulchres, in which mummies have been discovered. Consequently it is difficult to grant that the waters of the lake ever reached either points.[5] Herodotus also says that for six months

Generally identified with Lake Keïroun.

Present aspect of Keïroun.

Reasons brought forward by M. Linant for disbelieving in the identification of Moeris with Keïroun.

[1] See also page 423.

[2] Pliny, v. 9. It must be remarked that Pliny uses the word "fuit," and is therefore speaking of the Lake Moeris at a time when it had ceased to be.

[3] Pomp. Mela, *De situ Orbis*, lib. i. c. 9.

[4] The line here alluded to is not the line which separates the second from the first, or highest terrace, but the one which separates the second from the third, or lowest terrace. It is the north-western extremity only of this third platform which is at present occupied by Lake Keïroun.

[5] Some slight layers of mud however are still to be seen in various places along the north-western borders, and also some shells; but if those places had been under water during all the period of the existence of Lake Moeris, the mud would entirely have covered them, and the mark of the level of the water and some remains of shells would

the Lake Moeris flowed into the Nile;[1] and that for the other six months the Nile flowed into the lake, and the statement that Lake Moeris was intended as a receptacle for the surplus waters of the inundation is confirmed by Diodorus[2] and Strabo.[3] But Lake Keïroun is 15 or 16 feet deep; and the surface of the second terrace is 65 feet above the surface of the lake, and yet 6 or 7 feet lower than the bottom of the channel which communicates betwen Fayoum and the Canal of Joseph, and which is cut through the rock. Thus all the mass of water below the level of the bottom of the channel leading to the Canal of Joseph would have been useless for irrigating purposes; and if it ever rose to that level it must have covered the whole of the second terrace, and thus have converted nearly all Fayoum into an immense lake, a state which is totally irreconcileable with the existence of the numerous towns whose ruins still remain. The second terrace, in short, presents no symptom, either in its soil or in its superficial configuration, of having been ever covered with water. On the other hand, the first or highest terrace has evidently been formed by the deposition of sediment on a portion of the second terrace.

Linant's discovery of a dyke ending the second terrace of Fayoum.

Thoroughly dissatisfied with the identification of Lake Moeris with Lake Keïroun, and convinced that Lake Moeris ought to be looked for in the highest part of Fayoum, M. Linant at length discovered a dyke composed of flint, gravel, and in some places of masonry, and extending round the whole of the limits of the first terrace.[4] Numerous gaps were of

also have been seen at the same height. But these phenomena do not exist, and the ground is either stony or sandy. The small quantities of mud which are to be seen may be attributed to the deposits left from great inundations, or to the rupture of dykes in the Fayoum, when the water would flow in vast quantities towards the Lake Keïroun. *Linant.*

[1] i. e. the Canal of Joseph, which communicates immediately with the Nile, through a branch called Tourat el Magnoun, a little to the north of the spot where the other branch flows by Illahoun into the basin of Fayoum.

[2] Diod. Sic. lib. I. [3] Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 811.

[4] The circumstances connected with the discovery of the dyke are very interesting, and convey to the reader of the Mémoire a pleasing impression of its author. M. Linant was resting himself in the ravine

course found at intervals, where portions of the dyke had been probably washed away by the breaking through of the waters; but so many traces were to be seen, that there could be no difficulty in forming them into a continuous line. The breadth of the dyke could not be measured with accuracy on account of its very easy slope towards the interior, but M. Linant estimated it to be about 200 feet.[1] Its height was about 7 feet above the ground which it enclosed, but about 27 feet above the ground without. The surface soil within the dyke was probably at so much a higher level than that of the soil without it in consequence of the deposition of the mud in the interior, where the dyke served to confine the water. On the southern side, at a spot called Shiek Ahmed, the line of level of the waters may be seen on the edge of the desert at a height which they never attain in the present day. According to the traditions of the country this dyke is said to be the work of the Pharaohs, and M. Linant is of opinion, that the whole extent of country enclosed by the line, along which he is enabled to find traces of the dyke, is the site of Lake Moeris, enclosing an area of 156 square miles.[2]

Identification of the enclosed site with that of Lake Moeris.

of the Bahr-bela-Ma, a canal which runs almost directly north and south. On the top of the deep and sloping bank opposite to him, and above the ordinary layers of stone and clay, he saw the transverse section of a mound, chiefly composed of gravel and flint, which must, of course, be running from east to west. On the other side of the ravine, namely, on that which he was sitting, he saw a similar section, which exactly corresponded with the other. M. Linant immediately climbed the slope of the ravine, and saw distinctly that the mound was an immense artificial dyke sloping down more to the north than to the south, and continuing in a very straight line from east to west. At a long distance off he found that it changed its course and turned towards the south, and subsequently enclosed the area which we shall presently describe.

[1] M. Linant, of course, gives the results of his measurements in metres, each of which is about $3\frac{280}{1000}$ of a foot. I have generally converted these into English measures, and in round numbers.

[2] M. Linant traced the boundaries of this area, which the reader may easily identify on the modern map. The results of this survey are as follows:—The dyke at its eastern extremity begins at the dry bed of an ancient, and now abandoned, canal, called the Canal of Warden, and from thence runs in a tolerably straight line over the ravine of the Bahr bela-ma, as far as El-Ellam. Here it disappears, but is again to be seen in the neighbourhood of Biamo, towards the north-west, where it encloses

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the area thus pointed out falls very far short of the enormous dimensions of 3600 stadia in circumference, assigned to the lake by Herodotus. But little reliance however is to be placed on our author's measurement; though, in the present case, it is certainly remarkable that he should give his statement additional emphasis by saying that the circumference was equal to the sea-coast of Aegypt. This enormous exaggeration may have arisen from his having been unable to see the northern boundary of the lake, and consequently supposing it to be coextensive with the Libyan hills, whose eastern face he had seen in his journey from Memphis. In other respects the recently discovered site satisfies every condition, and particularly the object of utility. Thus the fertility of Fayoum, and especially of its highest terrace, is now explained. Its soil is the fine sediment deposited by Lake Moeris. When, in consequence of neglect and dilapidations, the dykes gave way and the waters were drained off, the Aegyptians naturally gave to the rich and newly acquired land, the appellation of Phiom, or "the sea."

Further explanation of Linant's identification.

The two pyramids mentioned by Herodotus are identified by M. Linant with the two structures of hewn stone, which had been previously mistaken for pedestals of statues, and which stand at the north-

His identification of the two pyramids described by Herodotus.

the two stone structures which have been taken for the pedestals of statues. Thence going towards the south-west, between the village of Zawiet and the ruins of Crocodilopolis, are to be seen the remains of some portions of the dyke extending towards the ruins. South-east of Medinet it appears again, and M. Linant supposes that it must have passed by Ebgig, and thence to Attamné. After that he found it constructed of good masonry, near Miniet el Heit, where it crosses the Bahr Neslet, and so on to Chidimo; thence to Lake Garac, where it terminates in the desert. In this latter part it was not of masonry. "Let a line," says M. Linant, "be now drawn, starting from the beginning of the dyke, and continuing, as I have just pointed out, as far as the Lake of Garac, thence returning northwards by Shiek Ahmed, and then passing by Calamchâ, Deir, turning to Dimishquine upon the right, following the dyke of Pillawan, and passing on to Arrarat Equilan; thence proceeding to the bridge of Illahoun, going north-westward by the dyke of Guedalla, returning to the west by Arrarat el Macta, and from that point regaining, by Demo, its point of departure at Selle. "The whole extent of country enclosed by this line," adds M. Linant, "is, in my opinion, the site of Lake Moeris."

west corner of the supposite site. These two masses are each surrounded by a square enclosure, constructed of large square stones, and in some places three layers of these stones may be seen; the others have probably been removed for other buildings. They are called in the country Pharaoh's chairs, and were supposed to be pedestals of statues; and this agrees with the statement of Herodotus, that on the top of each pyramid was placed a stone statue seated on a throne.

General remarks upon Linant's discovery.

Thus far I have endeavoured to explain the views of M. Linant, and give due prominence to his interesting discovery. The latter has been generally taken for granted by modern commentators, and appears to be approved by Lepsius. If however we are to accept it, we must believe that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo have passed over one of the most remarkable objects in Aegypt, namely, Lake Keïroun. Mr. Kenrick seems to consider that the embankment traced by Linant was that of an artificial reservoir in the centre of Fayoum, which retained the water of the inundation, to be dispersed when it was needed over the adjacent country. It is presumptuous for one who has never visited the Fayoum, to offer any suggestion after Linant; but I do not think, judging from the Mémoire, that the embankment from Biamo to Shiek Ahmed has been satisfactorily traced, nor do I think that it has been sufficiently proved that Lake Moeris, which Herodotus says was 50 orgyae, or 300 feet, deep in its deepest part, did not include Lake Keïroun, and extend to the eastern embankment, near Crocodilopolis and the Labyrinth. The discovery however of the northern and southern dykes by Linant is most interesting, and may at some future time lead to a more satisfactory settlement of the disputed site.

Remaining topography of Middle Aegypt. Erythrebolus. Crocodilopolis.

The remaining topography of Middle Aegypt is but little noticed by Herodotus. The town of Erythrebolus is mentioned, where King Pheron burnt all the unfaithful wives;[1] the city of Crocodiles, near

[1] ii. 111.

the Labyrinth;[1] and Hermeopolis, where the ibis was buried.[2] The docks on the Arabian Gulf, where King Neco built his triremes, were also still to be seen in the time of our author.[3]

Hermeopolis. Docks in the Arabian Gulf.

Upper Aegypt proper, not described by Herodotus.

Extreme paucity of his topographical notions.

UPPER AEGYPT, properly so called, is scarcely noticed by Herodotus at all, and we have no allusion to the magnificent temples at Luxor and Karnac, nor indeed any description whatever of those marvellous structures, whose ruins are still existing on the great plain of Thebes. That he resided some time at Thebes, and entered the magnificent temple of Zeus, or Ammon, is certain;[4] we may also take it for granted that he examined the Memnonium, for he tells us, in a decided manner, that those persons who supposed that the sculpture in Ionia was the image of Memnon were greatly mistaken.[5] It is difficult to say whether his silence arose from the loss of any portion of his writings, or from his having been unable to acquire such historical information as could be illustrated by descriptions of what he saw.[6] We shall merely follow in his steps, and present the reader with his plain narrative without further embellishment; for a general description of the temples of Thebes would stretch to a great length, without illustrating the pages of our author.

His account of Thebes and temple of Zeus, or Ammon.

Thebes contained a splendid temple of Zeus, who was also called Ammon; and here a woman constantly resided, and, like the female in the Babylonian temple of Belus, had no intercourse with mortal man.[7] Every high priest in succession left a wooden colossal statue of himself within this sanctuary; and Herodotus, on his visit to the city, was shown three hundred and forty-five of these statues, each of which represented a generation, and was called a Piromis, which signifies in the Greek language "a noble and good man."[8]

[1] ii. 148. [2] ii. 67. [3] ii. 159. [4] ii. 143.
[5] ii. 106. Compare also p. 234. [6] Compare p. 415.
[7] i. 182.
[8] ii. 143. The name piromi probably referred to the nobility of the sacerdotal descent. The Coptic word romi signifies a man; Pi is only the article prefixed. Cf. Jablonski, *Proleg. ad Panth. Aegypt*, § 18.

Chemmis was a large city in the Theban nome, not far from Neapolis. It contained a sacred enclosure, (ieron or temenus,) in the shape of a quadrangle, which was dedicated to Perseus. The propylaea were built of stone, and very spacious, and before them were placed two large stone statues. The naos within the sacred enclosure was surrounded by palm trees, and contained a statue of Perseus. The Chemmitans declared that Perseus often appeared both within and without the temple, and that they sometimes found his sandal, which was two cubits long; and they added, that whenever this latter circumstance took place it was followed by general prosperity throughout Aegypt.[1] Elephantine is also mentioned, where, in the reign of Psammitichus, and again in the time of the Persian rule, it was garrisoned against the Aethiopians.[2] Between this city and Syene were the two pointed mountains, Crophi and Mophi, from whence the Nile was said to have originated.[3]

Chemmis. Temples of Perseus.

Elephantine.

Crophi and Mophi.

The southern boundary line of Aegypt cannot be drawn satisfactorily. It would appear that Elephantine was the most southerly town, but that the Aegyptians also inhabited the half of the island of Tachompso, the other half being occupied by the Aethiopians.[4] We shall however return to this subject when treating of Aethiopia, and consider Elephantine as the actual frontier, which was doubtless formed by the cataracts; and, having thus concluded the topography of Aegypt, we proceed to develope our author's account of the mythology and manners of the Aegyptian people.

Southern boundary of Aegypt.

[1] ii. 91. For an account of the Chemmitan worship of Perseus, see chap. v.

[2] ii. 30. [3] ii. 28. See also p. 361. [4] ii. 17, 29.

CHAPTER V.

AEGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY.

Aegyptian mythology; its effect upon Herodotus.—His initiation in the mysteries.—His religious reserve.—Traces the deities of Greece to an Aegyptian origin.—Effect produced on the modern student.—Religious conceptions of the Aegyptians themselves, dependent upon the spiritual and mental state of the worshipper.—Modern ideas of Aegyptian deities dependent upon the student's own state of religious culture.—Identification of Aegyptian conceptions with revealed truths, contradicted by the idolatry and conduct of the people.—Valuable character of Herodotus's information, both as an introduction to the study of Aegyptian antiquities, and a proof that no religion framed by human invention can render man pure and holy.—Herodotus's account.—Aegyptians the most pious of mankind, and the first who instituted the forms and ceremonies of religious worship.—Astrology.—Prodigies.—Omens.—Divination.—Oracles held in the highest veneration.—Aegyptian deities, divided by Herodotus into three classes.—1st, The eight great gods.—2nd, The twelve gods.—3rd, The gods sprung from the twelve.—No heroes worshipped.—Chronology of the gods.—Explanation of the triple division.—Primeval belief in one great God.—1st Class of gods—deified attributes.—2nd Class—lower emanations.—3rd Class—physical objects, abstract ideas, etc.—Identification of the eight primary gods with Aegyptian deities.—The four great deified attributes: the spirit, the intellect, the creative power, and the generative principle.—Aegyptian representation of Kneph the divine spirit, and Amun the divine intellect.—Identification of both Kneph and Amun with the Zeus of Herodotus.—Zeus worshipped in the nome of Thebes.—No sheep sacrificed.—Mythic story of Zeus and Heracles.—Horned serpents sacred.—Temple and oracle of Zeus.—Sacred women.—Aegyptian representation of Pthah, the creative power.—Identified with Hephaestus, and especially worshipped at Memphis.—Aegyptian representation of Khem, the generative principle.—Identified with Pan, and especially worshipped at Mendes.—No goats sacrificed.—Herodotus's statements doubted.—Four primary Aegyptian goddesses.—Saté, or Hera, not mentioned.—Maut, or Buto, identified with Leto.—Pasht, or Bubastis, identified with Artemis.—The festival at Bubastis.—Shameless conduct of the people during the pilgrimage.—Immense consumption of wine.—Neith identified with Athene.—The festival of burning lamps at Sais.—Confusion between second and third class deities, and consequent necessity for an independent and arbitrary division.—I. Miscellaneous divinities mentioned by Herodotus.—Helios, or the Sun.—Identified with the Aegyptian Rè, or Ra.—Heracles cannot be identified.—His oracle and temple.—Greek story of the attempt to sacrifice him to Zeus, and his slaying the whole crowd of worshippers.—Disbelieved by Herodotus, because the Aegyptians would not offer human sacrifices, and Heracles the hero could not single-handed have slain

thousands.—Hermes, perhaps a mummy-formed god.—Subsequently identified with Thoth.—Ares, perhaps a form of Typhon, or the evil principle.—His oracle.—Festival at Papremis.—Mock-fight between the priests and votaries.—Popular legend to account for its origin.—Perseus and Proteus.—Temple of Perseus at Chemmis.—His enormous sandal.—Gymnastic games celebrated at Chemmis in his honour.—His legendary history according to the Chemmitans.—Temenus at Memphis sacred to Proteus.—Aphrodite identified with Athor.—Represented with cow's horns, and confounded by Herodotus with Isis.—Wooden cow at Sais probably connected with her worship and that of Osiris.—The foreign Aphrodite, or Helen the stranger.—Hera, Hestia, and Themis also to be identified with Aegyptian deities, though not known as such to Herodotus.—II. Osiris, Isis, Horus, and the calf Apis.—Dualistic character of Osiris as mortal King of Aegypt and Divine Ruler of Hades.—Herodotus's hesitation and reserve in alluding to Osiris.—General division of the subject.—Mythic history of the earthly adventures of Osiris.—Rhea delivered of five children in the five intercalary days obtained by Hermes, viz. Osiris and the elder Horus, begotten by the Sun; Typhon, by Cronos; Isis, by Hermes; Nephthys, by Cronos.—Typhon marries Nephthys.—Osiris marries Isis, and begets the younger Horus.—Osiris king of Aegypt.—Instructs his subjects and mankind generally in the arts of civilization.—Typhon, the evil principle, conspires against him, encloses him in a chest, and casts it into the Nile.—Isis hears of the disaster, and discovers Anubis, the son of Osiris by her sister Nephthys.—Obtains the chest which had been stranded at Byblos; Typhon subsequently recovers it, tears the body into fourteen pieces, and scatters them about Aegypt.—Isis in a boat of papyrus regains all the pieces excepting one, and consecrates the phallus as a memorial of her loss.—Osiris returns from Hades, and assists in the final overthrow of Typhon.—Traces in the myth of a reference to astronomy.—Physical interpretation of the myth as given by Plutarch.—Herodotus's account of Osiris, Isis, and Horus.—Osiris, or Dionysus, and Isis, or Demeter, the two national deities of Aegypt.—Isis represented like Io, and perhaps regarded as the moon.—Horus the son, and Bubastis the daughter, of Osiris and Isis, concealed by Leto in the floating island of Chemmis from Typhon.—Osiris, his tomb at Sais.—Annual representation of his allegorical adventures on the circular lake.—Isis the greatest Aegyptian goddess.—Represented like the Greek Io.—Her temple and festival at Busiris.—Bullocks sacrificed to her, whilst the votaries beat themselves and lament for Osiris.—Cows sacred to her.—Osiris and Isis considered by the Aegyptians to be the rulers of Hades.—Immortality of the soul propounded in the dogma of metempsychosis.—Cycle of 3000 years.—Illustration of the Aegyptian ideas of Hades in the story of Rhampsinitus.—Worship of Osiris and Isis universal.—Its peculiarities.—Swine, though considered an impure animal, sacrificed at the full moon to both deities.—At the festival of Isis the tail, spleen, and caul of the pig burnt, but the rest eaten: pigs of baked dough offered by the poor.—At the festival of Osiris a pig slain at every door, and Dionysiac orgies celebrated.—Herodotus's account of Apis.—Begotten on a cow by a flash of lightning.—Known by his black hair, white square mark on his forehead, eagle on his back, beetle on his tongue, and double hairs in his tail.—Public rejoicings on his appearance.—Court for Apis built at Memphis by Psammitichus.—Sacrilegious conduct of Cambyses.—Further notices of Apis from Pliny, Strabo, and Diodorus.—Aegyptian conceptions of Osiris.—Represented in the monuments as Judge of the Dead and Ruler of Amenti, or Hades.—Actions of deceased persons recorded by Thoth, and weighed by Anubis in the scales of Truth.—If found wanting, the soul sent back to earth in the form of an animal: if justified by its works,

the soul introduced by Horus into the presence of Osiris.—Osiris to be regarded as the "divine goodness."—Manner of his manifestation on earth involved in mystery.—Speculative and allegorical character of the theory.—Symbolical figure of Osiris.—Isis variously represented on the monuments, and often confounded with Athor and other deities.—Aegyptian ideas of Apis.—Conclusion.

Aegyptian mythology: its effect upon Herodotus.

THE Aegyptian people made a more powerful impression upon Herodotus than any other nation with which he was acquainted. Their peculiar civilization and extraordinary monuments would alone have attracted his attention. But when, by vigorous research, he began to learn the remoteness of their origin, and to penetrate the depths of their mysterious theology, his own religious fervour gave fresh keenness to his pursuit, and he persevered in his anxious inquiries until he himself had been initiated into their inner mysteries. Henceforth his tongue was chained, and the pious reserve with which he names a divinity, or alludes to a sacred legend, strangely contrasts with the general openheartedness of his history, and the familiar tone of the ancient epic. Nor can we be surprised at the effect so produced upon a thoughtful and earnest observer. The antiquity of the gods of Aegypt made those of Greece seem to him but as of yesterday; and he discovered with trembling awe that the deities, to whom he had prayed from childhood, were many of them living upon earth when Aegypt was ruled by mortal kings, and more than a hundred centuries after those primeval Aegyptian divinities, from whom their attributes and individualities had been chiefly borrowed.[1]

His initiation in the mysteries.

His religious reserve.

Traces the deities of Greece to an Aegyptian origin.

Effect produced on the modern student.

The modern student turns to Aegypt with the same ardour, and but too often arrives at a similar result. He can learn the ceremonies of her religion

[1] This was undoubtedly our author's first impression. Subsequently, after considerable research, he arrived at the conclusion that the Greeks traced the origin of some of their gods only to the time when they first learnt their names, (ii. 146,) and that men were even sometimes named after the gods, and confounded with them. Therefore those Greeks appeared to him to have acted most correctly, who built two kinds of temples to Heracles, and sacrificed to the Olympian Heracles as an immortal deity, and paid honour to the other Heracles, the son of Amphitryon and Alcmene, as a hero (ii. 43, 44).

from her pictured walls and sculptured monuments. He may know the names of the deities that were invoked, the sacrifices that were offered, and almost the prayers that were addressed; but he finds it utterly impossible to arrive at the conceptions which were expressed in the splendid ritual. The religious conceptions of the Greeks and Romans receive a certain reality and fixedness from the historical character of their mythology; but the ideas attached to those intellectual abstractions which have been symbolized by Aegyptian art must have depended upon the worshipper's spiritual development, or mental culture. The ideas of the modern student must likewise be affected by similar influences. His conceptions of Aegyptian deities will take a colouring from his own mind, and be brought more or less into harmony with that revealed religion which is our faith and anchor. From the presumed existence in primeval times of a pure and universal belief in one great Father Almighty, and from the known connexion between Aegypt and the chosen people of God, he expects to find in that primeval theology in which Moses himself was initiated,[1] a body of profound truths, and scriptural dogmas. He interprets for himself the intellectual abstractions of the Aegyptians into ideas which are conformable to his own intellectual and religious culture, and is but too often disposed to ascribe revelation itself to a mere human and Aegyptian origin. But if he turns from his own speculations to contemplate the actual state of the people, he may find that no ideas corresponding to the teachings of our church and religion, could possibly have existed amongst the masses; that under no system of pantheism can the truths of a divine revelation be preserved, or man be saved from idolatry and corruption; and that however elevated and refined, and even half scriptural, may have been those esoteric doctrines which were retained by the priestly orders and more

Religious conceptions of the Aegyptians themselves, dependent upon the spiritual and mental state of the worshipper.

Modern ideas of Aegyptian deities dependent upon the student's own state of religious culture.

Identification of Aegyptian conceptions with revealed truths, contradicted by the idolatry and conduct of the people.

[1] "And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Aegyptians." Acts vii. 22.

learned classes of the community, yet the natural depravity of the human heart led the initiated to practise a vain hypocrisy, and the great body of the people to indulge in the grossest superstition and vilest materialism. Here the evidence of Herodotus is especially valuable. Profoundly impressed by the mythology of Aegypt, and deeply affected by the mythic sufferings of her mysterious deities, yet he hesitates not to tell us of the shameless conduct of the people at their religious festivals, and the utter disregard for truth evinced by the priests themselves. Such a relation is profitable for all time; and if, in our development and explanation of our author's statements concerning the Aegyptian nation, we are carried beyond our usual limits, we must plead the greater importance of this branch of our subject, and the vast advantage of obtaining through the medium of the great father of history a fixed and positive view of the religion and civilization of the people. Thus may we hope to do full justice to the Aegypt of Herodotus; earnestly endeavouring by his assistance to present a key, which will unlock the portals of Aegyptian learning, and an antidote, which will correct any false notion that the unaided power of man can ever enable him to attain that regeneration of the heart, and reconciliation of the soul to God, which the gospel of Christ so peremptorily and emphatically requires.

Valuable character of Herodotus's information,

both as an introduction to the study of Aegyptian antiquities, and a proof that no religion framed by human invention can render man pure and holy.

Herodotus's account.

In arranging and illustrating our author's statements and remarks in a continuous and digested form, we have thought proper to observe the following order. We shall develope, first, his conviction of the peculiarly religious character of the people; secondly, his division of the Aegyptian gods into classes, and accounts of the worship of each individual deity; and, thirdly, in the succeeding chapter we shall enter upon his description of the civil and religious institutions, and manners and customs of the people at large.

Aegyptians the most pious of

The Aegyptians, according to Herodotus, were of all men the most excessively attentive to the

worship of the gods.[1] They were the first who assigned altars, images, and temples to the several deities,[2] and who introduced public festivals, processions, and solemn introductions;[3] they were also the first who made it a point of religion that men should abstain from female intercourse in the sacred precincts, and should perform an ablution before they entered a temple.[4] They also claimed the merit of having invented the science of astrology, which was subsequently borrowed by the Greeks. Each month and day was by them consecrated to a particular deity; and, according to the day upon which a person was born, they foretold his future fortunes, the life he would lead, the character he would exhibit, and the death he would die. More prodigies were also discovered by this people than by all the rest of mankind. Whenever one occurred, they carefully observed and noted down the result, and if the prodigy was ever repeated, they predicted a similar issue.[5] Omens were frequently drawn from common accidents as tokens of good and bad luck. Thus the deep sigh of the engineer, who superintended the transport of a monolithic shrine from Elephantine to Sais, was sufficient to prevent its introduction into the sacred precinct intended for its reception; and Amasis, though a man of strong mind and singularly free from the prejudices of his countrymen, was induced to give way to this superstitious fancy.[6] The power of divination was attributed to no human beings but only to some of the gods.[7] Oracles were of very remote date in Aegypt,

mankind, and the first who instituted the forms and ceremonies of religious worship. Astrology.

Prodigies.

Omens.

Divination.

Oracles held in the high-

[1] ii. 37. [2] ii. 4.

[3] ii. 58. The *προσαγωγαί*, or *introductions*, are frequently represented on the monuments, and refer to the introduction of a worshipper into the Sekos, or holy recess of the god.

[4] ii. 64. Herodotus tells us in the same chapter that almost all other nations, excepting the Aegyptians and Greeks, had intercourse in sacred places, and entered the temples without any previous ablutions. This they did because they thought mankind were like other animals; and as they saw animals and birds coupling in the shrines and temples, they considered that it was not displeasing to the gods, who otherwise would not have permitted it. "But they who argue thus," he says, "act in a manner that I cannot approve."

[5] ii. 82. [6] ii. 175. [7] ii. 83.

est veneration.

and the ancient oracle at Dodona in Epirus was allowed, even by the priestesses themselves, to be of Aegyptian origin.[1] The principal oracles in Aegypt were those of Heracles, Apollo, Athene, Artemis, Ares, and the Theban Zeus, and above all that of Leto, in the city of Buto. The mode of divining differed in all of them.[2] These oracles were consulted on all occasions of importance; and sometimes messages were sent spontaneously to those whom an oracle desired to advise. Mycerinus was assured of his approaching death because he had acted contrary to the divine will;[3] Sabaco retired from the kingdom, because of a prediction;[4] Psammitichus was banished from the dodecarthy on account of an oracular prophecy;[5] and Neco was warned not to continue the canal from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, lest he should expose his country to foreign invasion.[6] Oracles were also consulted, like the magicians of the present day, in cases of theft; and we are told that Amasis bestowed presents on those which he found from his own experience to be capable of delivering true responses, but that he utterly disregarded those which had given incorrect replies.[7]

Aegyptian deities divided by Herodotus into three classes. 1st, The eight great gods. 2nd, The twelve gods. 3rd, The gods sprung from the twelve. No heroes worshipped. Chronology of the gods.

The gods of the Aegyptians were divided, according to our author, into three classes, though he does not mention all their several names. The first class consisted of the eight original gods, and included Pan[8] and Leto.[9] The second class consisted of twelve gods, and included Heracles.[10] The third class was composed of gods, who had sprung from the second class deities, and included Dionysus.[11] No religious honours were paid to heroes.[12] The ages of these classes of deities were as follows. From the time of Heracles, who belonged to the second class, down to the reign of Amasis was a period of 17,000 years;[13] and from the time of Dionysus, who belonged to the third class, to the reign of Amasis was a period of 15,000

[1] ii. 53—57. See also page 89. [2] ii. 83, 152. [3] ii. 133.
[4] ii. 139. [5] ii. 147, 151. [6] ii. 158. [7] ii. 174.
[8] ii. 46, 145. [9] ii. 156. [10] ii. 43, 145.
[11] ii. 145. [12] ii. 50. [13] ii. 43.

years; and the Aegyptians declared that they knew these dates accurately because the years had always been computed and registered.[1]

Explanation of the triple division.

This division of the Aegyptian deities into three classes, can be easily understood, and need not be doubted, though it does not correspond with Manetho's division into gods, demigods, and manes, nor do the monuments furnish any traces of such a classification. In the early ages of mankind, the existence of a sole and omnipotent Deity, who created all things, seems, as we have already mentioned, to have been the universal belief, and was undoubtedly the belief of the Aegyptians. Whether they really represented under any form their idea of this unity of the Deity, is still a doubtful question.[2] Probably his name was regarded by the Aegyptians, as it was by the Jews, with such deep awe and reverence, as never to be uttered; and the Being of Beings, "who is, and was, and will be," was perhaps never even referred to in the sculptures, nor supposed to be approachable, unless under the name and form of some deified attribute, indicative of his power and connexion with mankind. Accordingly the first class of divinities, who were considered to be the great gods of the Aegyptian Pantheon, were in reality deified attributes indicative of the intellect, power, goodness, might, and other qualities of the eternal Being. The second class consisted of lower emanations from the same source; and the third were the representatives of inferior powers, of physical objects connected with the Creator, and of different abstract ideas, whose relative rank depended on the near or distant connexion they were deemed to possess with the Divine origin.[3]

Primeval belief in one great God.

1st Class of gods—deified attributes.

2nd Class—lower emanations.

3rd Class—physical objects, abstract ideas, etc.

[1] ii. 145.

[2] Greek writers have imagined that the snake curled into the form of a circle, with its tail in its mouth, and other similar emblems, were used by the Aegyptians to indicate the unutterable name of the eternal Ruler of the universe. But these are merely symbols of his deified attributes, if indeed the snake, in that form, can be admitted among the number; and neither the snake, the hawk, nor any other emblem, can be considered in any way connected with the unity of the Deity. Wilkinson, vol. i., Second Series.

[3] Wilkinson, ibid.

Identification of the eight primary gods with Aegyptian deities.

The First Class comprised, as we have seen, the eight original gods, and probably included four male and four female deities; for we generally find that the Aegyptian gods were arranged in triads comprising a god, a goddess, and their son, the third member of the triad not being of equal rank with the two from whom it had proceeded.[1] The eight original gods are identified by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson with the following.

Male.	Female.
Kneph } or Zeus.	Saté or Hera.
Amun }	Maut or Leto.
Pthah or Hephaestus.	Bubastis or Artemis.
Khem or Pan.	Neith or Athene.[2]

The four great deified attributes:

the Spirit; the Intellect;

the creative power; and the generative principle.

The two first deities, Kneph and Amun, were both alluded to by Herodotus under the name of Zeus. Kneph was the Zeus of Aethiopia and the more southern part of Upper Aegypt;[3] Amun was the Zeus of Thebes.[4] In Kneph we probably see the idea of the "Spirit of God which moveth upon the face of the waters;" in Amun, the mind or intellect of the Deity. When the Aegyptians began thus to deify each attribute of the ETERNAL GOD, they found it necessary to form two other divinities as representations of different exhibitions of the creative power. These were Pthah, the actual framer of the universe, and Khem, the being who promoted generation.

Aegyptian representation of Kneph, the divine Spirit, and Amun, the divine Intellect.

KNEPH, "the Spirit," was represented by a man with a ram's head, sometimes surmounted by an asp, or a vase, the asp being the type of dominion, and the vase the hieroglyphic which gave the initial of his name. AMUN, "the Intellect," was represented by a man with a head-dress, surmounted by two long feathers. The colour of his body was a

[1] It may also be remarked, that the female deity was not always the consort of the male.

[2] The Roman names of these deities, which are perhaps those by which they are best remembered, are Jupiter, Vulcan, Pan, Juno, Latona, Diana, and Minerva.

[3] ii. 29.

[4] ii. 42. In our account of the Aegyptian worship of Zeus, we shall have occasion to point out the difference between the Kneph Zeus and the Amun Zeus.

deep blue, like the Indian Vishnoo, as if to indicate his peculiarly exalted and heavenly nature;[1] but the name of Amun has been found beside ram-headed figures, and indeed it is extremely difficult to preserve an exact line of distinction between the deities.[2] Under the name of Amun-rê, he was regarded as the intellectual sun, as Rê was the physical orb; and this union of Amun and Rê will remind the reader of the Zeus Belus of the Babylonians, as both Belus, or Baal, and Rê signify the sun.[3] He was considered by Herodotus, and later Greek writers, to be the same as Zeus, in consequence of his having the title of King of the Gods.[4]

Identification of both Kneph and Amun with the Zeus of Herodotus.

From Herodotus we obtain the following information respecting ZEUS, under which name he has confounded Kneph, the ram-headed god of

[1] Comp. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i., Second Series, and Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i.

[2] It must be borne in mind that the Aegyptian religion does not appear to have been systematically conceived and projected, but to have been fashioned into a whole by the agglutination of parts, each having a separate origin. The worship of different gods was established in different nomes, (Herod. ii. 42,) and this division of worship goes as far back as the origin of the monarchy (Manetho, Dyn. ii. 2). Such an origin explains the intermixture and confusion of the characters and functions of the Aegyptian gods; and we find that each occasionally assumes the attributes of the others, and renders it impossible to draw a permanent line of demarcation between them. Gods of inferior rank are also sometimes invested with the highest titles, and the Theban would consider his Amun, the Memphian his Pthah, and the Saitan his Neith, to be the chief object of worship, and the great head of the whole religious system. For a further inquiry into the causes of the confusion between the Aegyptian deities, see Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, chap. xxi. sect. i.

[3] See pp. 259, 260.

[4] A singular circumstance is mentioned by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, in connexion with Amun, or Amun-rê. In all sculptures prior to about the year 1420 B. C., the hieroglyphics, or phonetic name of this deity, had been carefully substituted for others, the combinations of which could never be discovered, having been most carefully erased, and the name of Amun, or Amun-rê, placed in their stead. So systematically also has this substitution been made, that nothing short of a general order to that effect, sent to every part of Aegypt, and executed with the most scrupulous care, can account for it.

Sir J. G. Wilkinson, in another part of his work, thinks it not unlikely that the name of Khem, the generative principle, was the one for which Amun-rê was substituted, or else the name of the one great eternal Deity, which, after the uninitiated had become acquainted with the previously occult meaning of hieroglyphic writing, was deemed too sacred to be exposed to the eyes of the profane.

Southern Aegypt and Aethiopia, who represents the divine Spirit, with Amun, the blue-coloured god of Thebes, who represents the divine Intellect. The worship of Zeus, or Ammon, (Amun,) as he was called by the Aegyptians, more especially belonged to the nome of Thebes. The Thebans, and all those who erected a temple to this deity, abstained from sheep, and only sacrificed the goat.[1] This peculiarity arose from the following circumstance. Heracles was very anxious to see Zeus, who, on his part, was very unwilling that Heracles should see him. Heracles however persisted, and at last Zeus adopted this contrivance. He flayed a ram, cut off the head and held it before him, and then, clothing himself in the fleece, showed himself to Heracles in that form.[2] In consequence also of this incident, the Aegyptians represented Zeus with the head of a ram; and on one day in the year, at the festival of Zeus, the Thebans killed and flayed one ram, and clothed the image of Zeus in the manner described, and then brought near to it another image of Heracles.[3] When this was done, all who were in the temple beat themselves in mourning for the ram, and then buried it in the sacred vault.[4]

Zeus especially worshipped in the nome of Thebes. No sheep sacrificed.

Mythic story of Zeus and Heracles.

[1] This fact is confirmed by the sculptures of Thebes, from which we learn that sheep were neither sacrificed nor used for food. The large flocks of sheep in the Thebaid were kept only for their wool.—*Wilkinson.*

[2] A scriptural fact is supposed to be disguised in this extraordinary myth. Heracles wishing to see, i. e. to offer sacrifice to, Zeus, is the Aegyptian garbled account of Abraham, about to sacrifice his son. Zeus, or Amun, does not wish to be seen, i. e. God does not wish to receive the sacrifice; he causes a ram to be slain however, and with this sacrificial intervention shows himself to Abraham. The patriarch's sojourn in Aegypt, his intimate connexion with that country, and the high antiquity of that connexion—these at once prove the source of the Aegyptian tale, and account for its perversion. The "seeing" and "showing," in Herodotus involve devotional Hebraisms, that throw still stronger light upon this source; and the very Hebrew term, Amon, "faithful," closely connects this history with the title given to Abraham. Ency. Met. *Lit. of Ancient Greece.*

[3] We may conclude from this ceremony that Amun was not always represented with the head of a ram; but we need not remark further upon the confusion between Kneph and Amun, which indeed is not surprising when we consider how easy it is to confound their several attributes—"Spirit" and "Intellect."

[4] ii. 42.

Horned serpents were also sacred to this deity, which were not at all hurtful to men. They were small in size, and had two horns growing on the top of their head. When any of them died they were buried in the sacred precinct.[1] A splendid temple of Zeus was erected at Thebes, and there also was an oracle where responses were delivered in the same manner as at Dodona.[2] Female attendants were employed in the service of the temple, whom Herodotus calls γυναῖκας ἱρηΐας; or "sacred women."[3] A woman also constantly resided in the temple, and, like the female in the Babylonian temple, had no intercourse with any mortal man.[4]

Horned serpents sacred.

Temple and oracle of Zeus.

Sacred women.

PTHAH, the "creative power," whom the Greeks degraded into a mere artisan or physical agent, was

Aegyptian representation of

[1] ii. 74. Herodotus is wrong in supposing that the bite of the horned snake, or *vipera cerastes*, is harmless, and it is fortunate for us that the father of history did not prove by experience its fatal effects. These snakes are still to be found embalmed in the necropolis of Thebes. Diodorus (i. 87) correctly places them among the poisonous reptiles. *Wilkinson.*

[2] ii. 57. Cf. also p. 89 and 442. The oracle of Dodona was given by the wind rustling through the foliage of lofty oaks, (Hom. *Od.* xiv. 328, xix. 297,) whence Aeschylus (*Prom.* 832) mentions the speaking oaks of Dodona as great wonders. In order to render the sounds produced by the winds more distinct, brazen vessels were suspended on the branches of trees, which being moved by the wind came in contact with one another, and thus sounded till they were stopped. (Suidas, *s. v.* Δοδώνη; Philostrat. *Imag.* ii.) According to other accounts, oracles were also obtained through pigeons, which sitting upon oak-trees pronounced the will of Zeus. (Dionys. Hal. i. 15.) The sounds were in early times interpreted by men, but afterwards, when the worship of Dione became connected with that of Zeus, by two or three old women, who were called πελείαδες, or πέλαιαι, because pigeons were said to have brought the command to found the oracle. Cf. Smith, *Dict. of Ant.*, art. *Oraculum.*

[3] ii. 54. Diodorus (i. 47) mentions the tombs of the παλλακιδες, or concubines of the Theban Zeus, but they are supposed to be the tombs of the consorts of the kings. Twenty-four have been counted, and twelve are known to have been the tombs of queens, but the sculptures are much destroyed. The confusion between the παλλακιδες and the queens may be accounted for by a circumstance mentioned by Champollion, that they all bear the title of "Wife of Amun." Lettres, p. 286. Lepsius, Einleitung, p. 307. Quoted by Kenrick.

[4] i. 182. Strabo tells us that a noble and beautiful virgin was sacrificed to the Theban Zeus, and that a class of harlots were dedicated to his service. (xvii. p. 561.) Sir J. G. Wilkinson regards the story as incredible, but similar revolting circumstances are to be found amongst the Hindoos, who certainly are as pious and moral as the ancient Aegyptians. Sir J. G. Wilkinson has already remarked upon the similarity between the names of Amun-re and Zeus-Belus; and Herodotus has pointed out the peculiarity in their worship. Cf. also pp. 261, 445.

generally represented as a mummy holding the emblems of life and the staff of purity, and wearing a close cap without any ornaments, or sometimes a disk with the large ostrich feathers of Osiris. Sir J. G. Wilkinson has also met with a representation of Pthah drawing with a pen the figure of Harpocrates, the emblem of youth; being probably an allusion to the idea first formed in the mind of the Creator of the being he was about to make. Pthah-Socari-Osiris was the form of this deity, which was worshipped at Memphis; and numerous pigmy figures of him with disproportioned heads, phallic, bow-legged, and with almost an Aethiopean physiognomy, are to be found in the ruins of Memphis and the vicinity, frequently with the scarabaeus, or beetle,[1] on the head, and sometimes holding the crook and flagellum of Osiris. Sometimes also a representation of Pthah appears with a hawk's head both in temples and on sarcophagi.

Pthah, the creative power.

Pthah may be identified with the HEPHAESTUS of Herodotus, and, according to our author, was especially worshipped at Memphis under the form of a pigmy figure, which resembled the Phoenician pataïci, and excited the ridicule of Cambyses.[2] Herodotus, however, gives us no information respecting the manner in which this deity was worshipped, though he mentions his magnificent temple at Memphis, which we have already described.[3]

Identified with Hephaestus, and especially worshipped at Memphis.

KHEM, the generative principle, is the ithyphallic god, and is represented with a peculiar form, which is a coarse indicative of creative power. His office, however, was not confined to the procreation of the human species, but extended also over the vegetable world; hence the Greeks and Romans assigned to Priapus the office of presiding over their gardens.

Aegyptian representation of Khem, the generative principle.

[1] The scarabaeus was particularly sacred to Pthah, for, as there were no females but only males of this species, it was considered to be a fitting type of the creative power, self-acting and self-sufficient. Plutarch, *de Isid.* s. 10. Quoted by Wilkinson.

[2] iii. 37.

[3] See p. 388.

Khem[1] may be identified with the PAN of Herodotus, and was especially worshipped in the Mendesian nome. Here he had a temple, and indeed in the Aegyptian language he was called Mendes.[2] He was considered by the Mendesians to be one of the eight original gods which existed prior to the twelve.[3] The Aegyptian painters and sculptors represented him with the face and legs of a goat, in the same way that the Greeks did; not however because they imagined that this was his real form, for they considered him to be like the other gods, but for a reason which Herodotus would rather not mention. In consequence, all the Aegyptians who frequented his temple at Mendes, or belonged to the Mendesian nome, would not sacrifice the goat either male or female. Moreover, they paid great reverence to all goats, more especially to males, and particularly to one he-goat, on whose death a public mourning was observed throughout the nome. In the Aegyptian language both a goat and Pan were called Mendes, and in the time of Herodotus a prodigy occurred in this district which came to the knowledge of all men—*γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσγετο ἀναφανδόν.*[4]

Identified with Pan, and especially worshipped at Mendes.

No goats sacrificed.

Some of the statements in the foregoing description of Herodotus have been questioned. It is evident from his ranking Pan amongst the eight primary deities, that he alludes to Khem, but neither Khem nor any god in the Aegyptian Pantheon has been found on the monuments with the head and legs of a goat. The name of Mendes also seems to belong rather to the god Mandoo, who is however totally distinct from the god of generation. Moreover, the Coptic for "goat" is not Mendes, but Baampe.[5] Our author's account of the honour paid

Herodotus's statements doubted.

[1] The Aegyptian Khem is identical with the Hebrew word Ham, and in the hieroglyphic legends Aegypt was denominated Khemi, or the land of Ham.

[2] ii. 42. [3] ii. 145. [4] ii. 46.

[5] The Greek Pan was represented with attributes indicating a general resemblance to Khem, (*κατωφέρης καὶ συνουσιαστικός,*) and hence the confusion. Mr. Kenrick however has pointed out that the goat was evidently consecrated to the god of Mendes, if not employed as its sym-

to the goat in the Mendesian nome has therefore been rejected by Sir J. G. Wilkinson; but, notwithstanding the horrible extent to which it was carried, we see no reason to doubt the plain statement of Herodotus, and we preserve it as a damning proof of the impurity which ever attends idolatry, however elevated and refined its symbols may appear in the eyes of the initiated.[1]

Four primary Aegyptian goddesses. Sate, or Hera, not mentioned. Maut, or Buto, identified with Leto. Her celebrated oracle and temple.

Of the four great Aegyptian goddesses, SATE, or Hera, was not known to Herodotus as an Aegyptian deity.[2] MAUT, or Mother or Nature, has been identified with BUTO, and is represented with the pshent on her head, and has such titles as Mistress of Heaven, Regent of the World, etc. She has been identified with the LETO of Herodotus, though perhaps there is scarcely sufficient evidence for it.[3] Her oracle was the most celebrated in Aegypt;[4] it warned Mycerinus of his approaching death,[5] and promised the crown to Psammitichus.[6] The temple was situated in the large city of Buto near the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile; it was visited by Herodotus, and has already been described.[7] Our author also saw the floating island of Chemmis which did not float, and upon which had been erected a temple of Apollo.[8] Here Leto received Horus from Typhon, but this myth we shall have occasion to explain when we treat of Osiris and Isis.

bol, since the type appears upon the coins of the nome in Greek and Roman times.

[1] That there may have been an element of revealed religion and pure worship in the mythology of the Aegyptians need not be denied, and that element was doubtless reproduced in the Mosaic code of civil and ceremonial law, which presents here and there some points of resemblance with that of Aegypt. But, when we contemplate the actual state of the people from whom the divine lawgiver delivered the chosen people of God, we feel the full force of those first commandments written by the hand of Jehovah—"Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them." Comp. also Ex. xxii. 19.

[2] ii. 50.

[3] The name Βούτω, the Buto of the Greeks, is nearly allied to Maut or Muth, M and B being interchangeable letters.

[4] ii. 83. [5] ii. 133. [6] ii. 152. [7] See page 376.

[8] See page 377.

At the festival of Leto at Buto sacrifices were offered, but no other ceremonies appear to have been observed.[1]

Pasht, or Bubastis, identified with Artemis.

PASHT, or BUBASTIS, is represented on the monuments with the head of a lioness, or of a cat, and bears a disc on her head from which rises the royal asp. In her hand she holds the usual sceptre of the Aegyptian goddesses. Herodotus identifies Bubastis with ARTEMIS,[2] and states that she was the daughter of Dionysus (Osiris) and Isis, and the sister of Horus;[3] this would refer her to the later family of gods, whilst it is evident that she was one of the eight primary deities.[4] She had a magnificent temple and oracle at Bubastis, which we have already described.[5]

The festival at Bubastis.

The festival of Artemis, or Bubastis, was celebrated in the city of Bubastis, which stood in the east of the Delta, on the eastern bank of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. It was the best and most rigidly observed of all that were kept by the Aegyptians.[6] The people were conveyed to Bubastis by water, and numerous boats were crowded with persons of both sexes. During the voyage some of the women played upon the crotala,[7] and some of the men upon the flute, whilst all the rest sung and clapped their hands. When they reached any town they brought the boat close to the bank. Some of the women then continued to play the crotala; others shouted and reproached the women of the place; whilst

Shameless conduct of the worshippers

[1] ii. 63. [2] ii. 137.

[3] ii. 156. Aeschylus was the only one of the earlier poets who was acquainted with this tradition, and who therefore represented Artemis to be daughter of Demeter the Aegyptian Isis.

[4] Wilkinson believes that the mistake of Herodotus arose from the Greeks supposing that Artemis was the sister of Apollo, and then identifying Apollo both with the younger Horus, who was the son of Osiris and Isis, and the elder Horus, also called Aroeris, who was brother of Osiris. Bubastis also could have been the sister neither of the elder nor of the younger Horus.

[5] See page 371. [6] ii. 59.

[7] The crotala were properly a sort of castanets, made of hollow wooden shells, whilst the crembala were cymbals. In this present description however Herodotus seems to mean cymbals, though he says crotala. These cymbals were occasionally made like our clappers for frightening birds. *Wilkinson.*

during the pilgrimage.

others danced or pulled up their clothes before them in a scoffing manner. This conduct was repeated at every town which they passed on the river. On arriving at Bubastis they celebrated the festival by the sacrifice of a great number of victims, and more wine was consumed than during all the rest of the year. The inhabitants of Bubastis told Herodotus that not less than 700,000 men, women, and children were present at this festival.[1]

Immense consumption of wine.

Neith identified with Athene.

The goddess NEITH is represented on the Aegyptian monuments as a female wearing a crown, and holding in her hand either the hooked staff of the gods, or the flower-headed sceptre of the goddesses, and sometimes with the addition of a bow and arrows. She may be identified with ATHENE,[2] and was chiefly worshipped at Sais,[3] where there was her temple,[4] and also her oracle;[5] and where likewise a festival in her honour was celebrated.[6] This goddess was to Sais what Amun, or Zeus, was to Thebes, and all the Saitan kings were buried within her sacred precinct.[7]

The festival of burning lamps at Sais.

When the worshippers of Athene assembled at Sais to sacrifice at her festival, they all on a particular night kindled a great number of lamps around each of their houses. These lamps were small vases filled with salt and oil, and the wicks floated upon

[1] ii. 60. This number is beyond all probability, and calls to mind the 70,000 pilgrims which the Moslems say are annually present at Mecca, the exact number being kept up by a complement of angels, who every year supply any deficiency which may exist. The statement of Herodotus however is sufficient to show the immense popularity of the festival. All comments upon the scenes that were openly enacted are unnecessary. The inhabitants of that country "where morality was protected by severe laws, and who were unquestionably the most pious of all the heathen nations of antiquity,"—were evidently indulging in the vilest excesses. (Comp. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 204, Second Series.) We may remark, that in Ashantee during the Yam custom, and when the greater part of the population of the whole kingdom is assembled at Coumassie, drunkenness is general, adultery is sanctioned, and each sex abandons itself to its passions.

[2] The Greek name of Athena, or Thena, is supposed by some to have been derived from the Aegyptian word Neith, or Neth, by an inversion of the order of the letters—the Aegyptians writing from right to left, and the Greeks from left to right. But this notion is doubtful. Cf. Kenrick, vol. i. p. 389, note.

[3] ii. 62. [4] ii. 175. [5] ii. 83. [6] ii. 59. [7] ii. 169.

the surface, and continued alight throughout the night. This celebration was called the Festival of Burning Lamps, and was not confined to the city of Sais; for every Aegyptian throughout the country, though he might not be able to attend the sacrifice in person, was required to observe the lighting of the lamps. Thus, not only Sais, but all Aegypt was illuminated on the night of this festival. A religious reason is given for this illumination.[1]

Confusion between the second and third class deities, and consequent necessity for an independent and arbitrary division.

We now come to the second class of Aegyptian deities, which, Herodotus tells us, consisted of twelve gods, of whom however he only names Heracles. The third class comprised an indefinite number, and included Osiris, or Dionysus, and Horus, or Apollo; and we might also presume, that Isis, the wife of Osiris, and mother of Horus, belonged to the same order. All these gods were originally kings of Aegypt, and Horus was the last. Beside the above, Herodotus mentions Helios, Hermes, Ares, Perseus, Proteus, and Aphrodite, but without telling us to which class they belonged, and without enabling us to identify any of them, excepting Helios, with the representations that have been found on the Aegyptian monuments. In addition to these uncertainties, it is next to impossible to select any twelve gods from the Aegyptian Pantheon, as being distinctly entitled to be ranked above them of the tertiary order; whilst the extraordinary and universal honours paid to Osiris and Isis, and the lofty character of the former deity, would induce us to regard both of them as of equal

[1] ii. 62. The festival of the Burning of the Lamps at Sais, will naturally remind the reader of the Chinese Feast of Lanterns, which has been kept in China from the remotest times; and of the custom which still prevails in Switzerland, Ireland, and other countries, of lighting fires upon the summits of the hills, upon the fête of St. John. General illuminations, indeed, seem to have been resorted to in all times, on festivals, or other occasions of national rejoicing. It is however evident that the lamp was a very ancient emblem of Athene. One was kept burning before the idol in the temple of Athene Polias, at Athens, and was said to be replenished with oil and supplied with a new wick only once a year, on a special day. (Strabo, ix. p. 240, and Paus. i. 26, 27.) In the Odyssea (xix. 34) the goddess is represented holding a lamp to Telemachus and his father, while arming themselves.

rank with the eight great primary gods, though not included in the first class.[1] We therefore think it advisable to separate this branch of our subject into two arbitrary divisions. In the first, we will treat of the miscellaneous divine beings mentioned by Herodotus; Helios, Heracles, Hermes, Ares, Perseus, Proteus, and Aphrodite; and develope our author's statements at length, but explain them as concisely as possible. In the second division, we will endeavour to unfold the mysterious character of the worship of Osiris, who, with his wife Isis, and his son Horus, may be regarded as the great national deities of Aegypt; and in this description we shall also include an account of the calf Apis, or Epaphus, a supposed manifestation of divinity peculiarly connected with the Osirian worship.[2]

1. Miscellaneous divinities mentioned by Herodotus.

According to the arrangement thus mapped out we must describe, in the first place, the character and worship of the seven miscellaneous divine beings mentioned by our author, viz. Helios, Heracles, Hermes, Ares, Perseus, Proteus, and Aphrodite.

Helios, or the Sun.

HELIOS, or the Sun, was worshipped at Heliopolis, where there was a yearly festival and sacrifices in his honour.[3] In the temple in that city, the Phoe-

[1] Chevalier Bunsen has endeavoured to restore all the three orders of Herodotus, and we append a list of the gods according to his arrangement, but without including any of his observations, or altering our mode of spelling the names. It will be seen that he includes Ra, or Helios, in the first class, whilst Wilkinson places Ra in the second, because Amun is called Amun Ra. For all other explanations however we must refer the reader to Bunsen's work (*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. i.).

The eight gods of the first order were as follows: 1. Amun. 2. Khem. 3. Maut. 4. Kneph. 5. Sate. 6. Pthah. 7. Neith. 8. Ra (or Helios).

The twelve gods of the second order were as follows: 1. Chons (or Heracles), the child of Amun. 2. Thoth (or Hermes), the child of Kneph. 3. Atmu, the child of Pthah. 4. Pasht (or Bubastis), the child of Pthah. The remaining eight were all the children of Helios, viz. 5. Athor (or Aphrodite). 6. Mau. 7. Ma (truth). 8. Tefnu, the lioness-headed goddess. 9. Muntu. 10. Sevek (the crocodile-headed god). 11. Seb (or Cronos). 12. Netpe (or Rhea).

The seven gods of the third order were as follows: 1. Typhon. 2. Osiris. 3. Isis. 4. Nephthys. 5. Horus the elder. 6. Horus the younger, or Harpocrates. 7. Anubis.

[2] The veneration of animals will be noticed further on, (chap. vi.,) under another heading altogether.

[3] ii. 59, 63.

nix, every 500 years, deposited the body of its deceased parent.[1]

Identified with the Aegyptian Rê, or Ra.

Helios was undoubtedly the same as the Aegyptian Rê, or Ra, the physical sun, and his worship appears to have been universal throughout Aegypt. Ra, with the definite article Pi prefixed, is the same as the Phrah, or Pharaoh of Scripture. He is usually represented on the monuments as a man with a hawk's head, surmounted by a globe or disc of the sun, through which the asp issued. Sometimes he is figured with the head of a man, and with the same disc, and very rarely under the entire form of a hawk, which is his emblem.[2]

Heracles cannot be identified.

HERACLES is described by our author as one of the twelve secondary gods,[3] but it is difficult to identify him with any of the representations on the monuments.[4] He was probably regarded as the abstract idea of strength, or the power of nature.

His oracle and temple.

There was an oracle of Heracles[5] in Aegypt, and Herodotus mentions a temple which was erected to this deity, near the Canopic mouth of the Nile, and which was a sure place of refuge for runaway slaves.[6] His connexion with Amun has already been pointed out.[7]

Greek story of the attempt to sacrifice him to Zeus, and his slaying the whole crowd of worshippers.

The Greeks told a silly story concerning Heracles, which has been preserved by Herodotus, namely, that when Heracles visited Aegypt, the Aegyptians crowned him with a garland, and led him in a procession in order to sacrifice him to Zeus, or Amun, and that he remained quiet for some time; but when they had placed him upon the altar, and commenced the preparatory ceremonies, he also began to defend himself, and slew every one of them. Our author however utterly denies the truth of this story. Those who told it appeared to him to be utterly ignorant of the character and customs of the

Disbelieved by Herodotus, be-

[1] ii. 73. For a further account of the Phoenix see the next chapter.
[2] See Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, vol. ii., Second Series.
[3] ii. 43, 145.
[4] Sir J. G. Wilkinson offers numerous conjectures, but is unable to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion: Bunsen identifies Heracles with Chons.
[5] ii. 83.
[6] ii. 113.
[7] See page 446.

Aegyptians. "The people," he says, "are forbidden to sacrifice even animals, excepting swine, and pure oxen, and male calves, and geese; how is it likely, then, that they should sacrifice men?[1] Moreover, since Heracles was only one, and, as they confess, a mere man, how is it possible that he should slay many thousands?[2] In thus speaking however may I meet with indulgence from gods and heroes."[3]

cause the Aegyptians would not offer human sacrifices, and Heracles, the hero, could not single-handed have slain thousands.

HERMES is merely named by Herodotus as having a temple at Bubastis, which was connected with the temple of Artemis by a grove of trees.[4] He was probably one of the mummy-formed gods of Aegypt, whom Herodotus identified with Hermes, from the peculiarity of its shape, which most likely resembled the Hermae figures on the public roads of Hellas. At a later period Hermes was identified with Aegyptian Thoth, the god of letters. In the Aegyptian monuments Thoth is generally represented with the head of the ibis, and holds a tablet and reed pen in

Hermes, perhaps a mummy-formed god.

Subsequently identified with Thoth.

[1] Sir J. G. Wilkinson fully coincides with Herodotus's disbelief in human sacrifices amongst the Aegyptians, which would be contrary to the usages of so highly civilized a people, and of which no traces can be found on the monuments. But human sacrifices were exceedingly common in the ancient world, even amongst civilized nations like the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, and were not quite unknown to the Greeks themselves; and surely the Mexicans were a highly civilized people, and yet we know that their teocallis were profusely stained with the blood of human victims. We may also mention the Ashantees, who will sacrifice their fellow-creatures by hundreds, and yet punish the killing of a vulture, a hyaena, or any sacred animal with death. With respect to Aegypt, Manetho expressly informs us, (Plut. Is. et Osir.,) that men called Typhonian (i. e. of a red colour) were burnt alive and their ashes scattered to the winds; and Diodorus tells us (i. 88) that these Typhonian men were sacrificed by the ancient kings at the tomb of Osiris. Plutarch also tells us, on the authority of Castor, that the seal, which was placed by a priest on every animal found to be fit for sacrifice, (Herod. ii. 38,) bore the figure of a man kneeling, with his hands bound behind him, and a sword pointed at his throat; and this figuratively symbolic group has been found by Wilkinson himself more than once in the hieroglyphics of sculptures relating to the sacrifice of victims.

[2] This slaughtering of the Aegyptians by Heracles is supposed to be a disguised version of Samson's exploit at Ramath Lehi (Judg. xv. 17); and the taking of Heracles to the altar to be sacrificed, and his putting forth his strength, and slaying every one when they began the solemnities, shows that the slaughter of the Philistines was mixed up with Samson's pulling down the temple of Dagon at Gaza (Judg. xvi. 30). Cf. Pococke, *Lit. of Ancient Greece.*

[3] ii. 45.

[4] ii. 138.

his hand. The cynocephalus, or ape, was also, as well as the ibis, an emblem of this deity.

Ares, perhaps a form of Typhon, or the evil principle.

ARES, another god, was, according to Herodotus, worshipped at Papremis;[1] but it is as difficult to identify him with any of the figures on the Aegyptian monuments as it is to discover Heracles. He seems best to answer to an armed male figure, named Ranpo;[2] but as the hippopotamus was sacred in Papremis, and was an emblem of Typhon, it is probable that the Ares of Herodotus may have been a form of the evil principle.[3] An oracle of Ares is mentioned by our author,[4] and was most likely at Papremis.

His oracle.

Festival at Papremis.

At the festival of Ares at Papremis, the sacrifices and ceremonies were much the same as in other places; but when the sun went down the following performance took place. The statue of the god was to be moved from one temple to another. Accordingly it was placed in a small wooden shrine, gilded all over, and laid upon a four-wheeled car. A body of priests made certain gestures round the statue, whilst others in greater numbers, and armed with wooden clubs, took up a position in the vestibule of the temple, to which the statue was to be conveyed. A crowd of votaries, amounting to more than a thousand men, and each armed with similar clubs, also presented themselves opposite the vestibule. The priests, who were standing round the statue, then prepared to draw forward the car, but the armed priests in the vestibule refused to give it admittance. The crowd of votaries then advanced to the assistance of their god. An obstinate combat ensued, the votaries endeavouring to gain admittance for the car, and each party attacking the other with their clubs. Herodotus conjectures that many heads must have been broken, and many must have died of their wounds, notwithstanding the assertions of the Aegyptians to the contrary.[5] The inhabitants of Papremis declared that they instituted this festi-

Mock-fight between the priests and votaries.

Popular legend to account for its origin.

[1] ii. 63. [2] Wilkinson, *plate* 69, 70.
[3] Prichard, *Analysis*, quoted by Kenrick. [4] ii. 83. [5] ii. 63.

val from the following circumstance. They said that the mother of Ares dwelt in the temple, and that Ares, on his return from foreign parts, where he had been educated, desired to see his mother, but that her attendants, not having seen him before, refused to suffer him to pass them, and repelled him from the entrance. Upon this Ares collected a band of men together from another city, and attacked the servants, and thus obtained admittance.[1]

Perseus and Proteus.

PERSEUS and PROTEUS are both mentioned by Herodotus as having been honoured by the Aegyptians; and here there is some difficulty in reconciling his narrative with an assertion which he makes in another place, that the Aegyptians paid no religious honours to heroes.[2] A temple of Perseus, the son of Danae, was standing in the Theban city of Chemmis, which must not be confused with the city of the same name, situated in the Delta.[3] The Chemmitae declared that Perseus frequently appeared to them on earth, and often showed himself in the temple; and they also stated that his sandal, which was two cubits long, was sometimes found,[4] and that after such an occurrence the whole nation of Aegypt was gladdened by a general prosperity. Accordingly, the Chemmitae celebrated gymnastic games, in honour of Perseus, and gave cattle, cloaks, and skins, as prizes of the several contests; and were thus the only Aegyptian people who followed any of the Greek usages. Herodotus himself asked them the cause of this peculiarity, upon which they told him that Perseus derived his origin from their city, through his ancestors, Danaus and Lynceus, who were both natives of Chemmis, and had sailed from thence to Greece; and they added that when Perseus came to Aegypt to bring away the Gorgon's head from Libya, he visited

Temple of Perseus at Chemmis.

His enormous sandal.

Gymnastic games celebrated at Chemmis in his honour.

His legendary history according to the Chemmitans.

[1] ii. 64. [2] ii. 50. [3] See page 377.

[4] Wilkinson tells us that the dervishes of a college at Cairo show an enormous shoe, which they say belonged to their founder (*Mod. Egyptians*, vol. i.). It has been suggested that the story may be an old Coptic superstition Mahometanized. Herodotus himself saw in Scythia the footprint of Heracles, two cubits long (iv. 82).

Chemmis, and acknowledged all his kindred, and accordingly the gymnastic games were instituted in his honour.[1] Of Proteus, the king of Aegypt who was reigning when Paris carried off Helen from Menelaus, Herodotus merely says, that at Memphis there was an enclosure sacred to him, which was very beautiful and richly adorned.[2]

Temenus at Memphis, sacred to Proteus.

Aphrodite identified with Athor.

APHRODITE, according to Herodotus, had a temple in Atarbechis, or the city of Athor, which was situated in an island of the Delta, named Prosopitis.[3] She may be identified with Athor, from whom indeed the Aphrodite of the Greeks was evidently traced. Athor is frequently represented on the monuments in the form of a cow, but generally as a female with a head-dress surmounted with the ears and long horns of a cow, and a solar disc; and it has been remarked that, setting aside the cow's ears, there is more beauty in the face of Athor than in any other of the Aegyptian divinities. When Herodotus tells us that the image of Isis is made in the form of a woman with the horns of a cow,[4] he is perhaps confounding her with Athor. Indeed there was a strong analogy between these two divinities; each goddess is frequently represented with the attributes of the other; whilst the name Athor signifies the habitation of Horus,[5] who was the son of Isis.

Represented with cow's horns and confounded by Herodotus with Isis.

Wooden cow at Sais probably connected with her worship and with that of Osiris.

The annual ceremony in memorial of the daughter of Mycerinus, was probably connected with the worship of this goddess and with that of Osiris. Herodotus informs us that Mycerinus, wishing to bury his daughter in a costly manner, deposited her body in the wooden image of a cow, which was overlaid with gold. This cow was not buried in the earth, but preserved down to the time of Herodotus; and the historian saw it himself in a richly ornamented chamber of the royal palace of

[1] ii. 91. [2] ii. 112. See also page 435.
[3] ii. 41. [4] Ibid.
[5] The hieroglyphic name of Athor, Thy-hor, Têi-hor, or Eit-hor, consists of a hawk (the emblem of Horus) within a square enclosure, literally signifying "the house of Horus." See Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, vol. iv.

Annual festival connected with it.

Sais. All kinds of aromatics were burnt near it during the day, and every night a lamp was kept by it constantly lighted.[1] The cow was covered with a purple cloth, excepting the head and neck, which were laid over with a thick coating of gold, and a golden disc of the sun was placed between the horns. It was not standing up, but kneeling, and in size was equal to a large cow. Every year it was taken out of the chamber at the time when the Aegyptians beat themselves, and mourn for that god (Osiris) whom Herodotus will not name; and on this occasion the heifer was exposed to the light in obedience to a dying request which the daughter of Mycerinus made to her father, that he would permit her to see the sun once a year.[2]

The Foreign Aphrodite, or Helen the stranger.

A temple of the FOREIGN APHRODITE was erected in the enclosure of Proteus at Memphis, and, according to the conjecture of Herodotus, in honour of Helen; for our author had heard that Helen lived with Proteus, and knew of no other temple of Aphrodite under that peculiar name.[3]

Hera, Hestia, and Themis also to be identified with Aegyptian deities, though not known as such to Herodotus.

In concluding our description of the miscellaneous Aegyptian divinities mentioned by Herodotus, we must notice one of his observations. He says that the names of all the gods of Greece originally came from Aegypt, excepting Poseidon and the Dioscuri, and Hera, Hestia, Themis, the Graces, and the Nereids.[4] Now we are not to infer from this statement that these deities themselves were unknown to the Aegyptians, for there is direct evidence that three of them, Hera, Hestia, and Themis, held a distinguished position in the Aegyptian Pantheon. Hera was called Saté, Hestia was named Anouké, and Themis was doubtless derived from the Aegyptian Thmei, the goddess of truth and justice, from whom were borrowed her attributes and name. Indeed it is difficult to understand that the Greeks were strangers even to the name of

[1] ii. 130. [2] ii. 132. See also p. 413. [3] ii. 112. [4] ii. 50.

Themis, which was so closely allied to the Thmei of Aegypt.[1]

2. Osiris, Isis, Horus, and the calf Apis.

We have now to treat of the most important branch of the whole mythological system, namely, the worship of OSIRIS. This deity usually forms a triad with his wife Isis and son Horus; and is also supposed to have been occasionally represented on earth by the calf Apis. The Aegyptian conceptions concerning him were of a deeply mysterious nature. They may be separated into two divisions, in accordance with his dualistic character. First, those which relate to his ancient manifestation upon earth in the form of a mortal king of Aegypt. Secondly, those which are connected with his divine nature, especially as Judge of the dead and Ruler of Hades. We shall see that these characters will harmonize thoroughly together, and that Osiris the earthly king and Osiris the divine judge are one and the same person; but still it is necessary, for the proper comprehension of his nature, to keep the mythical history of his adventures on earth perfectly distinct from the conceptions which belong to his character as a divine being.

Dualistic character of Osiris as mortal king of Aegypt and divine Ruler of Hades.

Herodotus's account of Osiris is full of hesitation and reserve, the consequence of his having been initiated into at least the lower order of the Osirian mysteries. It is difficult however to say whether the solemnity of his initiatory oaths, or the fear of personally offending the deities, had the greatest effect in preventing his communicating his knowledge to a heedless and irreverent generation; nor can we even ascertain from the character of his silence the precise nature of the secrets with which he frequently acknowledges himself to have been familiar. It is evident that he was strongly affected by the mutilations which Osiris underwent at the conclusion of his earthly career, but he makes no attempt to separate his human from his divine character. It is therefore difficult to decide upon a

Herodotus's hesitation and reserve in alluding to Osiris.

[1] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i., Second Series.

plan which shall preserve the individuality and independence of the narrative of Herodotus, and yet at the same time illustrate and explain its several parts, and fill up those gaps which the piety of our historian constrained him to leave unsupplied. If we followed the natural division of the subject according to the two-fold nature of Osiris, our course would be easy, but would be contrary to the spirit of our author's relation. We are therefore reduced to the necessity of preserving Herodotus's account intact amidst the necessary mass of explanatory and illustrative matter. The whole may be divided into four parts. First, we shall give the mythic history of the earthly adventures of Osiris; secondly, the rationalistic explanation of the myth, according to Plutarch; thirdly, a digest of Herodotus's information upon the subject; and fourthly, a general view of the character and attributes of Osiris and his family.

General division of the subject.

According to the foregoing plan, we shall first gather from Plutarch[1] the whole history of the mortal life and adventures of Osiris.

Mythic history of the earthly adventures of Osiris.

Rhea, the Aegyptian Netpe, having indulged in a secret intercourse with Cronos, was discovered by the Sun, who thereupon laid a curse upon her that she should not be delivered in any month or year. Hermes however was also a lover of Rhea, and in recompence for the favours which he had received from her, he played at dice with the Moon, and won from the latter the seventieth part of each of her months. These seventieth (or rather seventy-second[2]) parts she joined together, and thus made five new

Rhea delivered of five children on the five intercalary days obtained by Hermes, viz.

[1] Plutarch's learned treatise, De Iside et Osiride, was addressed to Clea, the chief of the female ministers of the Dionysiac orgies at Delphi. Clea had been initiated by her father and mother into the mysteries of Osiris, but Plutarch wished to communicate to her more lofty and philosophical views of the Aegyptian theology than those taught by the Isiac priests, who in his time appear to have been merely a set of ignorant and selfish impostors. His views we shall have occasion to notice further on; at present we have only to present the reader with the bare myths.

[2] Seventy here stands, as elsewhere, a round number instead of the precise one, for seventy-two; five being the seventy-second part of 360. *Kenrick.*

days, which were added to the 360 days of which the year formerly consisted. On each of these five days Rhea bore a child. On the first day was born Osiris, who had been begotten by the Sun,[1] and upon whose birth a voice was heard to exclaim, "The Lord of all the earth is born." On the second day, Aroeris, who had also been begotten by the Sun, and who was called Apollo by some of the Greeks, but by others, the elder Horus. On the third day, Typhon, who had been begotten by Cronos, and who was not born in the usual course, but forced his way through a wound in Rhea's side. On the fourth day, Isis, who had been begotten by Hermes. On the fifth day, Nephthys,[2] who, like Typhon, had been begotten by Cronos. Typhon married his sister Nephthys. Osiris and Isis were united even before their birth, and had a son who by the Aegyptians was called Aroeris, or the Elder Horus, but by the Greeks the Younger Horus.

Osiris and the elder Horus, begotten by the Sun;

Typhon, by Cronos;

Isis, by Hermes; Nephthys, by Cronos. Typhon marries Nephthys. Osiris marries Isis and begets the younger Horus.

Osiris, having become king of Aegypt, instructed his subjects in the arts of civilization, teaching them agriculture, enacting laws, and establishing the worship of the gods. Subsequently he travelled over the rest of the world for the same purpose, and conquered the world, not by the force of arms, but by the mildness of persuasion, and especially by the charms of music and poetry; hence the Greeks identified him with Dionysus. During his absence Isis administered the regency so wisely that Typhon was unable to excite a revolution; but after his return Typhon conspired against him, with seventy-two other persons, and a queen of Aethiopia, named Aso. Having secretly obtained the measure of Osiris's body, Typhon caused a beautiful chest splendidly adorned to be made exactly the same size. This chest he brought into the banqueting-room, and promised, as if in jest, to give it to any one of the guests whose body might happen to fit it.

Osiris king of Aegypt. Instructs his subjects, and mankind generally, in the arts of civilization.

Typhon, the evil principle, conspires against him, encloses him in a chest, and casts it into the Nile.

[1] Sir J. G. Wilkinson has pointed out, that, according to the hieroglyphics, Cronos, or the Aegyptian Seb, was the father of Osiris.

[2] Nephthys was by some called Telente and Aphrodite, and by others Nike.

The whole company tried it one after the other without success. At last Osiris laid himself down in it, upon which Typhon and his fellow-conspirators immediately nailed on and soldered the lid, and set the case afloat on the Nile. The chest was carried to sea through the Tanaitic mouth, which henceforth was held in the utmost abhorrence by the Aegyptians. These things happened in the 17th day of the month Athryr, when the sun was in Scorpio, and in the 28th year of the reign, or, as some said, of the age of Osiris.

Isis hears of the disaster, and discovers Anubis, the son of Osiris by her sister Nephthys.

The Pans and Satyrs who lived about Chemmis were the first who made known the news, and thus originated the name of Panics. Isis, directly the report reached her, cut off one of her locks of hair and put on mourning. She was also informed that her sister Nephthys, having fallen in love with Osiris, had personated herself (Isis), and so far deceived Osiris as to bear him a son, but that, dreading the anger of her own husband Typhon, she had exposed the child as soon as it was born. Isis, after some difficulty, found the boy and bred him up, and he was afterwards called Anubis.

Obtains the chest, which had been stranded at Byblos: Typhon subsequently recovers it, and tears the body into fourteen pieces and scatters them about Aegypt.

Meantime the chest had floated to the Phoenician city of Byblos, and having been cast ashore had lodged on the branches of a Tamarisk bush; the bush had grown into a large tree and enclosed it within its trunk; and the tree itself had been cut down by the king of the country, and the part containing the chest had been used as a pillar to support the roof of the palace. Isis, divinely conducted, went to Byblos, obtained possession of the pillar, and returned to Aegypt with the chest, which she opened and carried to Buto, where her son Horus was being brought up. Here she deposited the body in secrecy, but Typhon found it one night whilst he was hunting by moonlight, and tearing it into fourteen pieces disposed of them in different parts of the country.

Isis in a boat of papyrus re-

Isis now again set out in search of her husband's body, using a boat made of the papyrus rush, for the

purpose of traversing the marshes. Wherever she found one of the scattered pieces, there she buried it, and this accounts for the many different sepulchres of Osiris shown in Aegypt. At length she recovered all the different members excepting one, which had been devoured by the fishes, Lepidotus and Phragrus. To make amends for this loss Isis consecrated the phallus, and instituted a solemn festival to its memory.

gains all the pieces excepting one, and consecrates the phallus as a memorial of her loss.

Osiris returned from Hades and assisted Horus against Typhon. A battle ensued, in which Typhon was taken prisoner, but Isis, into whose hands he was committed, instead of putting him to death, set him at liberty. Horus was so enraged at this circumstance that he tore off the royal diadem from his mother's head, but Hermes supplied its place by a helmet shaped like the head of a cow. Two other battles took place before Typhon was finally subdued. It was also related that Isis had intercourse with Osiris after his death, and had given birth to Harpocrates, who consequently came into the world before his time, and with a weakness in his lower limbs.

Osiris returns from Hades, and assists in the final overthrow of Typhon.

Such is the myth preserved by Plutarch, and of which the substance was apparently well known to Herodotus. It represents the Osirian circle as belonging to those five intercalary days which, at a comparatively modern date, were added to the 360 days of the ancient calendar. It therefore confirms the statement of Herodotus that Osiris and Isis belonged to the third class deities; as we may take it for granted that the previous gods belonged to the ancient calendar of 360 days, every day being, according to our author, assigned to some particular divinity.[1] Other traces of a connexion with as-

Traces in the myth of a reference to astronomy.

[1] ii. 82. The addition of the five days to the Aegyptian calendar undoubtedly took place at a very remote period. According to Syncellus, (Chron. p. 123,) it was made by one of the Shepherd-kings named Asseth. Lepsius however asserts that he has found traces of them in a grotto of the 12th dynasty, or prior to the invasion of the Shepherds. It however by no means follows, as a historical fact, that the Osirian worship did not exist prior to the addition of the five intercalary days; whilst the mythic history of the adventures of Osiris upon earth certainly

tronomy are also to be found in the legend. The 72 conspirators correspond to the 72nd part of the year which Hermes won from the Moon, and which consisted of the five intercalary days. The 28 years of the life or reign of Osiris may refer to the number of days in a lunar month. The season of the year in which the dismemberment of Osiris took place, was the sun's entrance into the Scorpion, being the time when, after light and darkness have been equally balanced at the equinox, darkness begins to preponderate through the gloomy months of winter. The order in which the events are recorded, also favours the supposition that they relate to the disappearance of the sun from the northern hemisphere. The disappearance of Osiris in the chest took place in autumn; the voyage of Isis to discover his remains was performed in the month of December; the search for them in Aegypt occurred about the middle of winter; and in the end of February, Osiris entering into the moon fertilized the world.[1]

Physical interpretation of the myth as given by Plutarch.

A physical interpretation of the myth is given by Plutarch. Osiris is the inundation of the Nile. Isis is that portion of the land of Aegypt which is irrigated by its overflow. Horus, their offspring, is the vapour which rises from the conjunction of the two. Buto, or Leto, is the marshy part of the Delta, where the vapour is nourished. Nephthys is the edge of the desert, which is occasionally overflowed during the very high inundations. Anubis, the illegitimate son of Osiris by Nephthys, is the production of that barren edge of the desert which had been fertilized by the extraordinary overflow. Typhon is the sea which swallows up the waters of the Nile. The conspirators are the drought overcoming the moisture from which the increase of the Nile proceeds. The chest refers to the banks of the Nile, within which the river retires after its inundation. The Tanaitic mouth refers to the low

belongs to a very much later date, for no representation of it is to be found on the older monuments of Aegypt.

[1] Prichard's Analysis, quoted by Kenrick.

and barren lands in the neighbourhood, which being annually overflowed without producing any benefit to the country, were held in great abhorrence by the Aegyptians. The 28 years of the life of Osiris are the 28 cubits to which the Nile rises at Elephantine, being its greatest height. The 17th day of the month Athyr is the period when the river retires within its banks. The Queen of Aethiopia is the south wind, which blowing from that country prevents the Etesian, or annual north winds, from carrying the clouds towards it, and thus keeps away those showers of rain which cause the inundation of the Nile. The different members of the body of Osiris are the main channels and canals by which the inundation passed into the interior of the country, where each was said to have been subsequently buried. The unrecovered member is the general power of the Nile which still continued in the stream itself. The victory of Horus refers to the power possessed by the clouds of causing the successive inundations of the Nile. Harpocrates, whom Isis brought forth about the winter solstice, refers to those weak shootings of the corn which are produced after the subsiding of the overflow.[1]

Herodotus's account of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Osiris, or Dionysus and Isis, or Demeter, the two national deities of Aegypt.

We now turn to Herodotus's account of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Of their history he says as little as possible, though he is repeatedly obliged to refer to their adventures. Osiris and Isis he describes as the two great national deities of Aegypt, and the only ones who were worshipped in the same manner by all the people.[2] Osiris was identified with Dionysus;[3] Isis with Demeter.[4] The image of Isis was in the form of a woman, having the horns of a cow,

Isis represented like Io, and per-

[1] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i., Second Series, to which volume the reader is referred for fuller information upon the subject. Further explanations of the Osirian myth will be found in Plutarch's Treatise of Isis and Osiris.

[2] ii. 42.

[3] ii. 144. The conquests of Dionysus in India probably led the Greeks to consider him to be the same as Osiris; and Dionysus also, under the name of Zagreus, was said to have been torn in pieces by the Titans.

[4] ii. 59, 156.

and thus resembled the Greek images of Io,[1] and appears to have been regarded as the moon.[2]

haps regarded as the moon.

Osiris and Isis were the parents of two children; namely, the younger Horus, who was identified by the Greeks with Apollo; and Bubastis, or Pasht, who was identified with Artemis.[3] When Typhon was searching everywhere for Horus, the goddess Isis confided both Horus and his sister Bubastis to the care of Leto, who henceforth became their nurse and preserver. Leto is said to have concealed them in that island, called Chemmis, which was situated in the broad and deep lake near her own sacred precinct in the city of Buto, and which in the time of Herodotus was called the floating island.[4]

Horus the son, and Bubastis the daughter, of Osiris and Isis concealed by Leto in the floating island of Chemmis from Typhon.

Osiris, his tomb at Sais. Annual representation of his allegorical adventures on the circular lake.

The tomb of Osiris was in the temple of Athene at Sais, behind the chapel of the goddess. Herodotus considered it would be impious to divulge his name, but there can be no doubt that Osiris is meant. Near it was a lake ornamented with a stone margin, and resembling in size and shape the circular lake at Delos.[5] At night time, on this lake, was performed a representation of the allegorical adventures of the same person, (Osiris,) which the Aegyptians called mysteries; and as this took place at night, it was probably celebrated on the same occasion as the Festival of Burning Lamps.[6] Herodotus was accurately acquainted with the particulars of these mysterious adventures, but considers himself obliged to preserve a discreet silence.[7]

Isis, the greatest Aegyptian goddess. Represented like the Greek Io. Her temple and festival at Busiris.

Isis was considered by the Aegyptians to be the greatest of all the goddesses.[8] And she was represented in the form of a woman, with the horns of a cow, in the same way that the Greeks represented Io.[9] Her largest temple was erected in the city of Busiris, in the centre of the Delta, and here was

[1] ii. 41. [2] ii. 47. [3] Comp. page 450.
[4] ii. 156. [5] ii. 170. [6] Comp. 452.
[7] ii. 171. Traces of this lake are still existing, as well as of the temple and of the tombs of the Saitic kings. Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, vol. i.
[8] ii. 59.
[9] ii. 41. For the connexion between Isis and Athor, see page 459.

celebrated her festival, which was more magnificently observed than that of any other deity.[1] Bullocks were sacrificed to her in the same way that sacrifices were made to the other deities.[2] After however the bullocks were flayed and the prayers offered, the sacrificers took out all the intestines, and left the vitals together with the fat in the carcase; they next cut off the legs and the extremity of the hip, and also the shoulders and neck; and then, last of all, they filled the body with fine bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other perfumes, and burnt it, pouring over it a great quantity of oil. These sacrifices were performed after a fast, and whilst the offerings were being burnt, all the worshippers, to the number of many myriads, beat themselves; but Herodotus considered that it would be impious for him to divulge for whom it was that they thus acted:[3] there can however be no doubt but that it was for Osiris. The Carian settlers in Aegypt also cut their foreheads with knives, and thus showed themselves to be foreigners.[4] When the sacrifice and beating were all over, a banquet was spread of the remains of the victims.[5] Cows and female calves were not sacrificed, as they were sacred to Isis, and more reverenced by the Aegyptians than any other cattle.[6]

Bullocks sacrificed to her, whilst the votaries beat themselves, and lament for Osiris.

Cows sacred to her.

Osiris and Isis were said by the Aegyptians to hold the chief sway in the infernal regions. The Aegyptians also were the first who maintained that the soul of man was immortal, and that when the

Osiris and Isis considered by the Aegyptians to be the rulers of Hades. Im-

[1] ii. 59. [2] See page 471. [3] ii. 61.

[4] Ibid. This self-wounding was undoubtedly a foreign custom, and probably of Phoenician origin. The worshippers of Baal are described as acting in a similar manner when opposed to Elijah—"And they cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them." (1 Kings xviii. 28.) Similar practices were however probably observed by the Aegyptians, for we find Moses directly forbidding them—"Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead." (Deut. xiv. 1.) Mr. Bowditch tells us that those persons in Ashantee, who pretend to sudden inspiration, or that the fetish has come upon them, lacerate themselves dreadfully by rolling over the sharp points of rocks, beating themselves, and tearing their flesh with their own hands, so as to present the most shocking spectacle.

[5] ii. 40. [6] ii. 41.

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body perished it entered into some animal; and that thus it continued to exist until it had passed through the different kinds of creatures on the earth, in the sea, and in the air, after which it again assumed a human form, and thus completed a revolution, which occupied three thousand years.[1]

mortality of the soul propounded in the dogma of metempsychosis. Cycle of 3000 years.

A specimen of the Aegyptian ideas connected with the infernal regions is to be found in the following strange story told by our author. Rhampsinitus, one of the ancient kings at Memphis, descended alive into Hades, and there played at dice with Isis, and sometimes won, and at other times lost. When he returned to the surface of the earth, he brought with him a napkin of gold which had been presented to him by the goddess. Since then the Aegyptians, in memory of the extraordinary descent, had celebrated a festival, which was still held in the time of Herodotus. On a certain day the priests, having woven a cloak, placed it upon one of their number, and bound his eyes with a scarf, and then conducted him to the road leading to the temple of Isis, where they left him. According to the popular belief, two wolves subsequently led the priest with his eyes bandaged to the temple of Isis, which was situated twenty stadia from the city, and afterwards the same wolves led him back to the spot from whence he had started.[2]

Illustration of the Aegyptian ideas of Hades, in the story of Rhampsinitus.

Worship of Osiris and Isis universal. Its peculiarities. Swine, though considered an impure animal, sacrificed at the full moon to both deities.

The worship of Osiris and of Isis was not only universal throughout Aegypt, but also characterized by some remarkable peculiarities. Swine in general were considered by the Aegyptians to be so impure, that if a man in passing a pig only touched it with his garments, he was obliged to plunge into the Nile to purify himself; whilst swineherds, although native Aegyptians, were not allowed to enter any of the temples, nor would a man give his daughter in marriage to a swineherd, nor yet take a wife from that degraded caste. Swine however were sacrificed both to Isis and Osiris, but though Herodotus was acquainted with the Aegyptian tradition, which

[1] ii. 123. [2] ii. 122.

accounted for this incongruity, yet he considered it most becoming in him not to mention it. The sacrifices to the moon, or Isis, and to Dionysus, or Osiris, were performed at the same full moon. In the former festival the sacrificer slew the victim, and then put together the tip of the tail with the spleen and the caul, and covered them with the fat which was found about the belly of the animal, and consumed them with fire. The rest of the flesh was eaten by the Aegyptians during the full moon in which the sacrifices were offered, but on no other day would they even taste it. The poorer classes of people, who were unable to offer swine, were accustomed to shape pigs out of dough and bake them, and offer them in sacrifice.[1] In the worship of Dionysus, or Osiris, every one slew a pig before his door on the eve of the festival, and then restored it to the swineherd from whom he had bought it, and who thereupon carried it away. The remainder of the festival, with the exception of that which regarded the pigs, was celebrated by the Aegyptians in much the same manner as the Dionysiac festival was kept by the Hellenes. Instead of phalli however the Aegyptians had invented certain images, about a cubit in height, which were moved by strings, and of which the αἰδοιος was almost as large as the rest of the body. These images were carried about the villages by the women, who sang the praises of Dionysus, whilst a pipe led the way. Why the αἰδοιος was so large and moved no other part of the body, was accounted for by a sacred story.[2] The name and sacrifices of Dionysus, together with the procession of the phallus, were introduced by Melampus into Greece with only a few trifling alterations.[3]

At the festival of Isis the tail, spleen, and caul of the pig was burnt, but the rest eaten.

Pigs of baked dough offered by the poor.

At the festival of Osiris a pig slain at every door, and Dionysiac orgies celebrated.

Apis, in whom Osiris was supposed occasionally to manifest himself, is described by our author at greater length and with less reserve. Apis, or Epaphus,

Herodotus's account of Apis.

[1] ii. 47.

[2] ii. 48. Wilkinson thinks that Herodotus, in his description of the Priapeian Osiris, had the deity Khem or Pan in his eye.

[3] ii. 49.

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as he was called by the Greeks, was according to him a young bull, whose mother could have no other offspring. The Aegyptians said that he was begotten by a flash of lightning which descended from heaven. He was known by certain marks: his hair was black, but on his forehead was a square spot of white, on his back the figure of an eagle, on his tongue a beetle, and in his tail the hairs were double.[1] He only appeared at distant intervals, but when the manifestation took place, public rejoicings were celebrated throughout Aegypt, and all the people put on their best attire, and kept festive holiday. It was these festivities which excited the anger of Cambyses, for Apis appeared just at the failure of the Persian expeditions against Aethiopia and Ammon. Cambyses demanded the cause of the ill-timed rejoicings; but on hearing the sacred legend from the magistrates of Memphis, he said they were liars, and put them to death.[2] He next summoned the priests, and ordered them to bring Apis before him,[3] but then, like one bereft of his senses, he drew his dagger and stabbed the animal in the thigh, and scoffed at the flesh and blood deity of the Aegyptians. He then issued orders for the priests to be scourged, and for all the Aegyptians found feasting to be executed. Apis subsequently died, and was buried by the priests without the knowledge of Cambyses, who, according to the Aegyptians, went mad in consequence of his sacrilegious atrocity.[4] A court for Apis was built by Psammitichus at Memphis, opposite the southern portico of the temple of Hephaestus; and here Apis was fed whenever he appeared. The court was surrounded by a colonnade which was supported, not by pillars, but by statues twelve cubits high.[5]

Begotten on a cow by a flash of lightning. Known by his black hair, white square mark on his forehead, eagle on his back, beetle on his tongue, and double hairs in his tail. Public rejoicings on his appearance.

Sacrilegious conduct of Cambyses.

Court for Apis built at Memphis by Psammitichus.

It is impossible to ascertain whether Herodotus is correct in his description of the peculiar marks of Apis; from bronzes however that have been discovered in Aegypt, we learn that the figure of a vulture on his back, and not the eagle, was one of his

Further notices of Apis from Pliny, Strabo, and Diodorus.

[1] iii. 28. [2] iii. 27. [3] iii. 28. [4] iii. 29, 30. [5] ii. 153.

characteristics, and was no doubt supplied by the priests themselves. He was kept at Memphis, and at that city was most particularly worshipped. Attached to the court built by Psammitichus, were probably the two stables or thalami mentioned by Pliny;[1] and Strabo says that the mother of Apis was kept in the vestibule leading to the court, and that here Apis himself was sometimes introduced in order to be shown to strangers.[2] When Apis died his obsequies were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, and sometimes almost occasioned the ruin of his keeper. After the funeral was over, the priests sought out for another calf marked with the sacred symbols. As soon as he was found they led him to the city of the Nile, and kept him there forty days. During this period none but women were permitted to see him, and they placed themselves full in his view, and immodestly exposed themselves.[3] At its completion he was placed in a boat with a golden cabin, and transported in state to Memphis, and conducted to his sacred enclosure by the temple of Hephaestus.[4]

Aegyptian conceptions of Osiris.

We must now turn to the Aegyptian monuments, to see what further light can be thrown upon the history and character of Osiris. The Greeks identified him with Dionysus, from his conquests and adventures upon earth; and also with Pluto, from his office as Ruler of Hades, or Amenti. Upon the Aegyptian monuments he is prominently brought forward in the latter character, namely, as a Judge

Represented on the monuments as Judge of

[1] Pliny, viii. 46. [2] Strabo, xvii. p. 555.

[3] Some modern writers reject all statements which cast a slur on the humanity, the morality, or the decency of the Aegyptian people, on the ground that they cannot be reconciled with the mildness, the morals, and the purity which are presumed to have been the leading characteristics of the nation. Such arguments are however insufficient to controvert the plain and unanimous evidence of the ancient writers. A pantheistic idolatry like that of the Aegyptians always leads some men to indulge their natural tastes for cruelty and impurity, and such vices are contagious in the highest degree. It is a rejection of facts for the sake of theories, to argue otherwise, and we might as well say that a man endowed with common sense cannot do any wrong, because he must know how very wrong it would be for him to do it.

[4] Diod. i. 84.

of the Dead, and Ruler over that kingdom where the souls of good men are received into eternal felicity.[1] He is represented as seated on his throne in the centre of the divine abode, accompanied by Isis and Nephthys, and with the four genii of Amenti (the Aegyptian Hades) standing on a lotus near him. In this position he receives the account of the actions of the deceased which have been recorded by Thoth, or Hermes. Anubis, his son by Nephthys, weighs the actions of the deceased in the scales of Truth, the feather or figure of Thmei, the goddess of Truth, being placed in one scale, and the virtuous deeds of the judged in the other. A Cynocephalus, the emblem of Thoth, sits on the upper part of the balance; and Cerberus, the guardian of the palace of Osiris, is likewise present. Sometimes also Harpocrates, the symbol of resuscitation and a new birth, is seated on a crook; thus expressing the idea that nothing created is ever annihilated, and that to cease to be is only to assume another form, dissolution being merely the passage to reproduction.

the Dead, and Ruler of Amenti, or Hades.

Actions of deceased persons recorded by Thoth, and weighed by Anubis in the scales of Truth.

If the actions of the deceased when weighed are "found wanting," he is condemned to return to earth under the form of some animal; if, on the contrary, he is justified by his works, he is introduced by Horus into the presence of Osiris, and henceforth called by his name. Thus the souls of men were considered to be emanations of the Deity:

If found wanting, the soul is sent back to earth in the form of an animal: if justified by its works, the soul is introduced

[1] No representation of the mythic adventures of Osiris upon earth is to be found on the older monuments of Aegypt, but at Philae some curious sculptures illustrative of this history are to be seen, in a building which belongs to the latest age of the Ptolemies and the commencement of the Roman dominion. Philae was one of the places where Osiris was supposed to have been buried, and where he was particularly worshipped; and the sculptures are preserved on the walls of an interior secret chamber, which lies nearly over the western adytum of the temple. The death and removal of Osiris from this world are there described. The number of 28 lotus plants points out the period of years he was thought to have lived on earth; and his passage from this life to a future state is indicated by the usual attendance of the deities and genii who presided over the funeral rites of ordinary mortals. He is then represented with the feathered cap, which he wore in his capacity of Judge of Amenti; and this attribute shows the final office which he held after his resurrection, and continued to exercise towards the dead at their last ordeal in a future state. Cf. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i., Second Series.

those of the good returned after death unto God who gave them; those of the wicked were doomed to pass through the bodies of different animals, until a purification, corresponding to their degree of impiety, had fitted them to return to that parent spirit from which they originally emanated.[1] Osiris was thus in reality that attribute of the Deity which signifies the divine goodness; and in his most mysterious and sacred office as an avatar, or manifestation of the Divinity on earth, he was superior to any even of the eight great gods. The manner of his manifestation was always a profound secret, revealed only to some of those who were initiated into the higher order of mysteries. It is sufficient to say that he was not regarded as a human being, who after death was translated into the order of demigods; for we learn both from Plutarch[2] and from Herodotus,[3] that no Aegyptian deity was supposed to have lived on earth, and to have been deified after death, and that, in fact, no heroes were ever worshipped. Osiris was the "manifester of good," or "opener of truth," and was said to be "full of goodness and truth." He appeared on earth to benefit the human race; and after he had performed his mission, and fallen a sacrifice to Typhon, the evil principle, whom he subsequently overthrew, he rose again to a new life, and became the Judge of the Dead and Ruler of Hades. Thus, after the dead had passed their final ordeal, and been freed from their bodies, passions, and all other impediments; and when they had been absolved from all the sins they had committed, and impurities they had contracted during their probation upon earth; they obtained, in the name of Osiris which they then took, the blessings of a new and spiritual life, in which they enjoyed eternal felicity.[4]

by Horus into the presence of Osiris.

Osiris to be regarded as the "divine goodness."

Manner of his manifestation upon earth involved in mystery.

This existence of Osiris upon earth, or manifest-

Speculative and allegori-

[1] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i., Second Series.

[2] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, s. 22, 23. [3] ii. 50.

[4] Plutarch, *passim*. Cf. also Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vols. i. and ii., Second Series; and Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i.

ation of the Divine goodness, was undoubtedly a speculative theory; and we may regard it as an allegory presenting many points of resemblance to the avatars of the Indian Vishnoo. We may even go farther, and be inclined to think that the Aegyptian hierarchy, having heard of the primeval promises made by Jehovah of the coming of a real Saviour to redeem mankind and bruise the serpent's head, had anticipated that glorious advent, and not only recorded it as though it had already happened, but had introduced that mystery into their religious system. Such a ray of that Divine light, which was in after-times to be a light to the Gentiles, and a glory to Israel, may indeed have served to brighten the purer worship of the early Aegyptian religion. But the glory became dim; the germ of truth was lost amid lying and absurd fables; and nothing remained but a mythic avatar, and the revolting ceremonies of the hateful and corrupting phallephoria.

cal character of the theory.

Symbolical figure of Osiris.

Osiris is frequently found on the monuments as Plutarch describes him, namely, of a black colour. More frequently however he is painted green. As Judge of Amenti, or Hades, he is represented in the form of a mummied figure, holding in his crossed hands the crook and flagellum. His garments are pure white. On his head he wears the cap of Upper Aegypt decked with ostrich feathers. Sometimes a spotted skin is suspended near him, an emblem which is supposed to connect him with the Greek Dionysus. Occasionally also he appears with his head, and even his face, covered with the four-barred symbol, which in hieroglyphics signifies "stability," and may also refer to the intellect of the Deity. He was the first member of the triad composed of Osiris, Isis, and Horus.

Isis variously represented on the monuments, and often confounded with Athor,

Isis, the wife and sister of Osiris, the daughter of Cronos, and the mother of Horus, was identified by Herodotus both with Demeter and the Moon; she was also thought to answer to Persephone because she presided with Osiris in the region of Hades, or Amenti.

From the various combinations into which she entered she bore numerous characters, and has been confounded with many different deities. Her general form was that of a female with a throne upon her head, particularly when she was represented as the presiding goddess of Amenti. In olden times however she was sometimes figured with a cow's head, as well as with a head-dress and globe surmounted by the horns of Athor, the Aegyptian Aphrodite, and in that case she assumed the attributes of that goddess. Sometimes, in addition to the globe and horns, the flowers of water plants were rising from her head, particularly when she was represented as the mother of the infant Horus, and the second member of the triad composed of Osiris, and herself, and son. Occasionally she was represented with the head of a cat, or with the attributes of Bubastis. Frequently she wears a cap representing the sacred vulture; the small head of the bird projects from her forehead, its body covers her head, and its wings extend down the sides of her face as far as her shoulder. Her title of "royal wife and sister" was derived from her marriage with her brother Osiris; and from this mythic event is said to have originated that peculiar custom which prevailed in Aegypt from the time of the Pharaohs to that of the Ptolemies, of permitting brothers and sisters to unite in matrimonial alliance.

and other deities.

Apis, the sacred bull of Memphis, was, according to Plutarch, a fair and beautiful image of the soul of Osiris. The Aegyptians regarded him as the living representative of this deity. They consulted him as a divine oracle, and drew good or bad omens from the manner in which he received his food, or from the stable which he might happen to enter. Children were supposed to receive from him the gift of prophecy, and crocodiles refused to attack mankind during the seven days' festival which celebrated his birth.[1]

Aegyptian ideas of Apis.

[1] Plutarch, de Is. et Os. Cf. also Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, vol. i., Second Series.

AFRICA. CHAP. V. Conclusion.

Here then we conclude our attempt to develope and illustrate the mythology of the Aegyptians as understood by Herodotus. We shall now proceed to enter upon our author's account of the peculiar manners, customs, and civilization of the people; to which branch of our subject, as our matter has already far exceeded our intended limits, we are compelled to devote a separate chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

MANNERS OF THE AEGYPTIANS.

Exclusiveness of the Aegyptians prior to the Persian conquest.—Their manners and customs, ancient and peculiar.—Aegyptian castes.—Two castes omitted by Diodorus.—Seven castes in India, according to Megasthenes.—The seven Aegyptian castes, according to Herodotus.—I. The PRIESTS, or piromis.—Colleges at Memphis, Thebes, Heliopolis, and Sais.—Estates for their maintenance.—Daily allowance of beef, geese, and wine.—Fish and beans denied.—Shaved their bodies every third day.—Wore garments of linen, and shoes of byblus.—Washed four times in 24 hours.—II. The SOLDIERS, a military race divided into the Hermotybies, and Calasires.—Chiefly quartered in Lower Aegypt.—Not allowed to trade.—Each man in possession of twelve acres of land.—Royal body-guard composed of 2000 men, changed annually.—Daily rations of 5 lbs. of bread, 2 lbs. of beef, and a quart of wine.—Garrisons on the frontiers.—Five inferior castes, including the masses, very imperfectly distinguished by ancient writers.—Every man obliged to show once a year that he lived by honest means.—III. The HERDSMEN probably included husbandmen, nomades, and the marsh-men of the Delta.—IV. The SWINEHERDS, a Pariah caste.—V. The TRADERS probably included several subdivisions which were all hereditary.—VI. The INTERPRETERS, first originated in the reign of Psammitichus.—VII. The STEERSMEN, or navigators of the Nile.—Great extent of the river navigation.—Physical characteristics of the Aegyptians.—Described by Herodotus as being swarthy, and curly-headed.—Represented in the paintings as being of a red brown colour.—Probably brown like the modern Copts.—Different complexions of the people.—Hair of the mummies either crisp or flowing.—Average height.—Fulness of the lips, and elongation of the eye.—Intermediate between the Syro-Arabian and the Aethiopian type.—Good health of the Aegyptian people.—Thickness of their skulls.—Population of Aegypt.—Manners and customs of the Aegyptians.—Singularly contrary to those of other nations.—Herodotus's memoranda of the several contrasts.—Markets attended by the women.—The woof pushed downwards in weaving.—Burdens carried on men's heads and women's shoulders.—Meals taken outside the house.—No priestesses.—Daughters, and not sons, obliged to support their parents.—Priests shave their heads.—Laity leave their hair to grow whilst mourning for near relations.—Live with animals.—Make their bread of spelt.—Knead with their feet.—Circumcision practised.—Rings and sail sheets fastened outside their boats.—Writing and ciphering from left to right.—Dress of the Aegyptians, a linen tunic and white woollen mantle.—Equipment of the marines in the navy of Xerxes.—Social customs.—Married only one wife.—Mode of salutation.—Reverence for the aged.—Especial cleanliness.—Scoured brazen cups, and wore clean linen.—Circumcision.—Regarded the Greeks as impure.—Food of the Aegyptians.—Beef.—

Geese.—All fish and birds not accounted sacred.—Bread made of spelt, and called zea.—Wine from the grape probably imported from Greece. —Phoenician palm wine, and wine made from barley.—Radishes, onions, and garlic.—Marsh-men of the Delta lived on the lotus, the stalk of the byblus, and dried fish.—Extracted an oil from the sillicyprion, called Kiki.—Strange custom of carrying round the image of a corpse at drinking parties.—Extraordinary preservation of a very ancient dirge called Maneros, which resembled the Greek Linus.—Question as to whether it may not have originated in the death of the first-born at the exode of the Israelites.—Aegyptian manner of mourning for the dead.—Embalming, a regular profession in Aegypt.—Models kept by the embalmers of the three different modes.—Description of the most expensive style.—Middle way of embalming.—Cheapest method.—Recovered bodies of persons killed by crocodiles, or drowned in the Nile, regarded as sacred, and embalmed in the best manner at the public expense.—Art of medicine subdivided into numerous branches.—Purging generally practised. —Science of geometry originated in the yearly re-measuring of the land after the inundations.—Character of the Aegyptian writing.—Two kinds of letters noticed by Herodotus, the sacred or hieratic, and the common or demotic.—General sketch of the three modes of Aegyptian writing.— I. The Hieroglyphic, including pictures representing objects, pictures representing ideas, and pictures representing sounds.—II. The Hieratic, or sacred writing, a species of short-hand hieroglyphics.—III. The Enchorial, or common writing.—Aegyptian mode of building the merchant barge, called a baris.—Hull formed of short planks, joined together like bricks.—Generally towed up stream.—Down stream were tugged by a hurdle at the prow, and steadied by a stone at the stern.—Fëticism of the Aegyptians.—Animals did not abound in Aegypt, but all considered sacred, whether wild or domesticated.—Curators appointed over each species.—Maintained by the vows of parents.—The murder of an animal, if wilful, punished by death, if accidental, by a fine, but the murderer of the Ibis, or hawk, always executed.—Cats sacred to Bubastis, or Pasht. —Number diminished by the males killing the kittens, and the cats rushing into fires. — Embalmed and buried at Bubastis. — Dogs. — Ichneumons.— Field Mice.—Hawks. — Bears.— The bird Ibis.—Two species, the black and the white Ibis.—Bulls sacred to Apis.—Cows sacred to Isis.—Burial of kine.—No cattle killed by the Aegyptians.— Established mode of sacrifice.—Crocodiles, Herodotus's description of their nature and habits.—Singular affection for the trochilus.—Worshipped in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and Lake Moeris.—Killed and eaten at Elephantine.—Caught by means of a hook baited with a chine of pork. — Hippopotamus. — Otter. — Lepidotus. — Eel.—Fox-goose.— Phoenix, its picture as seen by Herodotus.—Story told of it by the Heliopolitans.—Horned serpents. — Fish, strange account of their generation.—Musquitoes infecting the marshes.

Exclusiveness of the Aegyptians prior to the Persian conquest.

THE Aegyptians prior to the reign of Psammitichus, B. C. 680, presented the same attitude towards the Greeks,[1] as the Chinese have presented towards European strangers; and even down to the reign of Amasis, B. C. 570, the city of Naucratis was like the port of Canton, the only mart in Aegypt where Greek merchants were permitted to trade. Amasis

[1] ii. 151.

however encouraged the Greeks to settle in his dominions,[1] and after the Persian conquest, B. C. 530, the country was thrown equally open to the enterprising trader or philosophic traveller, and Herodotus was enabled to traverse the entire extent of Aegypt from the mouths of the Delta to the cataracts of Syene.

Their manners and customs ancient and peculiar.

The people, thus exposed to the inquiring gaze of our author, attracted his attention to an extraordinary degree. Their climate, their river, and their manners and customs were all strange and peculiar.[2] They considered themselves to be the most ancient people in the world next to the Phrygians,[3] and they had retained their ancient usages and acquired no new ones,[4] either from the Greeks or from any other nation.[5] Before however we treat of these particulars, it may be advisable to notice the division of the people into castes, their physical characteristics, and the probable amount of population in ancient times.

Aegyptian castes.

The Aegyptians, according to Herodotus, were divided into seven classes, or castes, namely, 1. the Priests, 2. the Soldiers, 3. the Herdsmen, 4. the Swineherds, 5. the Tradesmen, 6. the Interpreters, and, 7. the Steersmen, or Navigators.[6] Diodorus, after the Priests and Soldiers, only names the Husbandmen, the Shepherds, and the Artificers, and omits the Interpreters and Steersmen altogether.[7] We shall have occasion to compare his account with that of Herodotus further on. Megasthenes, in reference to India, tells us that the whole population there was divided into seven castes, viz. the Philosophers, who sacrificed and prepared the feasts of the dead; the Farmers; the Shepherds and Hunters; the Artisans, Innholders, and bodily Labourers of all kinds; the Military; the Inspectors; and the Counsellors and Assessors of the king.[8] In the present day there are four Indian castes, viz. the Brah-

Two castes omitted by Diodorus.

Seven castes in India, according to Megasthenes.

[1] ii. 178, 179. [2] ii. 35. [3] ii. 2. See also p. 236.
[4] ii. 79. [5] ii. 91. [6] ii. 164. [7] Diod. i. 74.
[8] Megasthenes in Strabo, lib. xv.

mins, the Cshatriyas, the Vaisyas, and the Sudras. The first is taken from the mouth, the organ of the intellectual part, and comprises priests and philosophers; the second is taken from the arms, or defending part, and comprises magistrates and soldiers; the third is taken from the thigh, or supporting part, and comprises farmers and merchants; and the fourth is taken from the feet, or labouring part, and comprises artisans, labourers, and common people. We shall now notice each of the Aegyptian castes in the order laid down by Herodotus.

The seven Aegyptian castes. I. The PRIESTS, called Piromis.

I. The PRIESTS were undoubtedly the principal caste. The first step taken by the patriarch Joseph after his elevation, was to connect himself with the priest caste by marrying the daughter of the high priest of On, or Heliopolis.[1] The priests bore the Aegyptian title of Piromis, which, according to Herodotus's translation, signified "a noble and good man," but most likely referred not to their moral character, but to the nobleness of their descent;[2] and we find that during the seven years' famine in the time of Joseph, they were the only class who were not driven by necessity to part with their estates.[3]

Colleges at Memphis, Thebes, Heliopolis, and Sais.

The principal colleges of the priests were of course connected with the temples of the great cities. Herodotus mentions those of Pthah at Memphis, of Amun at Thebes, of Ra, or Phrah, at Heliopolis, and of Neith at Sais. Many priests were employed for the service of each deity, of whom one was appointed to be chief or high priest, and the sacerdotal office of the father was inherited by his son.[4]

Estates for their maintenance.

Extensive estates were attached to every temple, and therefore belonged to each college of priests in

[1] Gen. xli. 45. Poti-pherah, the name of the high priest, is evidently compounded of Rê, or Ra, which, with the Coptic article prefixed, becomes Phrêh, or Phrah, the Sun, or Helios. See p. 455. Poti-pherah was priest of the Sun.

[2] ii. 143. In the Coptic the word Piromi merely signifies "the man;" Pi being the definite article, and romi signifying "man." Either therefore Herodotus did not understand the language, or, in the old Aegyptian language, the word "man" had become a title of honour. Cf. Jablonsky, *Proleg.* § 18.

[3] Gen. xlvii. 22.

[4] ii. 37.

common, and Herodotus expressly alludes to the steward or bursar of the college of priests at Sais,[1] who had been appointed to manage the revenues, and likewise belonged to the priest caste. Out of this common fund the necessaries of life were supplied to the priests and their families belonging to each temple, so that none were obliged to expend any portion of their private property.[2] A large quantity of beef and geese was cooked every day, and allowed to each of them, together with a certain measure of wine made of grapes; but they were never permitted to eat fish,[3] and they considered beans to be so very impure that they abhorred the very sight of those vegetables.[4] They shaved the whole of their bodies every third day, to prevent any lice or other impurity being found upon them, when engaged in the service of the gods.[5] They wore garments made of linen only, and not the woollen mantle worn by the other classes; their shoes were made of the papyrus, or byblus plant. They washed themselves twice every day and twice every night, and, in a word, performed a great number of ceremonies.[6]

Daily allowances of beef, geese, and wine.

Fish and beans denied.

Shaved their bodies every third day.

Wore garments of linen, and shoes of byblus.

Washed four times in twenty-four hours.

II. The SOLDIERS were a military race, like the Rajpoots of Hindustan, and certainly, as well as the priest caste, were one of the most distinguished races of the nation. They were divided into the Hermotybies and the Calasires.[7] The Hermotybies when

II. The SOLDIERS, a military race, divided into the Hermotybies and the Calasires.

[1] ii. 28. [2] ii. 37. Compare Heeren's *Egyptians*, chap. ii.

[3] Fish were considered to be neither a dainty nor a necessary kind of food, and their species were especially abhorred, from their having devoured that part of the body of Osiris which Isis was unable to discover.

[4] Those who had been initiated in the Greek mysteries were also forbidden to taste beans, because Demeter considered them to be impure, at the same time that she blessed mankind with all other kinds of seed for his use. Cf. Baehr.

[5] The lice of modern Aegypt are not always to be avoided, even by the most scrupulous cleanliness, yet a person who changes his linen after two or three days' wear is very seldom annoyed by them, as they are generally found in the linen, and do not attach themselves to the skin. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. i.

[6] ii. 57. We learn from Mr. Bowditch that the priests in Ashantee are also hereditary; and they are exempted from all taxes, regularly supplied with meat and wine, consulted by the king before he undertakes a war, and shave their heads carefully and frequently.

[7] ii. 164.

most numerous were 160,000 men; and the Calasires were 250,000 men. Both these possessed certain nomes, or districts, which are named by Herodotus,[1] from which it is evident that nearly the whole of the Aegyptian forces were concentrated in Lower Aegypt. The Hermotybies possessed four nomes and a half within the Delta, and the Calasires eleven nomes; whilst they each had only a single nome in all Middle and Upper Aegypt, namely, Chemmis and Thebes.[2] No one who belonged to the warrior caste was permitted to carry on any trade, but all were obliged to devote themselves wholly to the art of war, and this destination descended from father to son.[3] Their pay consisted of the produce of their estates, for, like the priests, they were all landed proprietors, and each man possessed twelve aruras, or acres, of land, free from all tribute.[4] One thousand Hermotybies and one thousand Calasires served as the king's body-guard, but were changed annually, and no man was appointed twice. Every one of these household troops received daily, during his year of service, five minas weight of baked bread, two minas of beef, and four arysters of wine,[5] in addition to the income which he derived from his estate.[6] Military dêpots were also formed on the frontiers, and garrisons were stationed

Chiefly quartered in Lower Aegypt.

Not allowed to trade.

Each man in possession of twelve acres of land.

Royal body-guard composed of 2000 men, changed annually.

Daily rations of 5lbs. of bread, 2lbs. of beef, and a quart of wine.

Garrisons on the frontiers.

[1] The nomes belonging to the Hermotybies were Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, Papremis, the island of Prosopitis, and the half of Natho. Those belonging to the Calasires were Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennys, Athribis, Pharbaethis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anysis, and Mycephoris, which last was situated in an island opposite the city of Bubastis. ii. 165, 166.

[2] ii. 165, 166. The constant fear of invasion from Asia may have led to this settlement of the military forces in the Delta. It must have existed from the earliest times, for the rapidity with which Pharaoh assembled his army for the pursuit of the fugitive Israelites, evinces clearly enough that the warrior caste of that epoch must have been quartered in the same districts in which Herodotus places them.

[3] Ibid.

[4] These estates and those of the priests were, according to Diodorus, farmed out to husbandmen at easy rents; but we need not suppose that no soldier was allowed to cultivate his estate, though we know that handicraft trades were forbidden and considered debasing.

[5] In English measures about 5 lbs. of bread, 2 lbs. of beef, and a quart of wine.

[6] ii. 168.

at Elephantine against the Aethiopians, at the Pelusian Daphnae against the Arabians and Syrians, and at Marea against the Libyans. The neglect to relieve these distant establishments led to the migration of 240,000 of their number to Aethiopia.[1]

Five inferior castes, including the masses, very imperfectly distinguished by ancient writers.

The five remaining castes, namely, the herdsmen, the swineherds, the traders, the interpreters, and the steersmen might be almost regarded as one class, for they were all excluded from the possession of land, the privileges of the priestly and military castes, and from every department of political life. They formed, in fact, the great working class, and Herodotus tells us that Amasis established a law, which compelled every man on pain of death to present himself once a year before the governor of his nome, and declare by what means he maintained himself.[2] Our author's enumeration of the castes however does not agree with that of Diodorus, nor is it probable that any ancient writer has enumerated all the subdivisions into which the populace, or masses, may have been separated. No particular order either can be observed in the arrangement of Herodotus, though we have thought it advisable to take it as our basis, and add to it such explanatory information as we can gather from other portions of his history.

Every man obliged to show once a year that he lives by honest means.

III. The HERDSMEN probably included husbandmen, nomades, and the marshmen of the Delta.

III. The HERDSMEN are scarcely noticed by Herodotus. They seem to have been divided into those who inhabited fixed abodes, and those who were nomades. The former are apparently described as those who inhabited that part of Aegypt which was sown with corn, and who cultivated the memory of past events more than any other men, and were the best informed people with whom he ever came into communication.[3] The nomades, who roamed through the plains which bordered on the desert, are barely named.[4] The tribes who inhabited the marshy plains of the Delta may also have belonged to the same class,[5] but we shall have occasion to

[1] ii. 30. See chap. on Aethiopia. [2] ii. 177.
[3] ii. 77. [4] ii. 128. [5] ii. 92.

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notice their mode of life when we describe the manners of the Aegyptians generally.

IV. The SWINEHERDS, a Pariah caste.

IV. The SWINEHERDS were the Pariah caste of Aegypt. Swine were as great an abomination to the Aegyptians as they were to the Jews. The swineherds, though native Aegyptians, were forbidden to enter any of the temples. No one would take a wife from amongst them, or give a daughter in marriage to a swineherd.[1] On the vigil of a certain festival however a pig was offered up by every household to Osiris;[2] and after the annual inundation of the Nile, the Aegyptians were accustomed to drive herds of swine over their fields to tread the corn into the earth;[3] the race of swineherds were therefore indispensable to the Aegyptians.

V. The TRADERS, probably included several subdivisions, which were all hereditary.

V. The TRADERS seem to have comprised handicraftsmen, artists, chapmen, and merchants.[4] They are barely mentioned by Herodotus. According to Diodorus, each trade was hereditary,[5] and consequently the trade caste contained a great number of subdivisions, as is the case in India. The Aegyptian documents, which have been discovered in Upper Aegypt and explained by Boeckh, seem to confirm this opinion, as the guild, or company of curriers, has been found therein.[6]

VI. The INTERPRETERS, first originated in the reign of Psammitichus.

VI. The caste of INTERPRETERS is the only one of whose origin we have an accurate historical account. Psammitichus, having gained his throne by the assistance of Ionian and Carian mercenaries, wished to open a communication between Aegypt and Greece. Accordingly, he placed a number of Aegyptian children under the care of the foreign settlers, to be instructed in the Greek language, and thus founded the caste; for the posterity of these children were henceforth regarded as a separate class, and called interpreters.[7]

VII. The STEERS-

VII. The STEERSMEN, or Navigators,[8] were the se-

[1] ii. 47. [2] ii. 48. See also page 471. [3] ii. 14.
[4] Cf. ii. 141. [5] Diod. i. 74. [6] Heeren's *Egyptians*, chap. ii.
[7] ii. 154.
[8] The steersman, or pilot, was the most important personage on board, and generally the captain. Hence the caste were called steersmen.

venth and last caste according to Herodotus, though it by no means follows that they were the lowest, nor indeed does our author seem to preserve any particular order in his enumeration of the five last castes. These navigators are not to be regarded as seamen, but as navigators of the Nile; for prior to the time of Psammitichus there was scarcely if any sea navigation, and the fleet of Sesostris[1] cannot be taken into consideration when the question relates to an ancient and lasting division of the people. The river navigation however was most extensive.[2] At the feast of Pasht, or Artemis, several hundred thousand people were conveyed in barges to the city of Bubastis;[3] and when Amasis wished to remove the monolith of Neith from Elephantine to Sais, two thousand of these navigators were employed in the transport, which, Herodotus informs us, occupied three years, though a common passage was generally performed in twenty days.[4] Moreover, during the inundation the only communication was by water.[5]

MEN, or navigators of the Nile.

Great extent of the river navigation.

Having thus finished our account of the castes, we turn to the physical characteristics of the Aegyptians. They are described by our author as being swarthy and curly-headed, at least so we may translate the words, μελάγχροές καὶ οὐλότριχες.[6] This is all the information Herodotus affords us. In the paintings on the walls of sepulchres, and on the exterior cases of mummies, the men are represented of a red-brown complexion, and the women of a green-yellow. These colours however must have been conventional, for no such difference between the complexion of the sexes exists in any other nation. The real colour of the people was probably the same as that of the modern Copts, namely, brown with a tinge of red, dark enough to be called black by a Greek, but separated by a long gradation from the deep black of the negro. A difference of colour however undoubtedly existed amongst the Aegyptians themselves. In an old Aegyptian document on papyrus,

Physical characteristics of the Aegyptians. Described by Herodotus as being swarthy and curly-headed.

Represented in the paintings as being of a red-brown colour.

Probably brown like the modern Copts.

Different complexions of the people.

[1] ii. 102. [2] ii. 96. [3] ii. 60. [4] ii. 175. [5] ii. 97. [6] ii. 104.

explained by Boeckh, the seller is called of a darkish brown colour, and the buyer is stated to be honey-coloured, or yellowish. Heeren also thinks he can trace two distinct stocks: one a fairer class, to which the higher castes of priests and warriors belonged; the other darker and more Aethiopic. The hair of the mummies is sometimes crisp, and sometimes flowing. The figure is generally slight, and the average stature about five feet and a half. A fulness of the lips, which may be remarked in the heads of Rameses the Great, the young Memnon, and some others in the British Museum, is the only approach to the negro physiognomy; the elongation of the eye is said to be a Nubian peculiarity. In short, we may regard the Aegyptians as having been intermediate between the Syro-Arabian and the Aethiopian type, but approximating more to the Asiatic than to the African.[1]

Hair of the mummies either crisp or flowing. Average height. Fulness of the lips and elongation of the eye.

Intermediate between the Syro-Arabian and the Aethiopian type.

Good health of the Aegyptian people and thickness of their skulls.

The Aegyptians, according to Herodotus, were, next to the Libyans, the healthiest people in the world, chiefly, as he thinks, because they were not liable to those changes in the seasons during which men are most subject to disease.[2] The skulls of the Aegyptians he describes as being so exceedingly hard that a heavy stone would scarcely fracture them, a circumstance which our author attributes to their being in the practice of shaving their heads from infancy; at least, so he was told, and so he readily believed, and he also considered that the reason why fewer bald men were to be found in Aegypt than in any other country, might be traced

[1] Pettigrew, *on Mummies;* Heeren's *Egyptians,* chap. ii.; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt,* vol. i., etc.

[2] ii. 77. The climate of Aegypt, says Mr. Lane, is remarkably salubrious during the greater part of the year. The exhalations from the soil after the period of inundation render the latter part of the autumn less healthy than the summer and winter; and cause ophthalmia and dysentery, and some other diseases, to be more prevalent then than at any other seasons; and during a period of somewhat more or less than fifty days, (called el-khamáseen,) commencing in April, and lasting throughout May, hot southerly winds occasionally prevail for about three days together. When the plague visits Aegypt, it is generally in the spring; and this disease is most severe in the period of the khamáseen. *Modern Egyptians.*

to the same custom.[1] We shall presently perceive that our author attributes much of the good health enjoyed by the Aegyptians, especially those engaged in agriculture, to their practice of purging themselves every month for three successive days.[2]

Population of Aegypt.

Concerning the population of Aegypt, Herodotus tells us that in the time of Amasis there were 20,000 towns,[3] a statement which is startling from the magnitude of the numbers. Diodorus tells us, that under the Pharaohs there were 18,000 towns, all of which were registered in the sacred records; but that in the time of the Ptolemies only 3000 remained. He adds that, according to an ancient census, the population once amounted to seven millions, but that under the Ptolemies it was only three millions.[4] It is impossible to know how many trifling hamlets or small military stations were dignified by the name of towns, but the statement of Diodorus, that the population of Aegypt anciently amounted to seven millions, is, perhaps, as near an approximation to the truth as can be attained.

Manners and customs of the Aegyptians. Singularly contrary to those of other nations.

We now turn to the manners and customs of the Aegyptians. Herodotus was so struck by the contrariety between their usages and those of other nations, that, as a sort of introduction to his general account, he prefixes a list of the contrasts between the Aegyptians and the Greeks, which we accordingly present to the reader at length.

Markets attended by the women.

The women of Aegypt, unlike those of other countries, attend the markets and other places of traffic themselves, whilst the men stop at home and work at the loom.

The woof pushed downwards in weaving.

In weaving, the Aegyptians throw the woof downwards, whilst other nations throw it upwards.

Burdens carried on men's heads and women's shoulders.

The men carry burdens on their heads, but the women on their shoulders.[5]

Meals taken

They take their meals outside their houses, but for the other deeds of nature they seclude themselves in their dwellings,[6] alleging that whatever is indecent,

[1] iii. 12. [2] ii. 77. [3] ii. 177. [4] Diod. i. 31.

[5] Οὐρέουσι, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. ii. 35.

[6] Probably the ancient Aegyptians, like the modern inhabitants of

though necessary, ought to be done in private, but that whatever is decent should be done in public. No women are allowed to serve the office of priestess to any male or female deity;[1] but men are employed for both offices. Sons are not compelled to support their parents unless they choose; but daughters are obliged whether they choose or not.[2] Priests in other countries wear long hair; but those of Aegypt shave their heads. People in other countries shave their heads upon the death of their nearest relations; but the Aegyptians suffer their hair to grow both on their heads and faces, though at other times they are accustomed to shave. Other people live apart from animals; but the Aegyptians live with them. Other people feed on wheat and barley; but the Aegyptians considered it a very great disgrace to make food of either kind of grain, and make bread of spelt, which they call zea. The Aegyptians knead the dough with their feet, but mix clay and take up dung with their hands. Other people reject circumcision, but the Aegyptians practise it. Every Aegyptian man wears two garments, but the women only one. Other men fasten the rings and sheets of their sails outside the boat, but the Aegyptians fastened theirs inside. The Greeks in writing and ciphering move the hand from right to left, but the Aegyptians move theirs from left to right, and in doing so, say that they are acting correctly, and the Greeks otherwise.[3]

outside the house.
No priestesses.
Daughters, and not sons, obliged to support their parents.
Priests shave their heads.
Laity leave their hair to grow whilst mourning near relations.
Live with animals.
Make their bread of spelt.
Knead with their feet.
Circumcision practised.
Rings and sail sheets fastened inside their boats.
Writing and ciphering from left to right.

Such are the disjointed memoranda which our author apparently jotted down during his journeys in Aegypt. We now proceed to enter upon his more detailed description of this extraordinary people.

Dress of the Aegyptians, a linen tunic, and

The dress of the Aegyptians consisted of a linen tunic called a calasiris, which was fringed round the legs.[4] Over this calasiris they wore a white

Cairo and other towns, took their meals in the front of their shops, exposed to the view of any one who passed.

[1] It seems however certain that women sometimes held inferior offices in the Aegyptian temples. Cf. Herod. ii. 54.

[2] ii. 35. [3] ii. 36.

[4] A fringe was left to the linen, and formed a border to the tunic.

woollen mantle, but never carried their woollen clothes into the temples, nor were buried in them, for that would have been accounted profane. In this particular they agreed with the worshippers of Orpheus and Dionysus, who were Aegyptians and Pythagoreans; for it was regarded as a profane thing to bury any one in woollen garments who had been initiated into those mysteries, and a religious reason was given for the prohibition.[1] The Aegyptians who served in the navy of Xerxes wore quilted helmets,[2] and carried hollow shields with large rims, boarding pikes, and large hatchets; the greater number also wore breastplates, and carried large swords.[3]

white woollen mantle.

Equipment of the marines in the navy of Xerxes.

Of the marriages of the Aegyptians we only learn that they did not practise polygamy, but that each man had only one wife, like the Greeks.[4] In their salutations they resembled no Greek nation, for instead of addressing one another in the streets, they made obeisance by suffering their hands to fall down as far as their knees. In their reverence for the aged however they resembled the Lacedæmonians. In the streets when the young men met their elders they turned aside to allow them to pass; and in the assemblies they rose from their seats on the approach of their seniors.[5] All impurities were carefully avoided. They all drank from cups of brass, which were fresh scoured every day;[6] their linen garments were constantly fresh washed; and it was for the sake of cleanliness that they practised circumcision, thinking it better to be clean than handsome.[7] The mere brushing of a hog against

Social customs.

Married only one wife.

Mode of salutation.

Reverence for the aged.

Especial cleanliness. Scoured brazen cups, and clean linen.

Circumcision.

This statement of Herodotus, like most others, is confirmed by the monuments.

[1] ii. 81.

[2] Helmets were rarely of metal, but were generally thick, and well padded, and were thus an excellent protection without inconveniencing the wearer by their weight in that hot climate. Helmets of brass however are mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 151) as being worn by the twelve kings.

[3] iii. 89. [4] ii. 92.

[5] ii. 80. "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man." Levit. xix. 32.

[6] Other drinking vessels were however used besides those of brass. Joseph had a cup of silver (Gen. xliv. 2, 5). Perhaps, as Sir J. G. Wilkinson remarks, Herodotus did not obtain admittance to the higher classes of Aegyptian society.

[7] ii. 37.

their garments they considered to be an impurity, which could only be removed by plunging into the river.[1] No Aegyptian, man or woman, would kiss a Greek, nor use the knife, spit, or caldron of a Greek; neither would they taste of the flesh of a pure ox, that had been slaughtered or divided by a Greek knife. This repugnance seems to have arisen from their reverence for cows, and for cattle generally.[2]

Regarded the Greeks as impure.

Food of the Aegyptians. Beef. Geese.

Of the food of the Aegyptians, we have seen that the flesh of oxen and geese was eaten by the priests, and was probably much esteemed by all classes.[3] From the meat of most other animals they probably abstained, from religious motives. Fish and birds, excepting such as were accounted sacred, were also eaten, either roasted or boiled, though the priests entirely abstained from fish of every kind. Some birds, such as quails, ducks, and those that were smaller, were salted and then eaten raw; some fish also were dried in the sun and then eaten raw, others were salted in brine.[4] Swine they would never eat, excepting at one particular festival.[5] Wheat and barley were not used for food, but their bread was made from spelt, which some called zea.[6] Beans were not cultivated,[7] and vines did not grow in Aegypt.[8] Wine made from the grape was however drank by the priests, and was probably imported from Hellas;[9] the large quantity of wine drank at the festival of Bubastis,[10] was probably the Phoenician palm wine, which was brought in earthen jars twice every year,[11] and much esteemed.[12] Home-made wine was produced from barley.[13] Radishes, onions, and garlic

All fish and birds not accounted sacred.

Bread made of spelt, and called zea.

Wine from the grape, probably imported from Greece. Phoenician palm wine, and wine made from barley.

[1] ii. 47. [2] ii. 41. [3] ii. 37. [4] ii. 77. [5] ii. 47.
[6] ii. 36. [7] ii. 37. [8] ii. 77. [9] ii. 37. [10] ii. 60.
[11] ii. 112. [12] iii. 20.

[13] ii. 77. The Aegyptians frequently drank wine to excess; both Mycerinus and Amasis were very partial to it. Some very laughable scenes are depicted on the frescoes and sculptures, and have been copied by Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i.). Gentlemen are carried home by their servants, whilst even the ladies are represented in such a deplorable state, that it is evident the painters have sacrificed their gallantry to their love of caricature. Some ladies call the servants to support them as they sit; others with difficulty prevent themselves from falling on those behind them; faded flowers in their hands are strikingly illustrative of their own sensations; and a reluctant servant, who takes a

formed an important part of the food of the lower orders.[1]

Radishes, onions, and garlic. Marshmen of the Delta lived on the lotus, the stalk of the byblus, and dried fish.

The Aegyptians who lived in the marshes of the Delta, observed the same customs as the other Aegyptians, but they also obtained food from the lotus and byblus in the following manner. When the inundation of the Nile was at its height, and the plains were like a sea, great numbers of a species of lily sprung up in the water. This lily resembled a poppy, and the Aegyptians called it the lotus. The Aegyptian marshmen, above mentioned, gathered this lotus and dried it in the sun, and then pounded the middle, or pith, and made bread of it and baked it. The root also of the lotus was fit for food, and was tolerably sweet; it was round and about the size of an apple. Other lilies, like roses, likewise grew in the river. Their fruit was contained in a separate pod, which sprung up from the root in a form very much like a wasp's nest.[2] The kernels in the pod were the same size as olive stones, and were eaten both fresh and dried.[3] The byblus [from which papyrus was made] was an annual plant, and the marshmen obtained food from it in the following manner. They first pulled it up, and then cut off the top part, which they employed for various purposes; but the lower part, which was about a cubit long, they both sold and ate. The most delicate manner of dressing the byblus was to stew it in a hot pan. Some of the marshmen lived

basin to one fair reveller, arrives rather too late. Rowlandson himself could not have depicted the scene more broadly.

The Aegyptian beer, or barley wine, was declared by Diodorus to be capital, (i. 34,) and it was doubtless far better than the Greek ale, which was held in contempt. (Cf. Aesch. *Supp.* v. 960.) Aristotle, as quoted in Athenaeus, (*Deip.* i. 25,) describes those who got drunk with wine as lying on their faces, and those who got drunk with beer as lying on their backs.

[1] ii. 125.

[2] i. e. the combs have holes for the honey, as these lotuses have for the seeds, or kernels.

[3] Herodotus here distinguishes two kinds of lotus, and there is no doubt of their identity. The one first mentioned is the Nymphea Lotus; the other, "like roses," is the Nymphea Nelumbo of Linnaeus, or Nelumbium Speciosum. They cannot be more accurately, or clearly, described than they have been by Herodotus.

entirely on fish, which they caught and gutted, and then dried them in the sun, and used them for food.[1]

Extracted an oil from the sillicyprion, called kiki.

They also extracted an oil, which they called kiki, from the fruit of the sillicyprion. This plant, which grew spontaneously in Greece upon the banks of lakes and rivers, was cultivated in Aegypt, and bore abundance of fruit. When the marshmen had gathered it they obtained the oil in various ways. Some bruised the fruit, and thus pressed the oil out. Others boiled and stewed it, and then collected the liquid which flowed from it, and which, being oil, of course swam on the top. This fat was as suitable for lamps as the olive oil, only it emitted an offensive smell.[2]

Strange custom of carrying round the image of a corpse at drinking parties.

At convivial banquets among the wealthier classes the Aegyptians observed a most strange and solemn custom. After supper a man carried round a coffin, containing an image about one or two cubits in length, carved in wood, and made to resemble a dead body as much as possible in colour and workmanship. Showing this to each of the company, the bearer cried, "Look upon this, and then drink and enjoy yourself; for when dead you will be like unto this."[3]

Extraordinary preservation of a very ancient dirge, called Maneros, which resembled the Greek Linus.

One of the most extraordinary relics of antiquity preserved by the Aegyptians was one peculiar song, which, in their language, was called Maneros, but which exactly resembled the song sung by the Greeks under the name of Linus. The same strain was also sung in Phoenicia, Cyprus, and elsewhere, but bore a different name in each nation. Of all the wonders in Aegypt, it was especially wonderful to Herodotus whence the Aegyptians obtained this song, for they appeared to have sung it from time immemorial. They said that Maneros was the only son of the first king of Aegypt, and that happening to die at

[1] ii. 92.

[2] ii. 94. The modern Aegyptian women use the castor oil, here described, as a cosmetic, and anoint their hair and skins with it in such quantities as to render their proximity intolerably offensive. See Romer, *Pilgrimage to the Temples of Egypt*, etc.

[3] ii. 78.

an early age, he was honoured by the Aegyptians in this mourning dirge, which was the first and only song they ever had.[1]

Question as to whether it may not have originated in the death of the first-born at the exode of the Israelites.

A mythic origin has generally been imputed to this song. It is supposed that, when Herodotus says the eldest son of the first king of Aegypt, he alludes not to the son of Menes, but to Horus, the son of Osiris. Its extreme antiquity, and the extraordinary manner in which it was retained by the entire nation, would lead us to refer it back to a more certain historical event than a mere myth, of which even the ground-work is doubtful. We remember, with reverential fear, the tenth last plague of Aegypt, and its awful fulfilment; when on one dark midnight, a thousand years before Herodotus was born, "the Lord smote all the firstborn in the land of Aegypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne, unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon."[2] The mental anguish of that dark night, "when there was a great cry in Aegypt, and not a house where there was not one dead,"[3] may well have been transmitted to posterity, in that mysterious dirge which made such a powerful impression upon Herodotus; for it was a grief, like that of Psammenitus, too deep for tears,[4] and too universal to be forgotten, as long as Aegypt was a nation.

Aegyptian manner of mourning for the dead.

The Aegyptian manner of mourning for the dead and burying their remains was as follows. When a man of any consideration died in a family, all the females of that family besmeared their heads and faces with mud, girded up their clothes, and exposed their breasts; and then, leaving the body in the house, they wandered about the city, beating themselves, and accompanied by all their relations.[5] The

[1] ii. 79. [2] Exod. xii. 29. [3] Exod. xii. 30. [4] iii. 14.

[5] On the death of a Djaaly chief at Shendy, in Lower Nubia, Burckhardt saw the female relations of the deceased walking through all the principal streets, uttering the most lamentable howlings. Their bodies were half naked, and the little clothing they had on was in rags; while the head, face, and breasts being almost entirely covered with ashes, they had altogether a most ghastly appearance. (*Travels in Nubia.*) It may

men also girded up their clothes, and beat themselves in the same fashion. After this was done, the body was carried away to be embalmed;[1] but women of consideration or of beauty were not delivered to the embalmers until three or four days after death.[2] On no account was a body burnt or given to wild beasts.[3]

Embalming, a regular profession in Aegypt.

Models kept by the embalmers of the three different modes.

Embalming was a regular profession in Aegypt, and competent persons were appointed to it. Accordingly, when the dead body was brought to the embalmers, the latter showed the bearers wooden models of corpses, painted so as exactly to resemble the three several modes of embalming.[4] First, they showed the model of the most expensive mode, the name of which Herodotus did not think it right to mention in his description. Secondly, they showed an inferior and less expensive method. Lastly, they showed that which was the cheapest.[5] When the embalmers had learnt how the body was to be prepared, and the relations had agreed upon the price, the latter departed, and the former, remaining in their workshops, immediately commenced their labours.[6]

Description of the most expensive style.

The most expensive manner of embalming was carried out as follows. The embalmers first drew out the brains through the nostrils, partly with an iron hook, and partly by an infusion of drugs.[7] They next made an incision in the side with a

also be remarked, that in Ashantee all the females of the family daub their faces and breasts with the red earth of which they build their houses, and parade the town, lamenting and beating themselves; and they wear mean clothes, take no nourishment but palm wine, and sleep in the public streets, until the corpse is buried.

[1] ii. 85. [2] ii. 89. [3] iii. 16.

[4] It is evident, from the mummies which have been found, that several gradations existed in the three modes of embalming, of which a full account is given in Mr. Pettigrew's work on the History of the Egyptian mummies.

[5] Diodorus (i. 91) tells us that the first method cost a talent of silver (about £250); the second, 22 minas (£80); and that the third was extremely cheap.

[6] ii. 86.

[7] This extraction of the brain by the nostrils is proved by the appearance of the mummies found in the tombs, and some of the crooked instruments supposed to have been used for this purpose have been found at Thebes. They are all made of bronze. *Wilkinson.*

sharp Aethiopian stone and took out all the bowels;[1] and having cleansed the abdomen and rinsed it with palm wine, they sprinkled it with pounded perfumes.[2] The belly was then filled with pure myrrh pounded, cassia, and other perfumes, excepting frankincense, and afterwards sewn up again; and the whole was steeped in natrum for seventy days, which was the longest period allowed by law for this process.[3] The corpse was then washed, and the whole of it was wrapped in bandages of linen cloth smeared with gum, which the Aegyptians used for common purposes instead of glue. Last of all the relations fetched away the body and enclosed it in a wooden case, which was made to resemble a man; and having fastened it up, they placed it in a sepulchral chamber, and set it upright against the wall.[4]

[1] First of all, says Diodorus, (i. 91,) a scribe marks upon the left side of the body, the extent of the incision to be made, and then the dissecter (paraschistes) cuts away as much of the flesh as is permitted by law, with an Aethiopian stone, and immediately runs away, whilst those present pursue him with stones and execrations, as if to cast upon him all the odium of this necessary act.

Sharp flints with a cutting edge have been found in the Aegyptian tombs, and the wife of Moses used a sharp stone in circumcising her son. Ex. iv. 25.

[2] Herodotus does not inform us of the disposition of the intestines. Porphyry and Plutarch both tell us that they were thrown into the Nile, but the positive evidence of the tombs proves this assertion to be an idle story. We learn from Wilkinson that they were cleansed and embalmed, and placed in four vases, and afterwards placed in the tomb with the coffin, and were supposed to belong to the four genii of Amenti, whose heads and names they bore. Each contained a separate portion, which was appropriated to its particular deity. The vase, with a cover representing the human head of Amset, held the stomach and large intestines; that with the cynocephalus head of Hapi, contained the small intestines; in that belonging to the jackal-headed Smautf were the lungs and the heart; and in the vase of the hawk-headed Kebhnsnof were the gall-bladder and liver. In other cases the intestines, after being cleaned and embalmed, were returned into the body by the aperture in the side; and either the images of the four genii, made of wax, were put in with them as the guardians of the portions particularly subject to their influence, or else a plate of lead, or other material, bearing upon it a representation of these four figures. Over the incision the mysterious eye of Osiris was invariably placed.

[3] "And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed Israel. And forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed: and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days." Gen. l. 2, 3.

[4] ii. 86. This appears only to have been done in exceptional cases where the family had no family vault, or hypogaeum, and had to erect a build-

Middle way of embalming.

The middle way of embalming, which was adopted by those who wished to avoid the greater expense of the previous method, was performed in the following manner. The embalmers first charged their syringes with oil extracted from cedar, and injected it in at the rectum, thus filling the abdomen of the corpse without making any incision, or taking out the bowels. They next took measures for preventing the injection from escaping, and steeped the body in natrum for the prescribed number of days. On the last day the injection was suffered to escape, and the oil of cedar brought away the intestines and vitals in a state of dissolution; and meantime, the natrum had dissolved the flesh, and nothing remained of the body but the skin and the bones. The corpse was then returned to the relations without any further operation.[1]

Cheapest method.

The third method of embalming was only used among the poorer sort of people. It consisted in thoroughly rinsing the abdomen with syrmaea, and then steeping the body in natrum for the prescribed seventy days, after which it was given up to the relations.[2]

Recovered bodies of persons killed by crocodiles, or drowned in the Nile, regarded as sacred, and embalmed in the best manner at the public expense.

All persons, whether Aegyptians or strangers, that were seized by crocodiles, or drowned in the Nile, were embalmed and adorned in the best manner, and buried in the sacred vaults; and the inhabitants of that city to which the body was carried were compelled by law to pay all the expenses. No person however, not even the relations or friends of the deceased, were permitted to touch the body, excepting only the priests of the Nile, who buried it with their own hands as something more than human.[3]

Art of medicine subdivided into numerous branches.

The art of medicine was divided into several branches, each physician only applying himself to one disease. All places throughout Aegypt abounded in these medical practitioners;[4] some were for

ing for the reception of the dead. Mummies are always found in the hypogaea in a horizontal position, unless they have been disturbed.

[1] ii. 88. [2] Ibid. [3] ii. 90.

[4] "O virgin, daughter of Egypt, in vain shalt thou use medicines, for thou shalt not be cured." Jer. xlvi. 11.

the eyes only, others for the head, others for the teeth, others for the parts about the belly, and others for internal disorders.[1] A plan of medical treatment is described by Herodotus as being practised by the Aegyptian husbandmen. They purged themselves every month for three successive days, seeking to preserve their health by means of emetics and clysters, for they believed that all the diseases to which men were subject arose from their diet.[2]

Purging generally practised.

The study of geometry for the purposes of land-measuring originated in consequence of the annual changes in the face of the country, which were effected by the inundation. The priests of Memphis told Herodotus that Sesostris divided the country amongst all the Aegyptians, giving an equal square allotment to each, and exacting a fixed yearly tax from each allotment. If however the annual inundation of the Nile carried away a portion of any allotment, the owner was required to inform the king in person of what had taken place; whereupon commissioners were sent to inspect the land and ascertain how much the allotment had been diminished, and to reduce the yearly tax to a proportionate amount. Hence, as it appeared to Herodotus, land-measuring originated and passed over into Greece.[3]

Science of geometry originated in the yearly re-measuring of the land after the inundations.

In writing, Herodotus tells us that the Aegyptians wrote from right to left, and had two kinds of letters, viz. the sacred, or hieratic, and the demotic, or common.[4] It is evident from this mention of writing that our author is not speaking of the hieroglyphics, but of the hieratic and enchorial letters. A brief sketch of the three different modes of Aegyptian writing, viz. the hieroglyphic, the hieratic, and the enchorial, will enable the reader to understand the state of the question.

Character of the Aegyptian writing. Two kinds of letters noticed by Herodotus, the sacred, or hieratic, and the common, or demotic. General sketch of the three modes of Aegyptian writing.

I. The HIEROGLPYHIC, or MONUMENTAL WRITING, originated in the natural desire to paint such objects as were capable of being represented. The next step was the transition from real represent-

I. The Hieroglyphics, including pictures re-

[1] ii. 84. Accoucheurs were women, (Ex. i. 15,) as they are at present.
[2] ii. 77. [3] ii. 109. [4] ii. 36.

presenting objects, pictures representing ideas, and pictures representing sounds.

ations to symbolical, emblematical, or allegorical signs, representing ideas by physical objects. The last step was the adoption of phonetic characters to represent sounds by pictures of visible objects. We thus have three kinds of hieroglyphics, viz. objects represented by pictures, which depicted them; ideas represented by pictures, which were symbolical of them; and sounds represented by pictures, which may be regarded as phonetic characters. If the Aegyptians had thus invented a separate sign for every word, their whole language might have been written in the same manner as the Chinese. This however was not the case; the hieroglyphics were insufficient, and necessity obliged the people to invent other signs. The words were divided, and decomposed, and hieroglyphics were devised for the separate parts of a word. When, for example, they wanted to write the word Ramesses, there existed a word "Ra," and this they expressed by its hieroglyphic character, which formed the first syllable, just as is done in China. But it might happen that there was no such word as "messes." In this case they took the hieroglyphic of a word beginning with "m," and added it to "Ra." In like manner they then added the hieroglyphic beginning with "e," and so on.[1] A circle, or ellipse, was then drawn round

[1] If, according to this system of phonetic hieroglyphics, we wished to unite the name of Adam, we should seek for a word beginning with "a," in order to put its hieroglyphic first, and in the same manner should proceed with the following letters. But as there were many hieroglyphics —on the whole about 900—there might be twenty, thirty, or even more hieroglyphics for words beginning with "a," any one of which might be used to express that letter. Thus the Aegyptians had twenty or thirty alphabets from whence letters might be chosen at pleasure. The next step in advance, namely, the selection and adoption of a single alphabet, was made by the Phoenicians. In their system of writing, which was followed by the Samaritans and Hebrews, there was only one sign for every letter. Hence both the Phoenician and the Hebrew contain much that is hieroglyphic. It is well known that the names of the letters have a distinct meaning, for example, Beth signifies "a house;" Gimel, "a camel," etc. Thus, while the Aegyptians might select any letter beginning with "b" to represent the letter "b," the Phoenicians only used Beth, the hieroglyphic of a house, ב. See Niebuhr, *Lectures on Anc. Hist.* vol. i. For the hieroglyphical characters of the Hebrew alphabet, see an interesting volume by Dr. Lamb, *Hebrew Characters derived from Hieroglyphics.*

the whole to indicate that each of the hieroglyphics enclosed in it must be referred only to its sound, or to the initials of the words which they indicated. This method was probably first applied to proper names, but gradually the Aegyptians learned to unite everything, even ordinary words, and this method was developed more and more.

II. The Hieratic writing, a species of short-hand hieroglyphics.

II. The HIERATIC, or sacerdotal linear writing, was a kind of short-hand way of writing the hieroglyphics, and included in some cases arbitrary characters in the place of pictures. It appears to have been restricted to the transcription of texts relating to sacred or scientific matters, and to a few, but always religious, inscriptions.

III. The Enchorial, or common writing.

III. The ENCHORIAL, or demotic, or epistolary writing, was a system quite distinct from the hieroglyphic and hieratic, and chiefly included simple characters borrowed from the hieratic writing, to the exclusion of almost all pictured signs.[1]

Aegyptian mode of building the merchant barge, called a baris.

The merchant-ships of the Aegyptians were made of timber cut from the acacia tree, which in shape very much resembled the Cyrenaean lotus, and exuded a gum. Stakes of about two cubits length were cut from this acacia, [and apparently set up near to each other, thus tracing out the sides of the intended barge.] Round these stakes were then carried stout and long strings of acacia plank, [one course above the other,] which joined the stakes together. When the sides were thus completed, cross beams were laid on the top [along the entire length of the vessel, and the result was a rude flat-bottomed lighter lying bottom upwards.] Ribs were not used.[2] The seams were caulked inside with byblus. One rudder only was employed

Hull formed of short planks joined together like bricks.

[1] See Champollion, *Précis du Système Hieroglyphique des Anciens Egyptiens*, quoted by Heeren.

[2] The Aegyptian river craft here described were flat-bottomed, with vertical sides, whilst ordinary ships consisted of covered ribs set in a keel. In navigating the Nile no inconvenience would arise from the want of a keel; and whilst no convexity of the sides would be required to resist a sea, a larger freight could be carried than in an ordinary vessel of the same draught. Cf. Blakesley, note on ii. 96.

and that was driven through the keel. The mast was made of the acacia tree, and the sails of byblus. These vessels could not sail up the stream unless a fair wind prevailed, but were towed from the shore. Down the stream they were carried in the following manner. A hurdle was made of tamarisk and wattled with a band of reeds; a stone of about two talents weight was also taken and a hole bored through its centre. The hurdle was fastened to a cable and lowered from the prow of the vessel to be carried along by the stream. The stone was fastened to another cable and lowered from the stern. By these means the hurdle, being borne along by the stream, moved quickly and drew along the ship. On the other hand, the stone, having sunk to the bottom, was dragged along at the stern and kept the ship in its course. This vessel was called a baris, and the Aegyptians had a great number of them, some of them carrying many thousand talents weight.[1] Herodotus also remarks that the Aegyptians fastened the rings and sheets of their sails inside the vessel, and not outside like other nations.[2]

Generally towed up stream. Down stream were tugged by a hurdle at the prow, and steadied by a heavy stone at the stern.

We now turn to the animal worship, or Feticism, of the ancient Aegyptians, but shall not trouble the reader with any introductory remarks. Aegypt, according to Herodotus, did not abound in wild animals, although her territory bordered on the wild beast region of Libya; but the domestic animals were very numerous,[3] and all, whether wild or domesticated, were regarded by the Aegyptians as sacred. The reasons for this general consecration are not mentioned by our author, because in so doing he would have to descend to religious matters, which he avoids relating as much as he can. Curators, consisting of both men and women, attended upon the animals and fed each species separately;[4] and this office was hereditary. Money for the necessary

Feticism of the Aegyptians. Animals did not abound in Aegypt, but were all considered sacred, whether wild or domesticated.

Curators appointed over each species.

[1] ii. 96. [2] ii. 36. [3] ii. 66.

[4] In Ashantee, the people are divided into the Buffalo, the Bush Cat, the Dog, the Parrot, the Panther, and other families, each family being forbidden to eat of the animal whose name they bear.

expenses was derived from vows, which were thus kept by the inhabitants of the cities. Having made a vow to the god to whom some animal was sacred, they shaved either the whole, the half, or the third part of the heads of their children, and weighed the hair; and then gave a corresponding weight of silver to the curator of the animals for whom they had vowed. Any person wilfully killing one of the animals was put to death; and if an animal was killed by accident, the person who caused it was obliged to pay such a fine as the priest chose to impose.[1] Any one however who killed an ibis, or a hawk, whether wilfully or accidentally, was obliged to suffer the fatal penalty.[2]

Maintained by the vows of parents.

The murder of an animal, if wilful, punished by death, if accidental, by a fine; but the murderer of the ibis, or hawk, always executed.

CATS were sacred to Pasht, or Bubastis, who was called Artemis by Herodotus, and is often represented on the monuments of Aegypt with a cat's head. Our author says that they would have been much more numerous, were it not for the two following accidents. First, when the female cats littered they no longer sought the company of the males. Accordingly the latter would secretly carry off the young and kill, but not eat them; and the females, being very fond of their kittens, soon desired to have a fresh litter. Secondly, when a conflagration took place, the cats, carried away by a supernatural impulse, would endeavour to rush into the fire. Meantime all the Aegyptians stood round at a distance and neglected to put out the flames, in order to save the cats, and whenever one was lost the crowd set up great lamentations.[3] If a cat died in

Cats sacred to Bubastis, or Pasht.

Number diminished by the males killing the kittens, and the cats generally rushing into fires.

[1] We may infer from this passage that the curators belonged to the sacerdotal order.

[2] ii. 65. This extraordinary veneration for animals was thoroughly rooted in the minds of the nation. Diodorus tells us that when Ptolemy was still unacknowledged by the Romans as king of Aegypt, and when all the Aegyptians were doing their utmost to propitiate the Italians, and to avoid all disputes which might lead to war, a Roman chanced to kill a cat, upon which a crowd immediately collected round his residence, and neither the magistrates whom the king despatched to appease their rage, nor the general terror of the Roman name, could save the offender from popular vengeance. Diod. i. 83.

[3] In the present day the race of Aegyptian cats is by no means diminished, and the inhabitants of Cairo are frequently obliged to profit

a house all the family shaved off their eyebrows.[1] The corpses of these animals were carried to certain sacred houses and embalmed, and were then buried at Bubastis,[2] in which city the great festival of Pasht, or Artemis, was celebrated.[3]

Embalmed and buried at Bubastis.

Dogs.

Dogs were almost as much honoured as cats, which is very remarkable, as they are regarded as unclean by the modern Orientals, and the name of the dog is a term of great reproach among the Mahometans.[4] Herodotus tells us that if a dog died the family shaved all their bodies, including their heads.[5] These animals were buried in sacred places within their own city.[6] Ichneumons were buried in the same manner as the dogs.[7] Field-mice and

Ichneumons.

Field-mice.

by the privilege of sending their surplus cat population to the house of the cadi, where a fund is charitably provided for their maintenance. Baskets of cats are thus frequently emptied in the cadi's court-yard without much regard to the feelings of the neighbours. Every afternoon a person brings a certain quantity of meat cut into small pieces, which he throws into the middle of the yard; and a prodigious number of cats may be seen at that hour descending from the walls on all sides to partake of the expected repast. The weak and newly arrived fare but badly, the whole being speedily carried off by the veterans, and the more pugnacious of the party—the old stagers excelling in rapidity of swallowing, and the fighting cats in appropriating; and thus the others only obtain a small portion while the claws and teeth of their stronger competitors are occupied. *Wilkinson.*

[1] ii. 66. [2] ii. 67.

[3] ii. 60. Several cat mummies may be seen in the British Museum.

[4] A dog was a great term of reproach among the Jews. 2 Sam. xvi. 9; 2 Kings viii. 13, etc.

[5] ii, 66.

[6] The fidelity and utility of the dog was, no doubt, the original cause of its being regarded as sacred. The Greek and Roman writers supposed that the dog was the emblem of Anubis, and accordingly the Roman sculptors represented Anubis with a dog's head. This however is a mistake. It was the jackal, and not the dog, which was the emblem of Anubis; and no Aegyptian representation occurs of Anubis with the head of a dog. *Wilkinson.*

[7] The ichneumon is 2 feet 7 inches in length from the end of his tail to the tip of his nose, the tail being 1 foot 4 inches long. It is covered with long bristly hair. Sir J. G. Wilkinson tells us that it is easily tamed, and is sometimes kept by the modern Aegyptians to protect their houses from rats, but from its great fondness for eggs and poultry, frequently does more harm than good. According to Aelian (x. 47) it was particularly worshipped at Heracleopolis, where the crocodile was held in abhorrence. Diodorus tells us (i. 87) that the ichneumon rolls himself in the mud, and then observing the crocodile sleeping upon the bank of the river with his mouth wide open, suddenly whips down through his throat into his very bowels, and presently gnaws his way through his belly, and so escapes himself with the death of his enemy.

Hawks. Bears.

HAWKS were carried to the city of Buto,[1] where sacrifices were performed in honour of Leto.[2] BEARS,[3] which were few in number, and WOLVES,[4] which were not much larger than foxes, were buried wherever they were found to be lying.[5]

The bird Ibis. Two species, the black and the white.

The bird called the IBIS was sacred to Thoth, or Hermes, and is thus described by Herodotus. He tells us that there were two species of it. The black species, which fought with the winged serpents of Arabia,[6] was a deep black all over; it had the legs of a crane, its beak was much curved, and it was about the size of the crex. The other, or white species, which was the best known to man, and resembled the black species as far as regarded its legs and bill, but had white plumage excepting on the head, the throat, the tips of the wings, and the ex-

In another place (i. 35) he tells us that the ichneumon breaks all the eggs of the crocodile wherever he can find them, not for the sake of food, but from a benevolent motive towards mankind. This story probably arose from the fact that the ichneumon preferred a freshly laid egg, and left it without attempting to eat when he found that it contained the hard and scaly substance of a full-formed crocodile.

[1] ii. 67.

[2] ii. 63. The shrew-mouse was sacred to Horus. The story ran in later times that Leto, when nursing Horus, changed herself into a shrew-mouse in order to escape Typhon by burrowing in the earth. (Antoninus Liberalis, Fab. 28.) Plutarch (Symp. iv. Quaest. 5) says that the animal was supposed to be blind, and was therefore looked upon as a proper emblem of primeval darkness. The hawk was considered to be sacred to Ra, or the sun, but Herodotus says it was buried at Buto, which seems to be an error.

[3] The species of bear here intimated by Herodotus was doubtless the Syrian Bear (Usus Syriacus). "Prosper Alpinus," says Cuvier, "attributes bears to Aegypt, but describes them as the size of sheep, and of a white colour," (i. e. the Syrian Bear). This species is mentioned in Scripture. A bear was slain by David, (1 Sam. xvii. 34,) and two she-bears punished the children who mocked Elisha (2 Kings ii. 24). We append a full description extracted from Jardine's Naturalist Library, vol. i. "The animal is of a fulvous white, with large ears, a mane of stiff erect hair on the shoulders: the rest of the body covered with a woolly fur, above which is a longer soft coat of hair. Tail six inches long: claws small: stature rather high: in bulk, about equal to the common brown bear: feeds on flesh, but more usually on vegetables."

[4] The wolves here mentioned have been supposed to be jackals, but we must agree with Larcher, that the historian of Halicarnassus, an Asiatic by birth, must have known the jackal, which was common to all Asia Minor, as well as the wolf; and if he knew them both, it was impossible for him to have mistaken a jackal for a wolf.

[5] ii. 67.

[6] ii. 74. Cuvier actually found the skin and scales of a snake partly digested in the intestines of a mummied ibis.

tremity of the tail, which were all of a deep black. The head and entire neck were bare of feathers.[1] This bird was buried at Hermeopolis.[2]

Bulls sacred to Apis.

BULLS were considered by the Aegyptians to be sacred to Epaphus, or Apis, but were first proved in the following manner. A priest was appointed to examine the animal both when it was standing up, and when it was lying down. If he found a single black hair upon it he declared it to be unclean. He drew out the tongue to see if it was pure as to the prescribed marks, and he also looked at the hairs of its tail, to be quite sure that they grew naturally. If the beast was found to be pure, he rolled a piece of byblus round the horns, and fixing some sealing earth on it he stamped it with his own signet, and it was then led away. Any one who sacrificed a bull that was unmarked was punished with death.[3]

Cows sacred to Isis.

Cows were sacred to Isis, and were never sacrificed; and they were held in higher reverence, by all the Aegyptians, than any other cattle.[4]

Burial of kine.

The burial of kine was conducted in the following manner. The females were thrown into the Nile. The males, on the other hand, were severally interred in the suburbs, with one horn, or with both, appearing above the surface of the ground, to mark

[1] ii. 76. The first-mentioned species of black ibis may be referred to the glossy ibis (ibis falcinellus) of naturalists. The white ibis was incorrectly supposed by Bilon to be the stork, and by Pocock to be a species of crane; De Maillet even conjectured, that under the name of ibis were generically comprised all those birds which are instrumental in removing the noxious reptiles that swarm in the inundated lands. Perrault then introduced the erroneous notion that the sacred ibis was a species of Tantalus, and was followed by Brisson, Buffon, Linnaeus, and Latham. Bruce was the first to doubt this determination, and to point out the identity between the figures represented on the ancient monuments, the mummies preserved in the Aegyptian tombs, and a living bird common on the banks of the Nile, and known to the Arabs by the name of Abou-hannes. After the return of the French expedition, the question was definitely settled, and by a careful anatomical comparison of the ancient mummies with recent specimens then brought from Aegypt by Geoffray St. Hilaire and Savigny, Cuvier was enabled to identify Bruce's assertion, and thus to restore to science a bird which, after having been worshipped by a nation for centuries, had fallen into oblivion, and was wholly unknown to modern naturalists. Cuvier denominates it ibis religiosa, and living specimens of it have been lately exhibited in Regent's Park Zoological Gardens, under the name of Geronticus Aethiopicus. [2] ii. 67. [3] ii. 38. [4] ii. 41.

the spot of burial. After the body had putrified, and at an appointed time, a raft came to each city from the city of Atarbechis, which contained a temple of Athor, or Aphrodite, and was situated in the island of Prosopitis, in the Delta. In this raft all the bones of oxen were carried away, and buried in one place.[1]

No cattle killed by the Aegyptians.

No cattle were killed by the Aegyptians, but all that died were carried away, and buried in the same way as the oxen.[2]

Established mode of sacrifice.

The established mode of sacrificing the animal was as follows. The victim was led properly marked to the sacrificial altar, and a fire was kindled. Wine was then poured upon the altar, near the animal, the god was invoked, and the bull then killed. The head was next cut off, and the body flayed. Many imprecations were then pronounced upon the head, and if a market was near, and Greek merchants dwelt in the neighbourhood, the head was usually sold; otherwise, it was thrown into the river Nile, and the following imprecations were pronounced upon it—"May all the evil that is about to happen, either to the sacrificers or the country of Aegypt, be averted, and fall upon this head." These customs, as far as regards the heads of the victims, or the libations of wine which were poured upon the altar, were observed alike by all the Aegyptians in all their sacrifices, and accordingly no Aegyptian would eat of the head of any animal. The disembowelling and burning of the victims were however effected in different ways at different sacrifices. In sacrificing to that goddess who was considered the greatest of all, and in whose honour the most magnificent festival was celebrated, the following practice was observed. When the bullocks were flayed, prayers were first offered. All the intestines were then drawn out, and the vitals were left in the carcase, together with the fat. The legs and the extremity of the hip were

[1] ii. 42.

[2] Ibid. The statements of our author are apparently incorrect, for bull and cow mummies are frequently met with at Thebes, and other parts of Aegypt.

next cut off, together with the shoulders and neck. Last of all, the body was filled with fine bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other perfumes, and over it was poured a great quantity of oil, after which it was burned. The Aegyptians fasted before they sacrificed, and whilst the sacred things were being burnt they all beat themselves, and when they had finished they spread a banquet of what remained of the victims.[1]

Crocodiles. Herodotus's description of their nature and habits.

CROCODILES were called "champsae"[2] by the Aegyptians, but "crocodiles" by the Ionians, who considered that they resembled a species of lizard called by that name, which was to be found in the hedges of Ionia.[3] The following was the nature of this animal. During the four coldest months it tasted no food whatever. It was amphibious, though it had four feet. It spent most of the day on the bank, but the whole night in the river, for the water at that time was warmer than the air or dew. It laid its eggs on the land, and there hatched them, and of all living things known to our author, this grew from the least beginning to the largest size; for its eggs were but little larger than those of a goose, and the little crocodile which emerged was at first in proportion to the size of the shell; but when it arrived at maturity it reached a length of seventeen cubits or more. It had the eyes of a pig, large teeth, and projecting tusks, all in proportion to the size of its body. It was the only animal that had no tongue; and as it did not move the lower jaw, it was also the only animal that brought down its upper jaw to the lower one.[4] Its claws were strong, and its skin was covered with scales, which on the

[1] ii. 40.

[2] In hieroglyphics it is "hamso," in Coptic, "amsah."

[3] ii. 69.

[4] The fleshy fat tongue of the crocodile is attached very nearly up to the eyes, and hence the ancients supposed that he had none. The lower jaw is prolonged backwards beyond the skull, and the gape is proportionably enlarged. Hence, when the animal raises its head, and throws it a little backward, on opening the mouth by the depression of the lower jaw, it has the appearance of moving its upper jaw, whence the error of the ancients in that respect.

back could not be broken. In the water it was blind, but on land it was very quick-sighted. All beasts and birds avoided it excepting the trochilus, and with this bird he was at peace, because he received the following benefit from it. When the crocodile was on land it opened its jaws, and usually towards the west; upon this the trochilus would boldly enter its mouth and pick out and swallow the bdellae which it found there.[1]

Singular affection for the trochilus.

Crocodiles were only considered to be sacred by some of the Aegyptians; by others they were treated as enemies. Thus the Aegyptians in the neighbourhood of Thebes and Lake Moeris in Middle Aegypt considered them to be very sacred. Each one trained up a crocodile until it was quite tame, and put ear-rings of gold and crystal into its ears, and bracelets on its four paws.[2] These crocodiles were fed with sacred and particular food, and were treated as well as possible whilst alive, and when dead were embalmed and buried in the sacred vaults, especially

Worshipped in the neighbourhood of Thebes and Lake Moeris.

[1] ii. 68. Baehr wishes to call the bdellae "gnats" instead of "leeches," because the latter are not to be found in the Nile. A species of leech however is to be found in this river, "having eight eyes, and being without teeth:" it is described by Savigny, under the name of Bdella Nilotica.

The trochilus is probably the small running bird, called Siksak by the Arabs, though this name is also applied to the spur-winged and crested plovers. This siksak is often to be seen on the same bank as the crocodile, and as it loudly chirps on the approach of man, may be said to warn the crocodile of any approaching danger. Mr. J. A. St. John (*Isis, an Egyptian Pilgrimage*) says, that he seldom, if ever, saw a crocodile without a siksak standing close beside him on the sand, evidently within his reach, but without his exhibiting the slightest desire to molest or injure it. Humboldt too (*Views of Nature*) says, that on the Amazon and Orinoco, "the crocodiles lie so motionless that I have often seen flamingoes resting on their heads, while the other parts of the body were covered like the trunk of a tree with aquatic birds." The attention of the siksak to the crocodile is also corroborated by an amusing story told by Mr. Curzon, in his Monasteries of the Levant. Mr. Broderip (*Notes of a Naturalist*) tells us that the natives of Dongola calls this bird by a name which signifies "cousin, or niece of the crocodile." In Barrow's *Cochin China*, it is stated that the story of the trochilus entering the crocodile's mouth with impunity is firmly believed in Java.

"The puny bird that dares with teasing hum
Within the crocodile's stretched jaws to come."
Moore's *Lalla Rookh*.

[2] M. Geoff. St. Hilaire found the anterior part of the covering of the ear on a mummy crocodile pierced, as though for the purpose of putting a pendant in it.

in those of the Labyrinth.[1] On the other hand, the Aegyptians who dwelt about the city of Elephantine, on the southern frontier of Upper Aegypt, would eat the crocodile without hesitation, having no religious reverence for it whatever.[2] The modes of taking the animal were many and various, but Herodotus only describes that one which seems to him to be worthy of narration. The fisherman baited the hook with the chine of a pig, and let it down into the river, and meantime he held a young live pig on the river bank and beat it. The crocodile hearing the noise, would soon proceed towards it, and meeting with the chine would swallow it. The men on the bank would now begin to draw the animal on shore, and as soon as possible plastered its eyes with mud, for until they had done that it would give them a great deal of trouble, but afterwards could be managed very easily.[3]

Killed and eaten at Elephantine.

Caught by means of a hook baited with a chine of pork.

Hippopotamus.

The HIPPOPOTAMUS was only regarded as sacred in the nome of Papremis, in Lower Aegypt, and was not reverenced by the other Aegyptians. Papremis, it will be remembered, was the seat of the worship of Ares, or Typhon.[4] It was a cloven-footed quadruped, having the hoofs of an ox, a snub nose, a mane, tail, and even neigh similar to that of a horse, and projecting tusks. It was as large as a very large ox, and its hide was so thick that, after it was dried, spear handles were made of it.[5] OTTERS also were to be found in the Nile, and were esteemed sacred.[6] Amongst the fish the LEPIDOTUS[7] and the EEL were considered to be sacred to the Nile. Amongst birds the FOX-GOOSE[8] was also sacred.[9]

Otters.

Lepidotus.

Eel.

Fox-goose.

[1] ii. 148. [2] ii. 69. [3] ii. 70. [4] ii. 59, 63. See also p. 376.

[5] ii. 72.

[6] The otter is unknown in Aegypt, but Wilkinson says that modern travellers have mistaken the ichneumon, when in the water, for it, and he thinks that Herodotus may either have fallen into a similar error, or else have mistaken the monitor-lizard of the Nile for the otter.

[7] The lepidotus was probably the Aegyptian barbel, a species which closely resembles our own.

[8] The fox-goose was a species nearly allied to our shieldrake, which breeds in burrows in the sand: from which circumstance, or its extreme wariness, it received the name of fox-goose. It is of frequent occurrence on Aegyptian sculptures.

[9] ii. 72.

The PHOENIX was another sacred bird, which Herodotus had never seen excepting in a picture. It seldom appeared in Aegypt, and, according to the inhabitants of Heliopolis, it only came on the death of its sire, once in five hundred years. If it was like the picture which Herodotus saw, its plumage was partly the colour of gold, and partly red, and in outline and size it bore a strong resemblance to an eagle. The Heliopolitans told the following story connected with its appearance, which did not appear credible to Herodotus. They said that the phoenix, when its father died, shaped an egg of myrrh as large as it could carry; and when it had satisfied itself that it really could carry it, it hollowed out the egg, and put its parent inside and closed up the hole. The weight was thus the same as before, and accordingly it carried the whole to the temple of the sun and there buried it.[1]

Phoenix, its picture as seen by Herodotus.

Story told of it by the Heliopolitans.

[1] ii. 73. The earliest mention of this fabulous bird occurs in Hesiod (*Fragm.* 163, ed. Goettl). We are there gravely told that the crow lives ten times as long as a man; the stag four times as long as the crow; the raven three times as long as the stag; and the phoenix nine times as long as the raven.

It is asserted by Porphyry (ap. *Euseb. Præp. Ev.* x. 3) that Herodotus's account of the mode of capturing the crocodile, as well as his description of the hippopotamus, phoenix, etc., are taken with very little variation from the Periegesis of Hecataeus. At the same time, Herodotus makes no reference to the writings of his predecessor, but indeed, by stating that he had only seen the phoenix in a picture, leads us to infer that he had actually beheld a living crocodile and a living hippopotamus. Mr. Blakesley, from this circumstance, and from the evident mistakes in Herodotus's description of the two latter animals, and also from some circumstances which we shall notice in our preface, is inclined to consider our author as a mere logographer, not differing from his contemporaries or predecessors in critical sagacity, diligent investigation, or historical fidelity.

We need not disbelieve the statement of Porphyry on one hand, nor doubt the personal veracity and honesty of Herodotus on the other; in short, we need not accept Mr. Blakesley's theory at all. Herodotus does say that the crocodile has tusks, when it has none, and that the hippopotamus is cloven-footed, when, in fact, its foot is divided into toes like that of the elephant; but surely he may have seen both animals at a distance, and found that they bore a general resemblance to the descriptions of Hecataeus, and therefore adopted the latter without hesitation, and without considering it necessary to verify the minuter details by either approaching the jaws of a crocodile or examining the foot of the hippopotamus. As to the picture of the phœnix, that might have been seen by every traveller from Hecataeus down to Sir J. G. Wilkinson, without any one seeking to alter the description of his predecessor.

Horned Serpents.

Horned serpents were to be found in the neighbourhood of Thebes,[1] and like the winged serpents, have already been described.[2]

Fish, strange account of their generation.

Fish that were gregarious were seldom found in the Nile or its branches, but were bred in the lakes. When the time for engendering commenced, they swam out to sea in shoals. The males led the way, scattering the sperm; the females followed and swallowed it, and were thus impregnated. When the fish found themselves fairly in the sea they swam back again to their accustomed haunts. This time the females led the way, scattering the spawn; and the males followed and devoured it, in the same way that the females had previously swallowed the sperm. It was from the spawn that escaped that those fish were engendered which reached the years of maturity. Those fish which were caught on their passage out were found to be bruised on the left side of the head; those which were caught on their passage in were found to be bruised on the right side. This was occasioned by their being afraid of losing their way, and therefore hugging the shore on their passage out, and keeping close to the same shore on their return. When the inundation of the Nile commenced, the basins in the land, and the marshes near the river, began to be filled by the water oozing through from the Nile. When the water had filled the hollow parts and marshes, it was found to be full of little fishes. This phenomenon is thus accounted for by Herodotus. He supposed that, when the Nile retreated after the previous year's inundation, the fishes' eggs were left in the marshes, whilst the fish themselves went away with the last of the waters; when however the time of inundation again came round, fishes were immediately produced from the eggs previously deposited.[3]

Musquitoes infesting the marshes.

Musquitoes infested the marshes of the Delta in great numbers, but the marshmen protected themselves from the attacks of these insects by the follow-

[1] Ibid. See also page 447. [2] See page 317. [3] ii. 93.

ing contrivances. Those who inhabited the upper parts of the marshes slept in towers, which were of great service, as the winds prevented the musquitoes from flying to any height. Those however who lived round the marshes protected themselves with nets. Every man had a net, which he used during the day for taking fish, but at night he threw it all over his bed and slept under it; and the musquitoes never attempted to eat their way through the net, though they could bite through clothes or linen.[1]

We thus complete our author's account of Aegypt and the Aegyptians. We have followed him through the entire extent of the country, from the coast of the Delta to the island of Elephantine. The far off and mysterious regions on the south and west now require our survey, and to this we shall devote our two next chapters, which will complete the Geography of Herodotus.

[1] ii. 95.

CHAPTER VII.

AETHIOPIA.

Nile boat of Herodotus stopped at Elephantine.—Further information collected from hearsay.—General view of the courses of the rivers.—The White Nile from the south-west, and the Blue Nile from the south-east, unite at Khartoum, and subsequently receive the waters of the Tacazze, from whence the single Nile proceeds alone to Syene.—Lower Nubia, between Aegypt and the junction of the Nile with the Tacazze.—Upper Nubia—including Shendy, Halfay, and Sennaar—the triangular tract formed by the Nile and the Tacazze.—Abyssinia, or Habesch, the base of the triangle.—Surrounding country.—Arabian chain on the east, Abyssinian mountains on the south, and desert of Sahara, including Kordofan and Darfour, on the west.—Herodotus's description of the course of the Nile southwards to Elephantine.—Difficult navigation up the first cataract.—Vast lake.—Forty days' journey along the banks.—Twelve days' voyage further to Meroe.—Country of the Automoli.—Macrobians on the South Sea.—Upper course of the Nile supposed to be from west to east, like the Ister.—River flowing in that direction discovered by the Nasamones.—Comparison of Herodotus's account with modern geography.—Difficulty in identifying Tachompso and the lake.—City and kingdom of Meroe within the triangle of Shendy, formed by the Tacazze and Blue Nile.—Automoli within the triangle of Sennaar, formed by the White and Blue Niles.—Macrobians.—River seen by the Nasamones, either that of Bornou or the Niger.—Aethiopia of Herodotus, its wide signification.—His description of the land and people.—Arab races in Aethiopia.—Three Aethiopian nations mentioned by Herodotus.—I. Aethiopians above Aegypt.—Worship of Dionysus, and sacred city of Nysa.—Nomades.—Ichthyophagi.—Troglodytae.—Conquests of Cambyses.—Costume and equipment of the Aethiopians in the army of Xerxes.—City of Meroe: worship of Zeus and Dionysus.—II. The Automoli, distant a four months' journey from Elephantine, and two months' from Meroe.—Consisted of 240,000 deserters from the Aegyptian warrior caste.—Question as to whether settled on the White or the Blue Nile.—Blue Nile, the true Nile of the ancients.—III. Macrobian Aethiopians, the tallest and handsomest of mankind.—Ichthyophagi envoys sent by Cambyses.—Reply of the king.—His remarks upon the different presents sent by Cambyses.—Longevity of the Macrobians.—Fountain of exquisite water, like oil.—Prison fetters of gold.—Sepulchres of crystal.—Table of the sun.—Macrobians identified by Heeren with the Galla and Somauli tribes, but by Cooley with the Automoli.—Proofs in favour of the latter theory.—Table of the sun, an old Aegyptian festival.—Resemblance between the modern inhabitants of Sennaar and the ancient Aegyptians.

THE Nile boat of Herodotus proceeded no farther south than the island of Elephantine, a little beyond the city of Syene. Here the series of rocky rapids, known by the name of the First Cataract, checked his further progress up the ancient stream; and either his finances would not enable him to pay the Reis to conduct his vessel up the rapids, or else circumstances of a private nature required his speedy return to Thebes, or Memphis. But the information collected by our inquiring traveller gave wings to his mental vision, and enabled him to tell to his own generation and to future ages of the island of Meroe, and the fabled regions of hoary Aethiopia. The sources of the Nile however baffled all his research, and he could obtain no knowledge of those mysterious springs, either satisfactory to himself, or approximating to geographical truth. But modern travellers have at distant intervals penetrated far into the south. The sources of the Blue Nile were reached by Bruce; the antiquities of Nubia as far as the second cataract have been illustrated by Gau; and the Aegyptian expeditions into Sennaar, and the travels of Burckhardt, Calliaud, Hoskins, Linant, Werne, and numerous other enterprising and ardent discoverers, have enabled the modern geographer to assign a local habitation and a name to the nations indicated by the great father of history.[1]

Nile boat of Herodotus stopped at Elephantine.

Further information collected from hearsay.

[1] Notwithstanding the hosts of travellers whom the Oriental Company's steamers carry to Alexandria, the countries of Nubia and Sennaar are still but half explored. Enterprising gentlemen from the universities of England and America are frequently dissatisfied with merely seeing the streets of Cairo, and smoking wonderful pipes at the base of the great pyramid. A boat is resolutely taken, laden with pocket classics and other necessaries, and bound for the sources of the White Nile. The temples of Thebes are explored, and at Syene the activity and muscle which had been often displayed on the Isis, or the Cam, are exerted in assisting a crowd of swarthy savages in conducting the vessel up the first cataract. But from this point the voyage becomes tedious. The musquitoes feed upon the person, whilst the flies swarm about the provisions. The Liddell and Scott is probably in the stomach of a crocodile, for it was dropped overboard the very night after visiting Esneh, and seeing Ghawazees, and what not. Henceforth the classics cease to be a solace. The second cataract at Wadi Halfa is found to be clearly impassable; and the weary howadjis, having caught a faint glimpse of a purple cloud in the transparent horizon, which is at once pronounced to

A distinct map of these regions can be presented to the reader, marking out the courses of the rivers. The Nile is formed by two distinct streams, which unite at Khartoum into a single river at about 15½ deg. north latitude. These two streams are the celebrated White and Blue Niles; that from the south-west is called the Bahr el Abiad, or the White Nile; that from the south-east is called the Bahr el Azrek, or the Blue Nile. The springs of the White Nile may be placed by conjecture near the equatorial line; whilst those of the Blue Nile are at the 10 deg. north latitude. Some distance to the north of the Blue Nile, a great river, the Tacazze, or Atbara, runs from the south-east in the same direction, and nearly parallel with it, and at length falls into the united stream about two degrees northward of the junction at Khartoum. Beyond this second junction the Nile flows in a single stream, without receiving the waters of a single tributary. It first proceeds northward for about two degrees above the mouth of the Tacazze, and then taking a curve, it returns to the south for a similar distance, and then sweeps round another curve before finally proceeding in a tolerably direct course towards Syene. The country between Syene and the junction of the Nile with the Tacazze may be called Lower Nubia; the large triangle, formed by the Tacazze and the Nile, may be called Upper Nubia, and includes the three states of Shendy, Halfay, and Sennaar; whilst towards the south the elevated plateaus at the base of the triangle are comprised in the territory of Abyssinia.

General view of the courses of the rivers. The White Nile from the south-west, and the Blue Nile from the south-east, unite at Khartoum, and subsequently receive the waters of the Tacazze, from whence the single Nile proceeds alone to Syene.

LOWER NUBIA is situated almost entirely in the basin of the Nile; though it may be said to include the stony and sandy desert of Nubia, which is interspersed with a few small fertile spots, or oases, and extend eastward to the Arabian mountains and the Red Sea. Rocks and mountains are the great

Lower Nubia, between Aegypt and the junction of the Nile with the Tacazze.

be the mountains of Dongola, at last are carried back by the stream to the realms of civilization.

characteristics of Lower Nubia, and press so closely upon the river that they would leave but little ground for cultivation were they not interrupted by lateral plains, whose productiveness however is diminished by the continual encroachments of the desert. UPPER NUBIA, including Shendy, Halfay, and Sennaar, is the triangular tract lying between the White and Blue Niles and the Tacazze; and here the land spreads out into immense fertile plains, and is much more elevated than that of Lower Nubia, being situated on the lowest of the three great divisions of plateaus on which, according to Ritter, this part of Africa gradually rises towards the west. Abyssinia, the Habesch of the Arabs, lies at the base of this triangle, and principally consists of a series of still loftier plateaus, intersected and separated by mountain ridges; it thus includes the two other divisions of Ritter's classification, and the sources of the Tacazze and the Blue Nile.

Upper Nubia—including Shendy, Halfay, and Sennaar—the triangular tract formed by the Nile and the Tacazze.

Abyssinia, or Habesch, the base of the triangle.

The surrounding country must now be briefly sketched. The great Arabian chain, which, under the name of Gebel Mokattam, runs along the eastern edge of the Aegyptian Nile valley, proceeds under a variety of names southwards along the shore of the Red Sea, until it connects itself with the Abyssinian highlands; and the latter in their turn may be connected with the Gebel el Kumri, or Mountains of the Moon, which are said to include the sources of the White Nile, and to traverse the entire continent from east to west. Westward of the Nile is the great desert of Sahara, including however, near the banks of the White Nile, the large oases of Kordofan and Darfour.

Surrounding country. Arabian chain on the east, Abyssinian mountains on the south, and desert of Sahara, including Kordofan and Darfour, on the west.

We now proceed to develope our author's knowledge of these regions. Concerning the course of the Nile beyond Elephantine, the southern boundary of Aegypt, he obtained the following information from hearsay. In ascending the stream of the river, the country was found to ascend likewise, and therefore it was necessary to attach a rope to both sides of the boat, as you would to an ox in a plough, and

Herodotus's description of the course of the Nile southwards of Elephantine. Difficult navigation up the first cataract.

thus to drag it along. If the rope happened to break, the boat was carried back by the violence of the current. This difficult navigation lasted for twelve schoeni, or four days' passage, [about eighty English miles,] and during the distance, the course of the Nile was as winding as that of the river Macander. Next to this was a level plain, where the Nile flowed round an island named Tachompso. The Aethiopians inhabited all the country from Elephantine to the island; and they also held one half of the island itself, but the other half was occupied by the Aegyptians. Close to the island was a vast lake, on the shores of which dwelt Aethiopian nomades. Crossing this lake you fell again into the stream of the Nile which runs through it. Then disembarking you had to perform a journey of forty days on the banks of the river; for in this part of the Nile sharp rocks rose above the water, and many sunken rocks were also met with, through which it was impossible to navigate a boat. Having passed through this country, you might again embark in another boat, and after a twelve days' voyage you would arrive at the extensive city of Meroe. By sailing beyond this city, for about the same time as had been employed in crossing from Elephantine, you might reach the country of the Automoli.[1] The Macrobians inhabited that part of the Libyan continent which lay upon the South Sea.[2] Four months were spent upon the voyage and land journey from Elephantine to the country of the Automoli. Beyond this point Herodotus seems to consider the river Nile as flowing from west to east; he acknowledges that no one could speak with certainty, because the land is uninhabitable from the excessive heat;[3] but he inclines to this theory, because he would place the sources of the Nile at a point corresponding with that of the Ister, and because, as he thought, the two rivers discharged themselves into the sea at the same meridian, and therefore most probably resembled each other throughout the whole of

Four days' voyage to the island of Tachompso.

Vast lake.

Forty days' journey along the banks.

Twelve days' voyage farther to Meroe.

Country of the Automoli.

Macrobians on the South Sea.

Upper course of the Nile supposed to be from west to east, like the Ister.

[1] ii. 29. [2] iii. 17. [3] ii. 31.

their course.[1] Moreover, one fact came to his knowledge, which seemed to confirm this view. An exploring party of Nasamones, from the Syrtis, penetrated Central Libya towards the west, and there found a great river, running from west to east, and containing crocodiles.[2]

River flowing in that direction discovered by the Nasamones.

In comparing this description of Herodotus with modern geography, we see that the voyager had first to contend with the first cataract. Here the Nile no longer calmly rolls its broad flood of waters through flat monotonous banks, but, taking a bend, it runs rapidly through a narrow and rocky channel, studded with little isles of red granite and black basalt; and the cataract is in fact nothing more than a series of rocky rapids. The island of Tachompso is identified by Heeren with Kalabshe, and by Mannert with Derar, but really there is nothing but Herodotus's calculation of 12 schoeni from Elephantine, by which to ascertain its true position. The lake cannot be found at all, but the features of the region may have been changed, and the lake have been choked up by sand. During the yearly inundation however, those parts of the Nile, where the mountain chains recede from the banks, present the appearance of lakes. The name Tachompso signifies the resort of "many crocodiles," from Hamso, or Amsa, the Coptic for "a crocodile."[3] The city of Meroe was situated within the triangle of Upper Nubia, and the ruins of its temples and pyramids are still to be seen near the modern town of Shendy. The ancient kingdom of Meroe probably included the triangular tract of Shendy between the Tacazze and the Blue Nile, and was regarded by the ancients as an island, though it is not so described by Herodotus. It was the Mesopotamia of the Blue Nile and Tacazze of Africa, and was called by the Arabs Algezirah, like the Mesopotamia of the Euphrates

Comparison of Herodotus's account with modern geography.

Difficulty in identifying Tachompso and the lake.

City and kingdom of Meroe within the triangle of Shendy, formed by the Tacazze and Blue Nile.

[1] ii. 33, 34. [2] ii. 32. See also chapter on Libya.

[3] Crocodiles prefer basking on low sandy islands, at a distance from noise and disturbance.

and Tigris.[1] The ruins of pyramids and temples in the neighbourhood of Shendy, have been identified with those of the ancient Meroe. The course of the Nile from the southern boundary of Aegypt to the junction of the Nile with the Tacazze, is about 700 miles, and from hence to Shendy is about 80 miles farther. This agrees tolerably well with the estimated two months' journey stated by Herodotus. A modern writer[2] however would identify the city of Meroe with that of Merawe in Upper Dongola; first, from the coincidence in the name; secondly, from the magnificent ruins found there; and thirdly, because, being much nearer to Aegypt, it would account for Herodotus's placing the Automoli of Sennaar at a distance of two months' journey from Meroe. That Herodotus has made some mistake may be readily admitted, for his information was founded on hearsay. But when he describes Meroe as being two months' journey from Aegypt, he undoubtedly alludes to a city southward of the junction of the Nile and Tacazze, which ancient geographers are almost unanimous in calling an island. When however he describes the Automoli as being two months' journey southward of Meroe, he may be alluding to Merawe, (a colony of the former city,) being misled by the similarity in the names, and carried away by his passion for round and similar numbers, to which we have frequently referred.[3] The Aegyptian emigrants, called Automoli, were situated at the farthest point up the course of the Nile known to Herodotus, probably in the country now called Sennaar, a second triangular tract formed by the White and Blue Niles, to the south of the triangle of Meroe. The Macrobian Aethiopians have been placed in the maritime region near Cape Guardafui, occupied by the Galla and Somauli tribes; but we shall be better able to return to this subject when we have developed Herodotus's de-

Automoli within the triangle of Sennaar, formed by the White and Blue Niles.

Macrobians.

[1] See page 245. [2] Edinburgh Review, vol. xli. p. 190.
[3] See especially page 72, note.

scription of the people. That the river seen by the exploring party of Nasamones was believed by our author to be the Nile, is tolerably certain from his mention of the crocodiles, and his conjecturing that the Nile in its upper course flowed from west to east. The river itself may have been that of Bornou, or even the Niger, but we shall have occasion to return to this subject in the following chapter, on the Libyan nations.

River seen by the Nasamones, either that of Bornou, or the Niger.

The Aethiopia of Herodotus seems, in its widest sense, to have answered to the Hebrew Cush, and to have included all the nations of Southern Libya;[1] southward it extended to the sea,[2] and south-westward it formed the extreme limits of the habitable world. The great capital of Aethiopia was Meroe.[3] The northern parts were sandy deserts, producing however towards Aegypt a little grass and herbs;[4] but the regions of the south produced an abundance of gold, together with huge elephants, and wild trees of every variety, inclusive of ebony wood. The men were very tall, very handsome, and long-lived,[5] and they had black complexions, curly hair, and black semen, like the Indians.[6] Herodotus also tells us that the Aethiopians, or "black nations of Libya," were of the same dark complexion as those Aethiopians of Asia, who were marshalled with the Indians in the

Aethiopia of Herodotus, its wide signification.

His description of the land and people.

[1] iv. 197. Aethiopia was so called from *αἰθίοψ*, "a man burnt by the sun, or of a dark colour." Abyssinia was called Habesch, or "mixture," by the Arab geographers, to indicate the supposed Arabic origin of the people, and their subsequent intermixture with the Africans. The Abyssinians themselves prefer being called Itjopians, and name their country Manghesta Itjopia, or the "kingdom of Aethiopia."

[2] iii. 17. [3] ii. 29. [4] iii. 25.

[5] iii. 114. This description of the men refers more properly to the Macrobians. The Berbers however in Upper Nubia and eastward of the Nile are described by Burckhardt as being a very handsome race. "Their native colour," he says, "seems to be a dark red-brown. Their features are not at all those of the negro; the face being oval, the nose often perfectly Grecian; the upper lip however is generally somewhat thicker than is considered beautiful among northern nations, though it is still far from the negro lip. They are tall and thin, even more so than Egyptians, very healthy, sick persons being rarely found amongst them." (*Travels in Nubia.*) The Berbers, says Heeren, are undoubtedly a Nubian race, although they call themselves Arabians that they may not be confounded with the negroes, and they even speak the Arabic language.

[6] iii. 101; vii. 70.

army of Xerxes; but the hair of the Asiatic Aethiopians was straight, whilst that of the Libyan Aethiopians was curly, and the language of the two nations was also different.[1]

Arab races in Aethiopia.

By referring back to the account of the Arabians in the chapter on Independent Asia, we shall see that Herodotus includes a large portion of Eastern Africa, under the name of Arabia. That two distinct races, one consisting of the Aethiopians, or aborigines, and the other of nomade Arabian tribes, occupied Lower and Upper Nubia in ancient times, is confirmed by our author's statement, that the Arabians and Aethiopians above Aegypt were associated in the army of Xerxes,[2] under the same commander, and, singularly enough, exactly accords with the accounts of modern travellers.[3]

Three Aethiopian nations mentioned by Herodotus.

Three different Aethiopian nations of Libya are mentioned by Herodotus, viz. 1. The Aethiopians above Aegypt and those of Meroe; 2. The Automoli; and, 3. The Macrobians.

I. Aethiopians above Aegypt.

I. The AETHIOPIANS ABOVE AEGYPT included a variety of tribes, which extended from the borders of Aegypt southward, into the distant regions beyond Meroe. They celebrated Dionysiac festivals, and possessed the sacred city of Nysa, where Zeus carried the infant Dionysus sewed up in his thigh;[4] and they also occupied the half of the island of Tachompso. Mention is made of the nomades, the Ichthyophagi, and the Troglodytae. The Aethiopian nomades dwelt round a large lake in the immediate neighbourhood of the island of Tachompso,[5] whilst

Worship of Dionysus and sacred city of Nysa.

Nomades.

[1] vii. 70.

[2] vii. 69. According to a passage in the description of Africa by Juba, the king of Numidia and contemporary of Augustus, the banks of the Nile from Philae to Meroe were occupied by Arab tribes, differing from the Aethiopians. Pliny, vi. 34.

[3] Heeren has pointed out that it would be as difficult to draw a precise line between the Arabs and aborigines in eastern Africa, as between the negroes and Berbers in the western regions. The language however might, as he says, be a test to some extent, as it is unlikely that the Arabs should have relinquished their language to adopt that of a barbarian people; though many of the latter may have learnt to speak the Arabic.

[4] ii. 146; iii. 97. [5] ii. 29.

others probably wandered through the rocky desert of Nubia, which extends eastward towards the Red Sea. The Ichthyophagi, or fishermen, dwelt in the neighbourhood of Elephantine, and some of them were acquainted with the language of the Macrobian Aethiopians, or black nations, on the coast of the Erythraean, who lived far away to the south-east; and accordingly some of the Ichthyophagi were sent as ambassadors to the Macrobians.[1] The Aethiopian Troglodytae, or cave-dwellers, are also mentioned, but Herodotus seems to say that all the Aethiopians in this region lived in subterranean dwellings.[2] All, or nearly all, the black nations of Lower Nubia seem to have been subdued by Cambyses. They lived on the same kind of grain as the Calantian Indians. They did not exactly pay tribute to the Persian empire, but every third year they carried gifts, consisting of two choenices (or quarts) of unmolten gold, two hundred blocks of ebony, five Aethiopian boys, and twenty large elephants' tusks, and this they continued to do down to the time of Herodotus.[3] The Aethiopians who served in the army of Xerxes were attired in the skins of lions and panthers, and carried bows, four cubits long, made from the palm tree, with short arrows made of cane and tipped, not with iron, but with a stone sharpened to a point, and of the same sort as that used for seals.[4] They were also armed with javelins, tipped with the horn of an antelope, and made as sharp as a lance, and heavy clubs knotted with iron. Before going to battle they smeared one half of their bodies with chalk, and the other half with red ochre.[5] The great capital of all

Ichthyophagi.

Troglodytae.

Conquests of Cambyses.

Costume and equipment of the Aethiopians in the army of Xerxes.

City of Meroe:

[1] iii. 19. Ichthyophagi, or "fish-eaters," are generally regarded as the lowest in the scale of civilization, and yet Cambyses selected ambassadors from their number to send to the Macrobians.

[2] This is also confirmed by Agatharchides, as quoted by Diodorus (lib. iii.). Agatharchides describes the Troglodytae as herdsmen, and includes the Ichthyophagi amongst them. Their women were in common. They lived in caves during the heavy rains, but hastened with their cattle into the valleys directly the weather became favourable.

[3] iii. 97.

[4] Sharp Aethiopian stones were used by the embalmers, and probably in circumcision. See p. 497.

[5] vii. 69. Tall negroes daubed with red ochre are described by Pliny,

worship of Zeus and Dionysus.

Aethiopia was the large and celebrated city of Meroe, whose inhabitants were probably more civilized than the other Aethiopians. They only worshipped Zeus (Amun) and Dionysus (Osiris), but honoured these deities with great magnificence. They also possessed an oracle of Zeus, and made war in whatever country and at whatever time the oracle commanded them.[1]

Automoli distant a four months' journey from Elephantine and a two months' from Meroe.

Consisted of 240,000 deserters from the Aegyptian warrior caste.

II. The AUTOMOLI were situated as far from Meroe as Meroe was from Elephantine, and consequently, as it took fifty-six days, or two months, to get from Elephantine to Meroe, it took 112 days, or four months, to get from Elephantine to the Automoli. These people were called Asmak, which, in the Greek language, signifies, "those who stand at the king's left hand." They were descended from a body of 240,000 Aegyptians of the warrior caste, who, having been on duty in the garrisons of Elephantine, Daphnae, and Marea, for a space of three years, at last revolted from king Psammitichus and went over to Aethiopia. There the Aethiopian king settled them on the lands of some of his own disaffected subjects, and hence the Aethiopians themselves became more civilized, and adopted the Aegyptian manners.[2]

Question as to whether settled on the White or the Blue Nile.

The position of the Automoli, or Aegyptian settlers, has been much contested. The pyramids at Meroe would prove that they were not very far off, and no reliance can be placed upon the statement of Herodotus, that they inhabited a country two months' journey off. They were however evidently situated at the farthest point up the Nile known to Herodotus, and we accordingly have no hesitation in placing them in the triangle of Sennaar, which is only a journey of ten days to the south of Meroe.

Blue Nile, the true Nile of the ancients.

Herodotus however, like his successors, only mentions one Nile; hence arises the vexed question as to whether the White or the Blue river was the true Nile

and are now to be found 500 geographical miles south of Sennaar. Cf. Cooley, *Ptolemy and the Nile*, p. 17.

[1] ii. 29. [2] ii. 30.

of ancient geography. The White Nile is the largest and longest, and is therefore generally taken for the true one; but, if this be the case, it is impossible to explain how the Greeks trading for ivory, which was chiefly obtained from the elephant haunts at the foot of the Abyssinian mountains, should have overlooked the Blue river. Moreover, the united stream perfectly resembles the Blue river in natural features and cultivation, and is in fact a continuation of it. They have similar high banks, with clumps of wood at intervals; they are both lined with villages, increasing in number the higher we ascend; and there has been a comparative dense population on both streams as far back as tradition reaches. On the other hand, the White river presents a totally different aspect. It resembles an immense lagoon, often from five to seven miles wide, and with banks so low, as to be covered at times with slime, to a distance of two or three miles from the water. No town is situated on its banks, nor is there any tradition of a town; and it is asserted, by a competent observer, that, for a long way up its stream, nature has opposed insuperable obstacles to the settlement of an agricultural population. The conclusion therefore is unavoidable, that the Nile of the ancients, on the banks of which dwelt the Aegyptian settlers, was the Blue river.[1]

[1] Cooley, *Claudius Ptolemy and the Nile*, p. 11. Mr. Cooley adds, that to many it may appear surprising that the White river should ever have escaped the observation of intelligent travellers; for now that the head quarters of the Turks are established at Khartúm, all Europeans see the junction of these rivers, and not a few, crossing the desert of Bahiyúdah, west of the Nile, are ferried over the White river to Khartúm. But in old times this route was unknown. When Meroe flourished, the traffic of the country lay with the capital on the east of the river. The road from Meroe to Sobah went, we may be assured, like the modern road from Shendy to Sennár, in a straight line, while the Nile curved westwards, and thus the main road of the country passed at a considerable distance from the mouth of the White river. But it happens also that the eastern bank of the Nile, opposite to the White river, is covered by a comparatively extensive wood, which has probably existed there from time immemorial. Hence some travellers, as Poncet, Du Roule, and Krump, have passed that way without even hearing of the White river, while Bruce, eagerly inquiring for it, yet missed seeing it. Thus the facts, that it lay at a distance from the road, that it was screened from the view, and that it had no attraction for traders, fully account for the neglect which it experienced from the ancients. *Ibid.* p. 13.

III. Macrobian Aethiopians, the tallest and handsomest of mankind.

III. The MACROBIAN AETHIOPIANS inhabited that part of Libya which lay on the South Sea,[1] and were said to be the tallest and handsomest of all men, and, according to their own account, their customs differed from those of all other nations, especially in respect to the regal power, which they conferred upon the strongest and tallest of all their nation.

Ichthyophagi envoys sent by Cambyses.

Cambyses sent presents by the Ichthyophagi to the reigning monarch, consisting of a purple garment, a golden neck-chain, bracelets, an alabaster box of ointment, and a cask of palm wine.[2]

Reply of the king.

The Macrobian king unstrung a bow, and desired them to deliver it to Cambyses with this challenge, "that when the Persians could string the bow they might invade Aethiopia, but that till then they might thank the gods for never having tempted the Aethiopians to invade them."[3]

His remarks upon the different presents sent by Cambyses.

He next began to make remarks upon the presents. Concerning the purple garment, he said, when he heard of the dyeing process, "Deceitful are the men, and deceitful also are their garments." Concerning the neck-chain, and bracelets, he said, "We have stronger fetters than these." Upon the box of ointment, also, he made the same remark as upon the purple garment. The palm wine however delighted him, and he asked what was the food of the Persian king, and how long the Persians lived. The Ichthyophagi replied that the king fed on bread, and described to him its preparation from wheat; and they added that the longest life of a Persian was eighty years. The Aethiopian then declared he was not surprised that men who fed on muck should live for so short a period, and that they could not live so long did they not refresh themselves with the wine.[4]

Longevity of the Macrobians.

He also informed the Ichthyophagi that most of the Aethiopians lived to be one hundred and twenty years of age, and some even more; and that they fed on boiled flesh, and drank milk.

Fountain of exquisite water, like oil.

The Ichthyophagi now expressed their astonishment at this longevity, upon which the king led them to a fountain, which

[1] iii. 21. [2] iii. 20. [3] iii. 21. [4] iii. 22.

gave the same brilliancy to bathers as oil, and sent forth an odour resembling that of violets; and the water was so weak that nothing would float upon it, neither wood nor anything lighter. "If this latter statement be true," says Herodotus, "the water is the cause of their longevity."[1] The Aethiopian king then conducted the Ichthyophagi to the common gaol, where all the prisoners were fettered with golden chains, brass being amongst this people the rarest and most precious of all metals.[2] Last of all the ambassadors visited the Aethiopian sepulchres. These were said to be prepared from crystal, in the following manner. The body was dried and covered with gypsum, and painted to resemble real life as much as possible. It was then placed in a hollow column of crystal, which in that country was dug up in abundance and easily wrought. The body was thus plainly to be seen all round, without emitting any unpleasant smell, or being in any way offensive. The nearest relations afterwards kept the column for a year, during which they offered sacrifices and first-fruits to the deceased. At the expiration of that period however it was carried out and placed in the neighbourhood of the city.[3]

Prison fetters of gold.

Sepulchres of crystal.

The tradition of the table of the sun, which was said to exist amongst the Aethiopians, is also related by Herodotus. In the suburbs of some city, not named, there was a meadow filled with the cooked flesh of every kind of quadruped. This meat was placed there every night by the city magistrates, for some purpose not specified, but during the day, any, who chose, might go and partake of it. The natives however said that the earth itself, from time to time, produced these provisions.[4]

Table of the sun.

The Macrobians, or "long-lived" Aethiopians, were said by Herodotus, as we have already seen, to live on the borders of the South Sea, and the Icthyophagi from the coasts of the Arabian Gulf,

Macrobians identified by Heeren with the Galla and Somauli

[1] Water was vulgarly supposed by the ancients to be wholesome in proportion to its lightness. Celsus, ii. 18.

[2] iii. 23. [3] iii. 24. [4] iii. 18.

were sent to them as spies in the guise of ambassadors. Hence they have been generally referred to the maritime region on the east, and accordingly Heeren identifies their country with that of the Galla and Somauli tribes, near Cape Guardafui, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Arabian land of frankincense, and to the south of the Straits of Babelmandeb.[1] We are however thoroughly disposed to follow the opinion of Mr. Cooley,[2] that the Automoli and Macrobians were identical, and that Herodotus missed the truth from being content with Greek appellatives, and not inquiring after the native names. Both nations stand at the southern known limit of Aethiopia, and the description of the tall and handsome Macrobians may well apply to the descendants of the warrior caste of Aegypt. The Macrobians were probably known to the Ichthyophagi, or traders of the coast, and spoke a language akin to that of Meroe, and therefore the Ichthyophagi were selected to be ambassadors to their country. The table of the sun, which Herodotus ascribes to the Macrobians, and which Heeren supposes was an allusion to the market-place where gold and frankincense were exchanged for oxen, salt, and iron, did, in reality, appertain to an old Aegyptian festival, which, in the time of Herodotus, had grown obsolete.[3] It answered to the Roman lectisternium, and consisted in taking the images of the gods from their temples, and placing them on richly covered couches before tables spread with meat and wine. Hence arose the Greek idea that Zeus and the deities of Olympus repaired at stated seasons to enjoy a banquet among the Aethiopians.[4] The Macro-

tribes, but by Cooley with the Automoli.

Proofs in favour of the latter theory.

Table of the sun, an old Aegyptian festival.

[1] Bruce however maintains that the Macrobians were a tribe of the Shangallas (lowland blacks) on the north-western frontier of Abyssinia, and Rennell thinks that they were Abyssinians.

[2] Claudius Ptolemy and the Nile, by William Desborough Cooley, p. 20.

[3] Dr. Edw. Hincks, (Proceedings of the British Archaeological Association, 1845,) quoted by Mr. Cooley.

[4] Hom. Odyss. i. 22—25. The festival seems also to be alluded to in Isaiah lxv. 11, "But ye are they that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for that troop, and that furnish the drink offering unto that number."

bians, or Automoli, would thus both be placed in the triangle of Sennaar; and here Calliaud was struck by the close resemblance between the modern inhabitants and the Aegyptians represented on the monuments;[1] and nearly every freeman is a land-owner like the members of the military caste in Aegypt. The people speak pure Arabic, though perhaps, if inquiry was made after the local dialects, traces might yet be found of the Aegyptian language, and Mr. Cooley has pointed out two or three of the ancient names of the country which seem to be Aegyptian. But we must now conclude this chapter, and proceed to the third and last division of Africa described by Herodotus.

Resemblance between the modern inhabitants of Sennaar and the ancient Aegyptians.

[1] Calliaud, Voy. à Meroe, vol. ii., quoted by Mr. Cooley.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIBYA PROPER.

Extent of the Libya Proper of Herodotus.—Face of the country.—The Kong Mountains, basin of the Niger, and Mountains of the Moon.—Great plain spreading from the Kong Mountains northward to the Mediterranean.—Supposed by Herodotus to consist of three belts, viz. 1st, Inhabited country along the coast; 2nd, Wild Beast country of the Atlas; and 3rd, Sandy Waste, or desert.—Corresponding to the modern names of Barbary, Beled-el-Jered, and Sahara.—FIRST BELT, or INHABITED COUNTRY.—General description.—Occupied, according to Herodotus, by three races, viz. Greeks, Phoenicians, and Libyan nomades.—Four divisions of country occupied by four races, viz. Cyrene by the Greeks; Carthage by the Phoenicians; Tripoli and Tunis by the Libyan nomades; and Morocco and Algiers by the Libyan husbandmen.—Necessity for placing the Libyan husbandmen in the Second Belt, or Wild Beast region.—I. CYRENE.—General description of the country.—Herodotus's account of the colonization of Cyrene.—Theraeans under Corobius reach the Libyan Platea.—Pass over to the continent and settle in Aziris.—Remove to Cyrene.—Increase in numbers.—Divided into three tribes by Demonax.—Lands and the office of priesthood assigned to the king.—Connexion between the Cyrenaeans, Libyans, and Aegyptians.—Three harvests of Cyrene.—The Cyrenaean lotus.—Topographical notices.—Cyrene, containing the statue of Aphrodite sent by Ladice, and that of Athene sent by Amasis.—Fountain of Thestes in Irasa.—Leucon.—Hill of the Lycaean Zeus.—Barca founded by emigrants from Cyrene.—Inhabitants transplanted to Barca in Bactria.—II. LIBYAN NOMADES.—Extended from Aegypt westward to Lake Tritonis, or the Lesser Syrtis.—The Lake Tritonis of later writers identified with the salt lake of El Sibkah in Southern Tunis.—Character of the country of the nomades.—Its zoology according to Herodotus.—Attempted identifications by modern naturalists.—Division of the nomades into twelve nations.—Their general manners and customs.—Abstained from the flesh of cows and swine.—Cauterized the heads of children four years old, either on the crown or the temples.—Extraordinary good health.—Worship of the Sun and Moon, and of Athene, Triton, and Poseidon.—Greeks derived from them the aegis of Athene, the festival exclamations in the temples, and practice of four-horse chariot driving.—Libyan mode of interment.—The Twelve Nations.—1. Adyrmachidae, who followed Aegyptian customs, but were otherwise filthy and slavish.—2. Giligammae, opposite the Libyan Platea, the first region of the silphium plant.—3. Asbystae, inland of Cyrene, who drove four-horse chariots, and followed Cyrenaean customs.—4. Auschisae, including the Cabales, dwelt near the Hesperides, and followed Cyrenaean customs.—

5. Nasamones, a powerful nation on the Syrtis, who, during summer, removed to Augila.—Fed on locusts, and had their women in common. —In swearing, laid their hands on tombs.—In divining, slept on the sepulchres, and accepted their dreams as oracles.—Pledged their faith by drinking out of each other's hands.—Buried their dead in a sitting posture.—Lived in portable huts made of basket-work.—6. Psylli, who made war on the south wind, and were buried in sands blown from the Sahara.—7. Garamantes, who properly belonged to the oasis of Fezzan. —8. Macae, who occupied the banks of the Cinyps, which was the best corn land in the world.—9. Gindanes, whose women wore an ancle ring for every lover.—10. Lotophagi, who lived on cakes made from the farinaceous part of the fruit of the Rhamnus Lotus.—11. Machlyes, who dwelt on the right bank of the river Triton.—Argonautic legend connected with this locality.—12. Auses, who lived on the left bank of the river Triton.—Worshipped a native goddess corresponding to the Athene of the Greeks.—Lived apart from their women, whom they had in common. —III. CARTHAGE. — General description of the country. — City situated on a peninsula at the bottom of the Gulf of Tunis.—Boundaries of the Carthaginian empire.—Jealousy of the people an effectual bar to the progress of geographical science.—Herodotus's ignorance of Carthage.—SECOND BELT, or Wild Beast region, or Beled-el-Jered.—General description.—According to Herodotus included the Libyan husbandmen.—Three nations of husbandmen.—1. Maxyes, who wore a tuft on the right side of their heads, and daubed themselves red.—2. Zaveces, whose women drove the war chariots.—3. Gyzantes, who subsisted on honey and monkeys.—Island of Cyraunis, now called Karkenah and Gherba. — Lake from which gold-dust was obtained by dipping in feathers smeared with pitch.—Geography of Western Africa further illustrated by two stories told by Herodotus.—Carthaginian story of the dumb barter carried on with the natives of the gold coast.—Persian story of the voyage of Sataspes.—THIRD BELT of Sandy Waste, or the Sahara.—General description.—Basin of the Niger and the Kong Mountains to the south of the Sahara.—Herodotus's account.—Sandy ridge stretching from the Aegyptian Thebes to the Pillars of Heracles, and containing a chain of inhabited salt hills at intervals of ten days' journey between each.—Five nations of salt hills mentioned by Herodotus.—1. Ammonians, who possessed a temple to Zeus, the ram-headed god of Thebes, and a hot spring sacred to Helios.—Neighbouring city of Oasis in the Island of the Blessed, inhabited by Samians.—2. Augilae, whose date country was visited by the Nasamones.—3. Garamantes, who covered the earth with salt before cultivating it, and possessed kine walking backwards.—Hunted the Aethiopian Troglodytae.—Included a timid tribe who shunned all other men, and had neither weapons nor knew how to fight.—4. Atarantes, who had no names and cursed the sun.—5. Atlantes, who ate no meat and dreamed no dreams.—Description of Mount Atlas.—The salt mine where the houses were built of blocks of white and purple salt.—Actual extent of Herodotus's personal knowledge in Libya and sources of his information. — Visited Cyrene, and the neighbouring Libyan nomades.— Collected information from the nomades.—Could not have reached Carthage.—Obtained information however from Carthaginian travellers.—General ignorance of Western Africa.—His description of the chain of salt hills in the Sahara derived from doubtful information collected at Thebes from a variety of sources.—Attempt to identify the people and places on the modern map.—Narrative of Herodotus probably refers to the caravan route towards the interior.—1st station—Ammonium.—Identified with Siwah.—Twenty days journey from Thebes.—Intermediate station at El Wah supposed to be omitted by Herodotus.—2nd station—

Augila.—The great mart for dates.—3rd station—Garamantes.—Identified with Fezzan.—Station at Zuila twenty days' journey from Augila.—Intermediate station at Zuila supposed to be omitted by Herodotus.—Explanation of the people's placing salt upon the soil.—Horns of kine perhaps bent forwards by artificial means.—Hunting of the Troglodyte black men in the mountains of Tibesti explained by the modern razzias for the kidnapping of the villagers into slavery.—Timid race of Garamantes perhaps identical with the inhabitants of Terboo.—4th station—Atarantes.—Route probably took a southerly direction towards Soudan and Nigritia.—Station perhaps to be identified with that at Tegerry.—5th station—Atlantes.—Position unknown.—Sources of Herodotus's information mere caravan gossip.—Confusion respecting Mount Atlas.—Salt mine identified with the mines of Tegazah.—Desert country southward of the chain of salt hills.—Story told by Herodotus of an expedition of five Nasamones to a large river flowing from west to east, and containing crocodiles, to a city inhabited by short black men.—General credibility of the story.—Identification of the river with the Niger, and of the city with old Timbuctoo.—Conclusion.

AFRICA. CHAP. VIII.

Extent of the Libya Proper of Herodotus.

THE Libya Proper of Herodotus comprised the whole of Northern Africa between the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the western frontier of Aegypt; and its southern boundary may perhaps be indicated by the supposed course of the Niger, or Joliba. It thus included the region of Mount Atlas and desert of Sahara; but before we proceed to develope our author's description, it will be necessary to glance at the face of the country.

Face of the country. The Kong Mountains, basin of the Niger, and Mountains of the Moon.

Throughout the entire breadth of Central Africa, from the Mountain of Lions which overlooks the Atlantic at Sierra Leone, to the chaos of rocky masses which form the highlands of Abyssinia, there is supposed to run a vast chain of elevations of immense extent and enormous height. Its eastern quarter is thought to have been known to Ptolemy and the Arabian geographers, under the general name of the Mountains of the Moon.[1] Its western quarter is known on modern maps as the Kong Mountains, and runs along the north of the Gulf of Guinea; thus enclosing the kingdoms of Ashantee, Dahomey, and Benin. At the eastern extremity of the Kong Mountains the river Niger, Joliba, or Quorra, having flowed from west to east, and passed the mysterious city of Timbuctoo, at length forces

[1] It is still a mooted point whether the name of Mountains of the Moon ought not to be applied to the Snowy Mountains of Eastern Africa, rather than to the imaginary central chain.

its prodigious mass of waters through an opening in the range, and proceeds southward to the sea, forming in its lower course the greatest delta in the known world. Farther to the east we may suppose the Kong Mountains to be connected with the Mountains of the Moon; but it must be remembered that the very existence of the latter is more than doubtful. Park and Clapperton passed the Kong Mountains, but the far interior has never been explored; and though it has been presumed that very lofty elevations lie to the south of the region of Bornou, yet the great problem still remains unsolved, namely, whether Central Africa is occupied by the Mountains of the Moon, or by vast steppes, like those of Central Asia. Recent discoveries would lead us to adopt the latter opinion.

Great plain spreading from the Kong Mountains northward to the Mediterranean.

But to return to the western region. Northward of the Kong Mountains and the basin of the Niger, an immense low plain spreads towards the Mediterranean. This plain is chiefly occupied by the great Sahara, or "sea of sand;" but a comparatively narrow tract of mountainous country, including the chain of Mount Atlas, separates Sahara from the Mediterranean coast. The three belts of territory thus indicated, namely, the Mediterranean coast, the Atlas chain, and the desert, were apparently supposed by Herodotus to extend in parallel lines from the frontier of Aegypt to the shore of the Atlantic. The first belt, or coast region, he calls the "Inhabited country;" the second belt, or Atlas chain, he calls the "Wild Beast country;" and the third belt, or desert region, he calls the "Sandy Waste," and describes it as stretching from the Aegyptian Thebes to the Pillars of Heracles, and as including the salt hills or oases hereafter to be noticed.[1] Niebuhr mentions a fourth belt, consisting of the desert,[2] but this is evidently the same as the Sandy Waste. It must be remarked, that this arrangement of Herodotus is not only founded upon the natural features of the country, but also strictly corresponds

Supposed by Herodotus to consist of three belts, viz. 1st, Inhabited country along the coast; 2nd, Wild Beast country of the Atlas; and 3rd, Sandy Waste, or desert.

Corresponding to the modern names of

[1] iv. 181. Comp. ii. 32. [2] Diss. on the Geog. of Herod.

to the modern names of Barbary, Beled-el-jered, and Sahara. The inhabitants generally are called Moors, Berbers, Tuarics, and Tibboos, and, where not intermingled with Arab blood, may be regarded as the descendants of the Libyan aborigines.

Barbary, Beled-el-Jered, and Sahara.

FIRST BELT, or Inhabited country. General description.

The FIRST BELT, which Herodotus calls the INHABITED COUNTRY, may be more correctly described as including the northern side of Mount Atlas, which slopes towards the Mediterranean. It is called Barbary, from its ancient inhabitants, the Berbers. It comprises Mauritania, Numidia, Africa Proper,[1] Cyrenaica, and Marmorica; or the northern parts of Morocco, Algiers,[2] Tunis, and Tripoli. It consists of ridges of low hills and large terraces or plains, and indeed the whole region presents every variety of surface, but is remarkably well watered by numerous rivers which descend from the Atlas Mountains.

Occupied, according to Herodotus by three races, viz. Greeks, Phoenicians, and Libyan nomades.

Herodotus considered that this first belt, or Inhabited Country, extended along the Mediterranean from the frontier of Aegypt to the promontory of Soloeis; and he tells us that it was inhabited by Greeks and Phoenicians as well as by Libyans.[3] In another place he divides the Libyans occupying this belt into two classes, namely, the nomades and the husbandmen;[4] but we shall have occasion to point out as we proceed, that though the husbandmen were placed in a direct line with the nomades, yet that they were in reality included in the second belt, or Wild Beast region. Accordingly we shall now take a general survey of the first belt, or Inhabited Country, and endeavour to map it out in accordance with the three races, of Cyrenaeans, Libyan nomades, and Carthaginians, and then develope our author's description in geographical order:

Four divisions of country occupied by

The northern coast of Africa spreads out in the shape of a vast semicircle, but is broken in the centre by a huge oblong indentation nearly opposite the

[1] The Africa of the Romans comprised the proper territory of Carthage.

[2] This territory is now in the hands of the French under the name of Algeria.

[3] ii. 32. [4] iv. 186, 191.

promontory of Italy. The eastern corner of this indentation is occupied by the Great Syrtis; and its eastern side is formed by the large promontory of Eastern Tripoli, at present known as the Green Mountain, but which was anciently inhabited by the Greek colonists of Cyrene. The western corner of the indentation is occupied by the Little Syrtis, which we shall find occasion to identify with the Lake Tritonis of Herodotus; and its western side is formed by the promontory of Northern Tunis, which was anciently inhabited by the Phoenicians of Carthage. The whole line of country, from the frontier of Aegypt to the coast of the Atlantic, but exclusive of the two promontories of Cyrene and Carthage, was apparently occupied by a continuous chain of Libyan nations. The eastern half, or that between Aegypt and the Little Syrtis, (or Lake Tritonis,) was held by the Libyan nomades, who being in the neighbourhood of Cyrene, seem to have been closely connected with the Greek settlers.[1] The western half, or that between the Little Syrtis and the Atlantic, was held by the Libyan husbandmen, who seem to have been equally closely connected with the Phoenicians of Carthage, by whom, indeed, they were probably regarded as subject states. The northern promontory of Tripoli was thus held by the Cyrenaeans, and the northern promontory of Tunis by the Carthaginians; but all the remainder of the habitable region of both Tripoli and Tunis was in the hands of the Libyan nomades,

four races, viz. Cyrene by the Greeks; Carthage by the Phoenicians; Tripoli and Tunis by the Libyan nomades; and Morocco and Algiers by the Libyan husbandmen.

[1] Many of the nomade tribes were also under the dominion of Carthage, for though they could not probably pay much tribute, yet they were employed in the Carthaginian armies, and in forming the caravans over the desert. The boundary between the empires of Cyrene and Carthage seems to have been somewhere about the middle of the Syrtis. Sallust tells us (*Jugurth.* 79. Comp. Val. Max. v. 6, ext. 4) that the two cities agreed to fix the boundary at that point where envoys sent out from both cities at the same time should meet each other. By diligence, trickery, or chance, the Carthaginian envoys performed about seven-ninths of the distance before meeting the Cyrenaeans, and the latter refused to fix the boundary unless the Carthaginians consented to be buried alive on the spot. The two Carthaginians sacrificed themselves for the good of their country, and monuments were erected on the spot named after them, and also called altars.

and the whole of the habitable region of Algiers and Morocco was in the possession of the Libyan husbandmen.

Necessity for placing the Libyan husbandmen in the second belt, or Wild Beast region.

We shall now describe the three first of these divisions in geographical order, and develope our author's information concerning the several nations occupying the several territories; first treating of the Greek settlement at Cyrene; secondly, of the neighbouring Libyan nomades; and thirdly, of the Phoenician settlement at Carthage. If, indeed, our division was formed upon a political instead of a geographical basis, we should have included the Libyan husbandmen in the present branch of our subject, and thus have been enabled to treat of the four nations under two great heads, viz. 1st, Cyrene and the neighbouring nomades; and 2nd, Carthage and the neighbouring husbandmen; but we shall see further on, that the country of the husbandmen was really comprised in the second belt, or Wild Beast region, and we are obliged therefore to describe them under this latter heading.

I. CYRENE. General description of the country.

I. CYRENE and the surrounding territory held by the Greek settlers, occupied the promontory which projects into the Mediterranean directly opposite to the Peloponnesus, and is at present known by the name of Green Mountain. It includes, perhaps, the most delightful region on the surface of the globe. It consists of a table land running parallel with the coast, and sinking down towards the sea in a succession of terraces clothed with verdure and well watered by mountain springs. These terraces are thus exposed to the cool sea-breezes from the north, and are sheltered by the mass of the mountain from the sands and hot winds of the Sahara on the south; whilst the different elevations enjoy a great diversity of climates, and in the time of Herodotus produced a succession of harvests which lasted for eight months out of the twelve. The city was situated about ten miles from the shore, and upon the edge of an upper terrace about 1800 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. At the foot of this terrace is a fine sweep

of table land, most beautifully varied with wood, among which are scattered tracts of barley and corn, and meadows nearly always covered with verdure. Ravines, the sides of which are thickly planted with trees, intersect the country in various directions, and supply channels for the mountain streams in their passage to the sea. The Cyrenaeans took advantage of the descent in terraces to shape the ledges into roads, leading along the side of the hill; and these drives are to this day distinctly lined with the marks of chariot wheels, deeply indented in the stony surface. The ruins of the city, though terribly defaced, are very extensive, and a full description of them may be found in the interesting volumes of Della Cella and Beechey.[1]

Herodotus's account of the colonization of Cyrene. Theraeans under Corobius reach the Libyan Platea.

The colonization of Cyrene is described by Herodotus as having taken place under the following circumstances. A band of emigrants from the island of Thera in the Aegean, had set out by the direction of an oracle to seek for a settlement in Libya; and under the guidance of a purple dyer from Crete, named Corobius, they succeeded in reaching the Libyan island of Platea,[2] which is now called Bomba, and lies in the Gulf of Bomba, on the eastern side of the promontory of ancient Cyrenaica.

Pass over to the continent, and settle in Aziris.

Here the Greeks remained for two years, and then, by the direction of a new oracle, they crossed over to the opposite continent, and settled in the district called Aziris, which was enclosed on two sides by the most beautiful hills, and on the third by a river;[3] a description which appears to refer to the valley of the river Temmineh, which flows into the Gulf of Bomba, nearly opposite to the small island of Platea, or Bomba.[4] Here they dwelt for six more years, but in the seventh the neighbouring Libyans induced them to leave Aziris by promising to conduct

Remove to Cyrene.

[1] Beechey, *Expedition to discover the Northern Coast of Africa*; Della Cella, *Narrative of an Expedition from Tripoli to the Western Frontier of Egypt*, translated by Aufrere, etc. I am also indebted to the able articles on Cyrenaica and Cyrene, in Dr. Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography.

[2] iv. 151. [3] iv. 158. [4] Pacho, *Voyage de la Marmariane.*

them to some lands which were far better adapted for a settlement. Accordingly, the guides led them towards the west, but passed through the finest part of the country, which was called Irasa, during the night. At last the party reached a fountain, named Thestes, which was sacred to Apollo,[1] and the guides pointed out the district to the Greek emigrants as a fitting locality for a settlement, "for here," said they, "the heavens are open."[2] The Greeks adopted the suggestion, and founded the city of Cyrene.[3]

Increase in numbers.

For a long time the colonists felt no increase or diminution in their numbers, but in the reign of Battus the Fortunate, about 80 years after the foundation of Cyrene, the oracle at Delphi encouraged the Greeks generally to proceed without delay to Libya, in order to be in time for the division of the colonial lands amongst the settlers. Accordingly, a large multitude of emigrants from all parts arrived at Cyrene,[4] and the city subsequently became as large as the Libyan island of Platea.[5] The inhabitants were formed by Demonax of Mantinea into three tribes, viz. 1. The Theraeans and their immediate neighbours (the Libyan nomades, or Perioeci). 2. Greeks from the Peloponnesus and Crete. 3. Greeks from the islands of the Aegean. Certain portions of land were also assigned to the king,

Divided into three tribes by Demonax.

Lands and the office of priesthood

[1] iv. 159. The fountain of Thestes, sacred to Apollo, has been identified by Della Cella. It consists of a very copious stream of water, gushing out of a large oval aperture, at the foot of a rocky hill, towards the north-east of the ancient town. The aperture is connected with a tunnel, which extends far into the heart of the hill. Della Cella penetrated it for a few yards in spite of his guides, who assured him that it was the abode of evil spirits; and he found the coolness of the subterranean passage, and the murmuring of the water, most grateful and refreshing. Subsequently, he informed the Bey of Tripoli, whose expedition he was accompanying, that he had discovered a fountain sufficiently large to supply the wants of the whole army, and of all the Bedouins and their flocks, who followed in the rear. Accordingly the Bey proceeded with his army and followers to the ancient fountain, and they all with shouts of joy began to plunge in their hands, their feet, and their heads; and as the Bey ordered the whole army to pitch their tents in ancient Cyrene, not a day passed that these waters, sacred to Apollo, were not polluted by that barbarian and his slaves.

[2] iv. 158. By the heavens being open, they meant that there was an abundance of rain. "The windows of heaven were opened." Gen. vii. 11.

[3] iv. 156. [4] iv. 159. [5] iv. 156.

together with the office of priesthood; and a senate was constituted, of which the king appears to have been president.[1] Notwithstanding the early disputes about the land, the Greek settlers at Cyrene seem to have been possessed of great influence over the Libyan nomades in their neighbourhood.[2] On the other hand, it was from the Libyans that the Greeks learned the name and worship of Poseidon,[3] and adopted the dress and aegis of Athene, the festival exclamations in the temple, and the custom of driving four horses abreast.[4] The influence of Aegypt was also felt, not only over the nomade races on her border,[5] but also as far as the Greek cities of Cyrene[6] and Barca;[7] for we find that the women of neither place would eat the flesh of cows or swine, out of respect for the goddess Isis, and that festivals were celebrated at Cyrene in her honour.[8] This however may be accounted for, by the fact that the early Greek settlers married Libyan wives, and thus the population of Cyrene was largely infused with Libyan blood;[9] and indeed if we may believe Herodotus, the very name of Battus, which was borne by the founder, was a Libyan word signifying "king."[10]

assigned to the king. Connexion between the Cyrenaeans, Libyans, and Aegyptians.

Concerning the fertility and productiveness of Cyrene, we also obtain the following particulars from Herodotus.[11] The district of Cyrene was the highest part of all the country inhabited by the Libyan nomades,[12] and, wonderful to relate, it had three harvests. First, the fruits near the sea became ready for the harvest and vintage. Secondly, those of the middle or hilly region, called the uplands. Thirdly, those on the highest lands. So that by the time that the first harvest had been

Three harvests of Cyrene.

[1] iv. 161, 165. [2] iv. 170, 171. [3] ii. 50. [4] iv. 189.
[5] iv. 168. [6] iv. 186. [7] iv. 159. [8] iv. 186.
[9] iv. 186—189. Comp. Grote, vol. iv.
[10] iv. 155. The name of Battus was borne by the founder, and by his successors alternately with the Greek name Arcesilaus.
[11] iv. 186.
[12] That is, Cyrene was situated on the highest ground in all the coast region between Aegypt and Lake Tritonis, now occupied by Tripoli and Southern Tunis.

The Cyrenaean lotus.

eaten, and the vintage drank, the last was gathered in, and consequently there were altogether eight months of harvest and gathering time.[1] The Cyrenaean lotus is also mentioned as being the shape in which the Aegyptians made their merchant vessels.[2] Herodotus seems to distinguish it from the Aegyptian lotus, which was indeed a totally different thing. The Aegyptian lotus was a bulbous water-plant,[3] and the Cyrenaean a kind of thorn (*Zizyphus napeca*). The fruit is said to be about the size of a wild plum, and contains a stone like a date. Wine is made from this lotus, and cattle are fed with it, and there can be no doubt but that it was the food of the Lotophagi. It is the Rhamnus Lotus of Linnaeus. The modern mode of preparing it for food will be noticed further on, in treating of the Lotophagi, the tenth nation of the nomade Libyans.

Topographical notices.

Cyrene containing the statue of Aphrodite, sent by Ladice, and that of Athene sent by Amasis.

Fountain of Thestes in Irasa.

Leucon.

Hill of the Lycaean Zeus.

Barca founded by emigrants from Cyrene.

Inhabitants transplanted to Barca in Bactria.

The topographical notices of Cyrene, and the country occupied by the Greek settlers, are very few. In the city of Cyrene was the statue of Aphrodite, which Ladice, the wife of Amasis, dedicated there after she was reconciled to her husband, and which was still standing in the time of Herodotus.[4] Also the gilded statue of Athene, which Amasis sent with a painted likeness of himself.[5] The fountain Thestes, in the district of Irasa, already mentioned, was celebrated as the spot where the Cyrenaeans defeated Apries.[6] At Leucon, east of Cyrene, Arcesilaus was defeated by the Libyans, with the loss of 7000 heavy-armed Cyrenaeans;[7] and the hill of the Lycaean Zeus must have been in the neighbourhood.[8]

The city of Barca was founded at no great distance by a number of emigrants from Cyrene.[9] The women of Barca, like those of Cyrene, would neither taste the flesh of cows nor that of swine, from respect to the Aegyptian goddess Isis.[10] The Barcaeans, having been captured by the Persians, were

[1] iv. 199. [2] ii. 96. [3] See page 493. [4] ii. 181.
[5] ii. 182. [6] iv. 159. [7] iv. 160. [8] iv. 203.
[9] iv. 160. [10] iv. 159.

transplanted by Darius to a village in Bactria, to which they gave the name of Barca, and which was still inhabited in the time of Herodotus.[1]

II. The Libyan Nomades, who were probably more or less dependent upon Cyrene, extended, according to Herodotus, from the frontier of Aegypt, westward to the lake Tritonis, and river Triton.[2] By the lake Tritonis Herodotus seems to mean the Lesser Syrtis, at present called the Gulf of Khabs; for he tells us the story of Jason being cast upon its shallows,[3] and he makes no distinction between the Greater and Lesser Syrtis.[4] His information however was evidently derived from some Argonautic poet, and he could have been very little acquainted with the real geography of the coast. The Triton, he tells us, was a large river, which discharged itself into the great Lake Tritonis, and in it was an island named Phla.[5] Later geographers, having obtained a more exact knowledge of the coast, discovered a large inland lake, having an opening to the Lesser Syrtis, and also a river flowing into it. Accordingly they represented the river Triton as rising in a mountain, and forming the Lake Tritonis on its course to the Lesser Syrtis. This lake is undoubtedly the great salt lake in Southern Tunis, called El-Sibkah; but it has no longer any opening to the sea, and the whole coast is so much altered by the drifting of sands from the Sahara, that it is impossible to identify the river Triton, though some suppose that it is represented by the Wady el Khabs. The Arabs still have a tradition that the lake once communicated with the river.[6]

II. Libyan Nomades. Extended from Aegypt westward to Lake Tritonis, or the Lesser Syrtis.

The lake Tritonis of later writers identified with the salt lake of El-Sibkah in Southern Tunis.

[1] iv. 204. [2] iv. 186, 191. [3] iv. 179. [4] ii. 32, 150. [5] iv. 178.

[6] Sir G. Temple was seven hours in crossing the lake during the dry season. He says that on approaching it the grass and bushes become gradually scarcer; then follows a tract of sand which some way beyond is in parts covered with a very thin layer of salt; this gradually becomes thicker, and more united; then it is found in a compact or unbroken mass, or sheet, which can however be penetrated by a sharp instrument, and here he found it to be eleven inches in depth; finally, in the centre it had become so hard, deep, and concentrated, as to baffle all attempts to break its surface except with a pickaxe. In several parts of the bed of the lake are elevated plateaus, forming islands in the rainy season, and

Character of the country of the nomades.

The whole region inhabited by the Libyan nomades, namely, that between Aegypt and the river Triton, is described by Herodotus as low and sandy, whilst the country westward of the river was woody and mountainous.[1] This indeed is the general character of the soil along the coast of the Great Syrtis; whilst farther eastward the fertile territory of Cyrene was in the hands of Greek settlers.

Its zoology, according to Herodotus.

According to Herodotus, the following animals were to be found in the territory of the Libyan nomades, viz. the pigargi, zorcas, bubalies, asses without horns and that never drank, oryes, which were as large as oxen, and from whose horns were made the elbows of the Phoenician citherns; foxes, hyænas, porcupines, wild rams, dictyes, thoes, panthers, boryes, land crocodiles, about three cubits long, and very much like lizards, ostriches, small one horned serpents, and three species of mice, viz. the dipodes, or two-footed, the zegeries, and the hedgehogs. Zegeries is a Libyan word, and equivalent to the Greek word *βουνοί*, or hills. Weasels were also produced in the silphium very much resembling those of Tartessus. In Libya also were to be found those animals that existed elsewhere, excepting the stag and wild boar, which were not to be seen.[2] Modern naturalists have found it difficult to identify all the above animals catalogued by Herodotus. The pigargi, zorcas, (or dorcas,)[3] bubalies, and oryes, were apparently different species of the African antelope. The three first are restored to their ancient titles. The pigargus is distinguished by the whiteness of its buttocks. The bubalis is called the wild cow by the Arabs. The oryes are supposed to be the same as the antelope leucoryx of modern naturalists, and the oryx of Pliny and Aristotle. The dictyes and boryes cannot be recognised. The thoes were probably jackals, or lynxes. The land crocodile seems to have been the same as the Lacerta Dracæna of

Attempted identifications by modern naturalists.

the largest of them is supposed to be the Phla of Herodotus. *Excursions in the Mediterranean*, vol. ii.

[1] iv. 191. [2] iv. 192. [3] vii. 69.

Linnæus. The dipodes were most likely the jerboas, and obtained their name from the great length of their hind legs, upon which they usually stand. The zegeries may have been the cape rat, which burrows under ground, and in so doing throws up the earth in the form of a hill. Herodotus appears to have been mistaken when he said that wild boars were not to be found in this country, as Shaw, Bruce, and others say that they are abundant.[1]

Division of the nomades into twelve nations.

Herodotus describes twelve nations of Libyan nomades, namely, the Adyrmachidae, the Giligammae, the Asbystae, the Auschisae, the Nasamones, the Psylli, the Garamantes, the Macae, the Gindanes, the Lotophagi, the Machlyes, and the Auses. All these tribes subsisted on flesh, and drank milk, but they abstained from the flesh of cows, for the same reason as the Aegyptians, and refrained from keeping any swine.[2] Many of these nations had a singular custom with respect to their children, which however may not have been general amongst all the nomades, though this point is uncertain. When a child was four years old they cauterized its head with uncleansed wool, some of them burning the veins in the crown of the head, and others the veins in the temples; and if, during the cauterization, the children were seized with convulsions, they were sprinkled with the urine of the she-goat, which was said to be an effectual restorative. By this operation they considered that they prevented any injury arising from humours flowing from the head, and they also said that they were indebted for their remarkably good health to this extraordinary practice. It is certain that these Libyans were the most healthy people in the world, but Herodotus does not know whether this is the cause of it, he only repeats what the Libyans themselves say.[3] Respecting the religion of these nomades, Herodotus tells us that they all sacrificed to the Sun and Moon, first cutting off the ear of the victim and throwing it over the house, and

Their general manners and customs. Abstained from the flesh of cows and swine.

Cauterized the heads of their children four years old, either on the crown or the temples.

Extraordinary good health.

Worship of the Sun and Moon, and of Athene, Triton, and Poseidon.

[1] See notes of Baehr, Larcher, &c. [2] iv. 186. See also p. 486. [3] iv. 187.

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then twisting its neck. Those however who dwelt round Lake Tritonis sacrificed chiefly to Athene, and next her to Triton and Poseidon.[1] From the Libyan females the Greeks derived the costume and aegis of the statues of Athene; only the Libyan dress consisted of leather, and the fringes that hung from the aegis were not serpents, but thongs. The name of aegis also proves that the dress of the Pallas figures originated in Libya; for the Libyan women threw goatskins, fringed and dyed with red[2] and with all the hair off, over their dress, and from these goatskins the Greeks took the name of aegis. Herodotus also tells us that the festival exclamations in the temples originated in Libya, for the Libyan women practised the same custom, and did it very well.[3] Further, the Greeks learned to drive chariots with four horses harnessed abreast from the Libyans.[4] In burying their dead, all the Libyan nomades followed the Greek custom, excepting the Nasamones, who, as we shall see, interred the corpse in a sitting posture, watching the person about to expire to prevent his dying in a reclining posture. The dwellings of the nomades consisted of moveable huts, constructed of the asphodel shrub, and interwoven with rushes.[5] We shall now describe the twelve nations of Libyan nomades in geographical order, running east and west from Aegypt to the Lesser Syrtis.

Greeks derived from them the aegis of Athene,

the festival exclamations in the temples,

and practice of four-horse chariot driving.

Libyan mode of interment.

The twelve nations.

1. ADYRMACHIDAE, who followed Aegyptian customs, but were other-

1. The ADYRMACHIDAE began at the western frontier of Aegypt, at the Plinthinetic Bay,[6] and stretched to the harbour called Plunos. Their customs in general were like those of Aegypt, but they wore

[1] iv. 188.

[2] Moses was commanded to use "rams' skins dyed red" for the covering of the tabernacle, (Exod. xxv. 5; xxxv. 7,) and these were probably brought out of Aegypt, as they are spoken of in the first year of the wanderings. They are still manufactured in Tripoli, and form a principal article of commerce with the caravans trading to Mourzuk and the far interior.

[3] On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, the Moorish song of death, and woullah-woo, or howl for the dead, not only resounded from the mountains and valleys of Tripoli, but was undoubtedly re-echoed throughout the continent of Africa. Tully, *Narrative of a Ten Years' residence at Tripoli.*

[4] iv. 189. [5] iv. 190. [6] ii. 6.

the Libyan costume. The women wore a brass chain, or ring, on each leg, and suffered their hair to grow to a great length. When they caught vermin on their persons, they bit them before throwing them away.[1] They alone, of all the Libyans, brought all their virgins about to be married to the king, who exercised a certain privilege with those who pleased his fancy.[2] This people seem to have wandered over the eastern quarter of Tripoli, and at times even to have penetrated the Aegyptian territory. Herodotus himself tells us that their customs were Aegyptian, and Scylax places them within the Aegyptian frontier, between Apis and Canopis.[3]

wise filthy and slavish.

2. The GILIGAMMAE occupied the country westward, from the Adyrmachidae as far as the island Aphrodisias. Off the middle of their coast was situated the island of Platea, which was colonized by the Cyrenaeans; and on the continent was the port of Menelaus with the district of Aziris, which the Cyrenaeans inhabited. Here the silphium plant[4] was found for the first time; it extended from the island of Platea to the mouth of the Syrtis. The customs of the people were similar to those of the other Libyans.[5] According to this account we may presume that the Giligammae originally occupied the coast region, from the port of Plunos westward as far as the island Aphrodisias, which has been

2. GILIGAMMAE, opposite the Libyan Platea, the first region of the silphium plant.

[1] The Bedouins in this neighbourhood are filthily dirty. They told Della Cella that if they washed themselves their flocks would no longer follow them, a sufficient proof of the potent odours they send forth. In Fezzan, says Mr. Richardson, (*Mission to Central Africa,*) it is a grand piece of etiquette for every man to have the murdering of his own lice. If you pick a louse off a man's sleeve you must deliver it up to him instantly to be murdered, as his undoubted right and privilege.

[2] iv. 168. [3] Scylax, p. 45.

[4] The silphium was a kind of laserpitium, or assafoetida, which was used as an aperient for man, and was also employed for fattening cattle and making their flesh tender. It formed a very great article of trade, and at length became so valuable that it was sold at Rome for its weight in silver, and hence always appeared on the medals of Cyrene. Della Cella thought he recognised it in a poisonous plant, which occasioned a great mortality amongst the camels belonging to the expedition which he accompanied.

[5] iv. 169.

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identified with the island of Al Hiera, almost in the centre of the Cyrenaean territory. The beautiful district of Aziris opposite Platea, which was first occupied by the Greek settlers, must therefore have properly belonged to this nomade tribe. At a subsequent period however the Giligammae were pushed back into the interior by the colonists at Cyrene.

3. ASBYSTAE, inland of Cyrene, who drove four-horse chariots, and followed Cyrenaean customs.

3. The ASBYSTAE inhabited the country south of Cyrene, and were thus cut off from the sea by the Cyrenaeans, who occupied the maritime tract. They practised driving four-horse chariots more than any other Libyan nation, and endeavoured to imitate most of the customs of the Cyrenaeans.[1] We may presume that this tribe, like the Giligammae, had been driven more into the interior by the Cyrenaeans.

4. AUSCHISAE, including the Cabales, dwelt near the Hesperides, and followed Cyrenaean customs.

4. The AUSCHISAE dwelt to the south of Barca, and extended to the sea near the Hesperides. In the centre of their territory dwelt the Cabales, a small nation touching the sea, near the Barcaean town of Taucheira. The people, like the Asbystae,[2] seem to have chiefly imitated the manners of the Greek colonists, and practised four-horse chariot driving.[3] The proper territory of these two tribes of Auschisae and Cabales can be easily indicated on the modern map. The Hesperides lived near the city of Berenice, the modern Bengazi, which was anciently called Hesperides, or Hesperis; and Scylax distinctly mentions the gardens and lake of the Hesperides in this neighbourhood. The town of Taucheira was afterwards called Arsinoe.

5. NASAMONES, a powerful nation on the Syrtis, who during summer removed to Augila.

5. The NASAMONES were a very numerous people, who inhabited the Syrtis, and a small portion of the neighbouring country eastward.[4] In the summer, however, they left their cattle on the coast, and moved southwards into the interior, as far as the region of Augila,[5] in order to gather the dates; for here there were numbers of palm trees growing to a

[1] iv. 170. [2] iv. 171. [3] iv. 170. [4] ii. 32.

[5] We shall have occasion to describe the oasis of Augila, which still preserves its ancient name, when we treat of the salt hills in the third belt of Sandy Waste.

great size, and all of them were productive. This people were also accustomed to eat locusts in the following fashion. When they caught a quantity they dried them in the sun; and then having ground them to powder, they would eat them mixed with milk.[1] Every man kept several wives, but, like the Massagetae, indulged in promiscuous intercourse, first fixing a staff in the ground as a signal. When a Nasamonian was first married, it was customary for the bride, on the wedding night, to grant her favours to all the guests in turn, and afterwards to receive a present from each. They seem to have paid great attention to the tombs of their ancestors, for in swearing they laid their hands on the sepulchres of those who were celebrated for the greatest honesty and excellence; and their divinations were also performed at the tombs, where they prayed and laid down to sleep, and on waking accepted as an oracle whatever they might have dreamt. In pledging their faith each party drank in turns out of the other one's hand, and if they had no liquid they took up dust from the ground and licked it.[2] The Nasamones were also the only Libyans who buried their dead in a different way to the Greeks. They interred the corpse in a sitting posture, and when any one was about to die they took care to keep him sitting, in order to prevent his expiring whilst lying upon his back. Their dwellings were portable, and were constructed of the asphodel shrub, interwoven with rushes.[3] From the foregoing description it is plainly to be seen that the Nasamones were a powerful and savage people, occupying the coast of the Great Syrtis, and also stretching far into the interior. Beside their own territory they took

Fed on locusts, and had their women in common.

In swearing, laid their hands on tombs.

In divining, slept on the sepulchres, and accepted their dreams as oracles.

Pledged their faith by drinking out of each other's hands.

Buried their dead in a sitting posture.

Lived in portable huts, made of basket work.

[1] The locusts are still eaten by the Bedouin descendants of the Nasamones. Della Cella saw an immense swarm of locusts shower down upon the ground as thick as hail, and the Marabouts, Bedouins, and Negroes eagerly devoured a quantity, which they toasted before the fire, and preserved what they could collect, by means of the salt which they found amongst the sands.

[2] iv. 172.

[3] iv. 190.

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possession of the lands previously held by the Psylli, whom we shall next describe.

6. PSYLLI, who made war on the south wind, and were buried in sands blown from the Sahara.

6. The PSYLLI were an extinct nation, which in ancient times lay on the western borders of the Nasamonian territory. A curious story of their destruction was told by the Libyans, and is repeated by Herodotus, who however refers to them, as his sole authority for it, that the hot winds from the southern desert blew upon the lands of the Psylli and dried up all their water tanks, until the whole country within the Syrtis was totally deprived of water. The Psylli accordingly took counsel together, and with one consent determined to make war on the south wind; but when they reached the desert the south wind blew against them and buried them in the sand. The nation having thus perished, the Nasamones took possession of their territory.[1]

7. GARAMANTES, who properly belonged to the oasis of Fezzan.

7. The GARAMANTES are described by Herodotus as belonging to the Libyan nomades, though at the same time he tells us that they dwelt south of the Nasamones, and within the Wild Beast region which formed the second belt.[2] A people of the same name are also described at greater length, and with some striking points of difference, as dwelling round the third salt hill in the third belt, of Sandy Desert.[3] It is evident that they inhabited the region of Fezzan, but though we thus name them here, and indicate their position in accordance with the arrangement of Herodotus, we shall postpone further entering upon his description of them until we treat of the oases in the third belt.

8. MACAE, who occupied the banks of the Cinyps,

8. The MACAE dwelt along the sea-coast to the west of the Nasamones. They shaved their head so as to leave a tuft of long hair in the crown,[4] and when

[1] iv. 173. The south winds blowing over the Sahara, are loaded with clouds of sand, which, according to Della Cella, will sometimes smother whole caravans.

[2] iv. 174. [3] iv. 183.

[4] The Macae shaved their heads, excepting a tuft of hair which they left at the crown. The Auses (iv. 180) let their hair grow only in front. The Maxyes (iv. 191) only allowed their hair to grow on the right side of the head. The mode of cutting the hair was probably the mark of dis-

at war used the skins of ostriches for defensive armour.[1] The river Cinyps flowed through their country, rising from a hill called the Graces, and discharging itself into the sea. The hill was 200 stadia from the coast, and was thickly covered with woodland, whilst all the Libyan territory as far as we have described was quite bare.[2] The banks of the Cinyps was at one time occupied by the Spartan colony under Dorieus, but after three years the latter were driven out by the Macae and Carthaginians. This was the most beautiful spot in all Libya,[3] and, like the river, was known by the name of Cinyps. It was the only district in Libya which could be compared with Europe or Asia for fertility; and, indeed, for the growth of corn it was equal to the best land in all the world. Unlike the rest of Libya, the soil of Cinyps was black and well watered by springs, and neither injured by drought nor exhausted by too much rain; and the harvests here resembled those of Babylon, and produced three hundred-fold.[4] The river Cinyps may be identified with the Wady Khahan, a small river of Northern Africa flowing into the sea between the Greater and Lesser Syrtis. The Macae, and the four remaining tribes of Gindanes, Lotophagi, Machlyes, and Auses, seem to have occupied western Tripoli and southern Tunis as far as the Lesser Syrtis, and we may therefore place them on the map in regular order according to the arrangement of Herodotus.

which was the best corn land in the world.

9. The GINDANES were situated next the Macae. Their women wore bands of leather round their ancles, putting on a fresh one for every lover who obtained their favours. She who wore the greatest number of bands was held in the highest estimation,

9. GINDANES, whose women wore an ancle ring for every lover.

tinction between the several tribes, and remains of this custom seem to be still preserved by the present Tuariks.

[1] The Bedouins in this neighbourhood still hunt the ostrich, and having first carefully preserved the fat, which they fancy will (like Holloway's ointment) cure every kind of ailment, they carry the skin with the feathers on to Bengazi for sale, where it forms one of the principal articles of trade.

[2] iv. 175. [3] v. 42. [4] iv. 198.

as being loved by the greatest number of men.[1] The name of this tribe seems to be preserved in the modern town of Ghadames.[2]

10. LOTOPHAGI, who lived on cakes made from the farinaceous part of the fruit of the Rhamnus Lotus.

10. The LOTOPHAGI occupied that part of the coast which projected into the sea in front of the Gindanes. They subsisted solely on the fruit of the lotus. This fruit was as large as the mastic berry, and its sweetness resembled that of the date; the Lotophagi also made wine from it.[3] We have already described this lotus.[4] Mungo Park tells us that the natives convert the berries into a sort of bread, by exposing them for some days to the sun, and afterwards pounding them gently in a wooden mortar, until the farinaceous part of the berry is separated from the stone; and this meal is then mixed with a little water and formed into cakes, which, on being dried in the sun, resemble in colour and flavour the sweetest gingerbread. The stones are afterwards put in a vessel of water and shaken about, so as to communicate a sweet and agreeable taste to the water; and this, with the addition of a little pounded millet, forms a pleasant gruel called fondi, which is the common breakfast amongst many of the natives on the upper course of the Niger.[5]

11. MACHLYES, who dwelt on the right bank of the river Triton.

11. The MACHLYES dwelt on the sea-coast next the Lotophagi, and were likewise accustomed to eat the lotus, though not to the same extent. Their country extended as far as a large river called Triton. This river discharged itself into the great lake Tritonis,

[1] iv. 176. Della Cella tells us that the more opulent females still wear silver bracelets round their ancles, but he does not know if they retain their ancient signification.

[2] Herodotus's notices, here and elsewhere, of the disgusting sensualism of the native tribes of Northern Africa, are fully confirmed by every traveller who has accompanied the caravans from Tripoli to Ghadames, Ghat, or Mourzuk. The men indulge their passions without restraint, and in many tribes all the women are accessible. No elevated sentiment, no refined ideas, are to be found amongst them. Cf. Richardson, *Mission to Central Africa in* 1850, -51, *passim*.

[3] iv. 77. [4] See page 540.

[5] Park, *Travels in Africa*. We may infer from the above description that the lotus-eaters of the poets, (Homer, and Mr. Tennyson,) seem to have passed their lives as school-boys sometimes pass their half-holidays —forgetting their troubles by means of gingerbread.

where the island named Phla was situated. The Lacedaemonians are said to have been commanded by an oracle to colonize this island.[1] The following story was also told in connexion with it. Jason and his ship Argo were said to have been driven into the shallows of the lake Tritonis, when a Triton appeared and offered to pilot his ship safely out if Jason would give him the brazen tripod which was on board the vessel. Jason consented, and the Triton redeemed his promise, and on receiving the tripod placed it in his own temple. He then delivered an oracle from the tripod, in which he declared that when a descendant of the Argonauts should fetch away the tripod, it was decreed by fate that a hundred Greek cities should be built around the lake. The neighbouring Libyan nations, having heard of this prophecy, carried away the tripod and concealed it, in order to prevent the contingency upon which the oracle depended.[2] We have already pointed out the situation of the lake Tritonis and river Triton mentioned by Herodotus.[3]

Argonautic legend connected with this locality.

12. The AUSES came next. Both they and the Machlyes dwelt round the lake Tritonis, and were separated from each other by the river Triton.[4] The Auses suffered their hair to grow on the front of the head, whilst the Macae, as we have seen, wore long hair at the back. Every year the maidens separated into two companies, and contended against each other with stones and cudgels; considering that by so doing they were performing the ancient rites to the goddess of their land, who was the Athene of the Greeks. Those who died from their wounds were called false maidens. Before the combat, the most beautiful virgin of them all was arrayed in a

12. AUSES, who lived on the left bank of the river Triton.

Worshipped a native goddess corresponding to the Athene of the Greeks.

[1] iv. 178. [2] iv. 179. [3] See page 541.

[4] Herodotus tells us (iv. 186, 191) that Lake Tritonis and the river Triton form the boundary between the Libyan nomades on the east and the husbandmen on the west; yet here he places the Auses, whom he describes as nomades, on the western bank of the lake, and beyond the river Triton. Rennell thinks that Herodotus speaks generally in one place, and particularly in the other, and that, in consequence, the lake was entirely surrounded by nomade tribes. We need scarcely add, that this solution of the apparent inconsistency is obviously correct.

Corinthian helmet and Greek armour, and placed in a chariot, and conducted round the lake. Before the Greeks settled in the country, the maiden, according to the opinion of Herodotus, was dressed in Aegyptian equipment, as the shield and helmet were both brought from Aegypt into Greece. Athene was said to be the daughter of Poseidon and the lake Tritonis; but being offended with her father, she applied to Zeus and was adopted as his daughter. The Auses indulged in promiscuous intercourse with the women, but did not live with them. The men met together every third month, and upon that occasion the grown-up children were declared to belong to that man whom they most resembled, and who was henceforth considered to be their father.[1] This is the last nation of nomades, and we now turn to our author's description of Carthage, and of the Libyan husbandmen.

Lived apart from their women, whom they had in common.

III. CARTHAGE. General description of the country.

III. CARTHAGE was situated on that commanding promontory of the African coast, which runs out into the very centre of the Mediterranean, and nearly approaches the opposite shore of Sicily. In the northern part of this promontory there is a large bay, formed by the projection of Cape Bon in the east, and of Cape Zebid in the west, and at present known as the Gulf of Tunis. On a small peninsula jutting out at the bottom of the bay was built the ancient city. On the southern side of the peninsula there is at present a large lagoon, running inland as far as the modern city of Tunis; on the northern side of the peninsula is an extensive salt marsh. The great changes effected in the coast by the inroads of the Mediterranean, the deposits of the river Bagradas, and the seaward drifting of the sands, renders it almost impossible to identify the ancient harbours; but fortunately it is unnecessary in the present volume to weary the reader with a disquisition upon the subject. Both the lagoon and the salt marsh were of great depth in ancient times. On the land side the city was protected by a triple line of walls,

City situated on a peninsula at the bottom of the Gulf of Tunis.

[1] iv. 180.

of great height and thickness, and flanked by towers; and these walls ran right across the peninsula from the present lagoon to the salt marsh.

Boundaries of the Carthaginian empire.

The boundaries of that empire of which the city was only the nucleus cannot be exactly ascertained. In the time of Herodotus, the Carthaginian dominions appear to have extended eastward to that part of the Syrtis where they came in contact with those of Cyrene, whilst they were formed on the south by the range of Mount Atlas. The western boundary can scarcely be identified, but it is certain that in that direction the whole African coast was studded with Carthaginian colonies. The uniform object of Carthage was to monopolize the commerce of the ancient world. Her grasping and sordid policy in pursuance of this end rendered her deaf to the literary cravings of her age; and by her jealous fears lest rival states should learn her trading secrets, she has effectually debarred posterity from doing justice to her enterprising discoveries. No Carthaginian author has left any record of those geographical results which had been attained by the leaders of her caravans and the officers of her merchantmen, and all such information would have been utterly lost, had it not been for writers of distant nations and later periods.[1] The facts collected by Herodotus concerning Western Africa and the oases of Sahara are therefore especially valuable; and aided by the discoveries of modern travellers, and above all by the researches of the learned Heeren, the reader may obtain some idea of the commercial routes into the interior of Africa, and of the great extent of the extraordinary caravan trade, which was organized and carried on by the merchants of one of the least known cities of antiquity. Carthage itself, however, is not even

Jealousy of the people an effectual bar to the early progress of geographical science.

Herodotus's

[1] It may be urged that the Carthaginian writings were destroyed by the Romans after the Punic wars, and that another Alexandrian library may have been destroyed by warriors as barbarous as the followers of Mohammed. But scarcely any writings have been preserved by the whole Phoenician nation, and the question of how far the geography of Marinus of Tyre has been preserved in that of Ptolemy must be left for abler critics to decide.

named by Herodotus. Its inhabitants he sometimes calls Phoenicians, and sometimes Carthaginians, or rather Carchedonians, but from the brevity of his notices and scantiness of his information, it is certain that he never visited their city, and indeed the citizens guarded their territory from the approaches of foreigners, with a jealousy exceeding that of Lacedaemon, and bearing a strong resemblance to that of Japan.[1] He tells us that they brought an army of 300,000 men against Gelon, including Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberi, Ligyes, Elisyci, Sardonians, and Cyrnians;[2] and that they offered sacrifices to Hamilcar, and in Carthage and all her colonial towns erected monuments in memory of that hero.[3] We therefore hasten to leave this city for the second belt, or Wild Beast region, which includes the country of the Libyan husbandmen.

Ignorance of Carthage.

Second Belt, of Wild Beast region, or Beled-el-jered. General description.

The Second Belt, which Herodotus calls the Wild Beast region, comprises in a general sense the southern parts of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and extends over the southern side of Mount Atlas. We must however remember that this chain is loftiest and broadest towards the west, where it occupies the whole of the southern provinces of Morocco and Algiers, and is indeed the Atlas Proper of ancient geography. As it approaches Tripoli it becomes narrower, parched, and sterile, and at length dwindles down to a mere chain of barren rocks. The western quarter is well supplied with water, and is the peculiar haunt of savage beasts; it therefore well deserves the name of Wild Beast country, bestowed upon it by Herodotus. The Arabs call it Beled-el-jered, or the Land of Dates, from the vast quantity of that fruit which grows there, and which constitutes an article of food and of commerce, extremely important to the various tribes who frequent its borders. The later Greek and Roman geographers called it Gaetulia; and it is known even by their poets as the native haunt of savage beasts. The region is only

[1] i. 166, 167; iv. 169, 195. Comp. Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, chap. xxxix.
[2] vii. 165. [3] vii. 167.

fertile in those places where water is to be found, and gradually loses itself in a sandy desert; but its inhabitants are still, and always have been, the greatest travelling merchants in the world. They form the principal portion of those great caravans which penetrate the great desert, and reach the golden regions of the mysterious interior; or they proceed to the far east, and carry their rare commodities to the distant marts of Arabia and Persia.

According to Herodotus, included the Libyan husbandmen.

This second belt includes the Libyan husbandmen of Herodotus, for though he places them in a direct line westward from the nomades, yet he describes their territory as being haunted by wild beasts.[1] We must therefore assume that the husbandmen occupied the second, or Wild Beast, belt, having the Carthaginians of the Inhabited Country on their north, and the Sandy Waste on their south.

Three nations of husbandmen.

Only three nations of husbandmen are distinctly mentioned, namely, the Maxyes, the Zaveces, and the Gyzantes; but to these we shall add such other information as Herodotus is able to furnish concerning the western region of Northern Africa.

1. MAXYES, who wore a tuft on the right side of their heads, and daubed themselves red.

1. The MAXYES were a nation who lived in houses, and allowed the hair to grow on the right side of the head, but shaved it on the left. They daubed their bodies with red lead, and said that they were sprung from men who came from Troy.[2]

2. ZAVECES, whose women drove the war chariots.

2. The ZAVECES were a nation whose women were accustomed to drive the war chariots.[3] We may thus presume that the Zaveces bred horses, and the traditions concerning the Amazons in these regions may have arisen from the custom above described. The use of war chariots by the Carthaginians in the early period of their history was probably borrowed from this people.[4]

3. GYZANTES, who subsisted on honey and monkeys.

3. The GYZANTES were a nation amongst whom the bees made a great quantity of honey, but it was said that their confectioners made even more. They painted themselves vermillion like the Maxyes, and

[1] iv. 191. [2] iv. 191. [3] iv. 193.
[4] Heeren's *Africa*, vol. i.

were accustomed to eat the monkeys which abounded in their mountains.[1] Honey of a delicious flavour is still collected from the clefts in the neighbouring rocks, whither great swarms of wild bees are attracted by the sweets of perpetual spring. The modern inhabitants chiefly subsist upon this honey, and what they do not consume they barter with the Bedouins for butter, barley meal, and woollen garments.[2] The manufactured honey is prepared from the juice of palms.[3]

Island of Cyraunis, now called Karkenah and Gherba.

The island called Cyraunis was said by the Carthaginians to lie off the coast of the Gyzantes. It was 200 stadia in length, but its breadth was very inconsiderable. It was easy of access from the continent, and abounded in olive trees and vines; it also contained the celebrated lake, where the maidens of the country drew up gold-dust out of the mud by means of feathers besmeared with pitch. Herodotus scarcely knows whether to believe this story or not, and he only repeats what was related to him; he is however more inclined to believe it than otherwise, for he had himself seen pitch obtained in a similar manner from a lake in Zacynthus.[4] Cyraunis has been identified with the islands of Karkenah and Gherba off the eastern coast of Tunis, to the north of the Lesser Syrtis. These two islands were anciently joined by a mole; the largest was called Cercina, and the smaller Cercinitis. Their length agrees with the 200 stadia of Herodotus, and they are narrow in proportion.

Lake from which gold-dust was obtained by dipping in feathers smeared with pitch.

Geography of Western Africa further illustrated by two stories preserved by Herodotus.

The geography of Western Africa, according to Herodotus, is further illustrated by two stories which are told by our author. The first, which he obtained from a Carthaginian source, throws a ray of light upon the ancient gold trade on the coast of Guinea. The Carthaginians stated, he says, that they were accustomed to sail to a nation beyond the Pillars of

[1] iv. 194. [2] Della Cella, *Expedition in Barbary.*

[3] The method of preparing this honey is described by Dr. Shaw. Cf. *Travels in Barbary.*

[4] iv. 195.

Heracles for the purposes of barter. On reaching the spot they took their merchandise on shore, and arranged it upon the strand, and then returned to their ships, and made a great smoke. The natives seeing the signal, came down to the strand, and placed gold against the wares, and also retired. The Carthaginians then again landed to see if the natives had offered enough gold, and if they found it sufficient, they carried it away and left their wares; if, on the other hand, they were dissatisfied with the amount, they again returned to their ships and waited, and the natives brought more gold, until the strangers were satisfied. Neither party ever wronged the other, for the merchants would not touch the gold until the value of their wares was brought, nor would the natives touch the merchandise until the gold had been accepted and taken away.[1]

Carthaginian story of the dumb barter carried on with the natives of the gold coast.

The second story was probably obtained by Herodotus from some Persian source, and was as follows. Sataspes, in punishment for an outrage upon a noble lady, was sentenced by Xerxes to be impaled, but his mother prevailed upon the king to grant him a free pardon, on condition that he sailed round the Libyan continent, as far as the Arabian Gulf. Accordingly Sataspes proceeded to Aegypt, and embarked from thence in an Aegyptian ship manned with Aegyptian sailors. He sailed through the Pillars of Heracles, doubled Cape Soloeis, (now called Cape Cantin,) and steered towards the south, but after traversing a vast extent of sea for many months, and finding that he had still more to pass, he returned to Aegypt. In his subsequent audience

Persian story of the voyage of Sataspes.

[1] iv. 106. This description of the dumb trade between the Carthaginians and the natives of the coast of Guinea, bears upon its very face the stamp of truth, and we see not the slightest reason for doubting its authenticity: the simplicity and frankness of sailors and savages are proverbial. Prof. Heeren however desires to prove, on the authority of one or two modern travellers, that an inland trade is still carried on in the same confidential manner with the inhabitants of the gold countries, on the banks of the Niger. Captain Lyon certainly was told that such was the case, but I cannot help thinking that his informant must have been previously acquainted with the story told by Herodotus.

with Xerxes, he told the king that, in the most distant regions which his vessel had reached, he had sailed past a nation of little men, who wore garments of palm leaves; that whenever he and his crew went ashore, the little men left their cities and fled to the mountains; but that he did not suffer his sailors to do any injury to their lands or property, beyond carrying away some of their cattle. The reason why he did not perform the circumnavigation of Libya was, as he declared, because his vessel was stopped, but Xerxes would not believe his story, and ordered him to be impaled, according to his original sentence.[1]

THIRD BELT, of Sandy Waste, or the Sahara. General description.

The THIRD BELT, which Herodotus calls the SANDY WASTE, is occupied by the Sahara, or "sea of sand," and extends, as he very accurately remarks, from the borders of Aegypt to the coast of the Atlantic; and we may observe that it stretches under the same degree of latitude through Arabia, and the Persian provinces of Kerman and Mekran, to the desert of Moultan in the region of the Punjab. The Sahara however by no means forms one continual sterile ocean of sand. Not only are several fruitful patches interspersed here and there, but whole districts may be found in the form of steppes, over which the nomade hordes of the desert wander with their herds. The desert is broadest in its western half, between Morocco and Soudan; and narrowest to the south of Tripoli, in the direction of Fezzan and Lake Tchad; but as it approaches Aegypt it again becomes broader. Southward of the sandy solitudes happier regions again are found. The dark obscurity which hung round the Kong Mountains is clearing away. The streams which issue from this mighty ridge, swollen by the violence of the tropic rains, overflow their banks like the Aegyptian Nile, and fertilize the neighbouring soil. Instead of sandy desert the eyes of the sun-burnt traveller may often wander delightedly over extensive plains covered with shady woods; or over the breasts

Basin of the Niger, and the Kong Mountains, to the south of the Sahara.

[1] iv. 43. See also pp. 335, 344.

of gently sloping hills, which contain within a few feet of their surface the richest veins of gold. Ere long the barren lands and the fertile spots will be alike explored; the entire course of the Niger will be accurately known to every geographer, and the spirit of discovery will at last unfold to the civilized world a true picture of the fabled Timbuctoo.[1]

Herodotus's account. Sandy ridge stretching from the Aegyptian Thebes to the Pillars of Heracles, and containing a chain of inhabited salt hills, at intervals of ten days' journey between each. Five nations of salt hills mentioned by Herodotus.

The Third Belt, or sand ridge, lay, according to Herodotus, to the south of the Wild Beast tract, and stretched from the Aegyptian Thebes to the Pillars of Heracles. Along this ridge, and at intervals of about ten days' journey from each other, were hills covered with masses of salt in great lumps, and at the summit of each hill a spring of cool and sweet water gushed out from the midst of the salt. Around the spring dwelt the farthest people towards the desert, and southward of the Wild Beast region.[2] Five only of the nations occupying these salt hills are described by Herodotus, namely, the Ammonians, the Augilæ, the Garamantes, the Atarantes, and the Atlantes; but beyond the salt hill inhabited by the Atlantes, Herodotus cannot name the nations; he only knows that they each occupied a salt hill at an interval of ten days' journey from each other, and extended as far as the Pillars, if not beyond them.[3] Herodotus describes these five nations in the following order.

1. Ammonians, who

1. The AMMONIANS were situated ten days' jour-

[1] The French traveller Caillié was the first European who returned alive from Timbuctoo; Park and Laing both reached it, but their accounts have been lost. Whilst writing this note we learn that Dr. Barth, who accompanied the lamented traveller Mr. Richardson on his mission to Central Africa, has succeeded in reaching this city, and we hope soon to receive his detailed description. [2] iv. 181.

[3] Salt was, and still is, one of the most important articles of commerce in the interior of Africa. The fertile and thickly peopled districts in the valley of the Niger, and to the south of that river, are entirely destitute of salt; whilst immense magazines of it have been established by nature in the great barren waste of the Sahara. Large quantities are found in the dry beds of salt lakes; and layers of it frequently extend for many miles, and rise in hills, which also contain pits and mines both of white and coloured salt. The commodity is either fetched by caravans composed of the swarthy race who dwell about the Niger, or else it is carried to them by foreign merchants who take gold-dust or other wares in exchange. Cf. Leo Africanus, and the Travels of Dapper, Hornemann, and Lyon, quoted by Heeren.

ney from Thebes, and possessed a temple to the Theban Zeus. They were a colony of the Aegyptians and Aethiopians, and spoke a language resembling that of both nations. They made the image of Zeus with a ram's face, the same as the Thebans, and seem to have derived their name from this deity, who was called Ammon by the Aegyptians.[1] They also possessed another kind of spring water besides that which rose from the salt hill, namely, a spring, which in the morning was tepid; at mid-day, when they watered their gardens, was very cold; and at eveningtide gradually became warmer, until at midnight it boiled and bubbled, and then gradually cooled again. This fountain was called after Helios.[2] Seven days' journey from Thebes, across the sands, was the city named Oasis, in a country called the Island of the Blessed. This city was inhabited by Samians, said to be of the Aeschrionian tribe. Between Oasis and Ammonium fifty thousand Persians, who formed the army of Cambyses, were destroyed by heaps of sand carried along by a very strong south wind.[3]

possessed a temple to Zeus, the ram-headed god of Thebes, and a hot spring sacred to Helios.

Neighbouring city of Oasis situated in the Island of the Blessed, and inhabited by Samians.

2. The AUGILAE, or people of Augila, inhabited a salt hill, which, as we have already seen, was visited by the Nasamones every year, for the purpose of gathering in the date harvest.[4]

2. AUGILAE, whose date country was visited by the Nasamones.

3. The GARAMANTES were a very powerful nation, who laid salt upon the earth and sowed it. The shortest route from the Garamantes to the Lotophagi was a 30 days' journey. Amongst these people were kine who grazed walking backwards, for their horns, being bent forward, would stick in the ground if the animals attempted to walk forwards. In other respects the kine were only peculiar from having a thicker and harder hide. The Garamantes hunted the Aethiopian Troglodytae in four-horse chariots. The latter were the swiftest runners known, but fed upon serpents, lizards, and similar reptiles; and their language could only be com-

3. GARAMANTES, who covered the earth with salt before cultivating it, and possessed kine walking backwards.

Hunted the Aethiopian Troglodytae.

[1] ii. 42. [2] iv. 181. [3] iii. 26. [4] iv. 182.

pared to the screeching of bats.[1] The Garamantes are also described as a nation of Libyan nomades, who avoided the society of all other men, and neither possessed any warlike weapons nor knew how to defend themselves.[2] These probably only formed a single tribe of the powerful nation of Garamantes; but we shall have occasion to return to this subject further on.

Included a timid tribe, who shunned all other men, and had neither weapons nor knew how to fight.

4. The ATARANTES, who were the only people known to Herodotus who had no names; for though they were all called Atarantes, yet no man had a name for himself. They were accustomed to curse and abuse the sun for scorching themselves and their country.[3]

4. ATARANTES, who had no names, and cursed the sun.

5. The ATLANTES, who were the last nation in this direction whom Herodotus could name. They were said to eat no meat, and to dream no dreams. They were named after MOUNT ATLAS, which was situated very near their salt hill.[4] This mountain formed the boundary of Herodotus's knowledge in this direction. He describes it as being narrow and circular, but so lofty that its summit, both in summer and winter, was always hid by the clouds. The Atlantes called it the Pillar of Heaven.[5] All that he knew of the desert, beyond this point, was that it probably extended to the Pillars of Heracles, and that there was a mine of salt in it, ten days' journey beyond the Atlantes, and inhabited by men. At this salt mine all the houses were built of blocks of salt, for no rain ever fell in that part of Libya, otherwise the walls would have melted away. The salt dug out from the mine was of two kinds, namely, white and purple. Southward of the sandy ridge, and towards the interior of Libya, the country was desert, without water, without animals, without wood, and without rain or any kind of moisture.[6]

5. ATLANTES, who ate no meat and dreamed no dreams.

Description of Mount Atlas.

The salt mine where the houses were built with blocks of white and purple salt.

The foregoing account of Herodotus must now be compared with actual geography; but first of all it will be necessary to investigate the real extent of

Actual extent of Herodotus's personal knowledge

[1] iv. 183. [2] iv. 174. [3] iv. 184. [4] Ibid. [5] iv. 184. [6] iv. 185.

in Libya, and sources of his information. Visited Cyrene and the neighbouring Libyan nomades.

our author's personal knowledge of all these regions, and the sources of that information which he derived from others. That he visited Cyrene, may, I think, be taken for granted, both from his detailed accounts relating to the history and topography of the colony, and his distinct notices of the inhabitants.[1] Here also he probably met with the Cyrenaeans who talked with Etearchus about the sources of the Nile, and expedition of the Nasamones.[2] It is most probable that he proceeded there by sea after his sojourn in Aegypt, for he notices the Aegyptian customs prevailing amongst the Adyrmachidae,[3] and the inhabitants of Cyrene and Barca,[4] and he also describes the territorial boundaries of the more eastern tribes of nomades, by a reference to points on the coast.[5] We may likewise presume that he made excursions amongst the neighbouring nomades, especially as the power and influence exercised by the Cyrenaean colonists would secure him from any kind of danger. It is however certain that he did not visit all the nomade tribes, for he could not tell us whether they all cauterized their children's heads or not;[6] but he has most assuredly collected much trustworthy information from those natives of whom he was enabled to make inquiries.[7] That he ever reached Carthage seems incredible. A traveller like Herodotus would probably have been received by the Carthaginians with the same kind hospitality that the Algerines of a later period extended towards the Christian trader. His account of lake Tritonis and the river Triton was, as we have already seen, most probably derived from some Argonautic poet.[8] It is however evident, that in the course of his travels Herodotus found some Carthaginians who were more communicative than the generality of their jealous countrymen, for they told him of the gold-dust obtained in the island of Cyraunis by means of tarred feathers,[9] and of the dumb kind of barter

Collected information from the nomades.

Could not have reached Carthage.

Obtained information however from Carthaginian travellers.

[1] See page 536. [2] ii. 32. [3] iv. 168. [4] iv. 159, 186.
[5] iv. 168—171. [6] iv. 187. [7] iv. 173, 187.
[8] See page 541. [9] iv. 195.

carried on for gold with the natives of the coast of Western Africa.[1] Probably his information concerning the Libyan husbandmen of the Wild Beast region was obtained from the same quarter. Of all the nations of the salt hills, it is equally certain that he could not have visited one, or he would have given us some account of the oasis of Ammon whilst relating the story of the audience between the Cyrenaeans and the king Etearchus.[2] His knowledge of the Sandy Waste region was thus entirely derived from hearsay; and it is remarkable that in this part of his geographical description he nowhere mentions his authority. We may however presume that he collected his materials at Thebes, as it was from this city that his chain of salt hills commenced;[3] and there can be no doubt that he obtained his information from a great variety of sources, and arranged it after his own fashion and according to preconceived theories.

General ignorance of Western Africa.

His description of the chain of salt hills in the Sahara derived from doubtful information, collected at Thebes from a variety of sources.

Having thus glanced at the sources of our author's information, we shall now try to test its authenticity and develope its character, by endeavouring to identify the people and places he has described with those which are to be found on the modern map.

Attempt to identify the people and places on the modern map.

The reader must imagine himself at Thebes,[4] and we shall assume that the narrative of Herodotus is an imperfect description of a caravan route beginning at Thebes, and running towards the interior in a direction corresponding to the modern caravan road.[5]

Narrative of Herodotus probably refers to the caravan route into the interior.

[1] iv. 196. [2] ii. 32. [3] iv. 181.

[4] For most of the following facts I am indebted to the researches of Professor Heeren, but I have compared them generally with the results set down by more recent geographers, and also made a few additions which it is unnecessary to point out.

[5] Heeren argues that the description of Herodotus is that of a caravan road, from the following circumstances. First, the route passes in its whole length across deserts which can only be travelled over by caravans, which alone, indeed, could have carried those accounts to Aegypt which Herodotus collected. Secondly, the distances are calculated by days' journeys, and the resting-places mentioned are those in which fresh water is to be found. Thirdly, the route pointed out by Herodotus is about the same as that now in use. For further particulars the reader is referred to Heeren's *Researches, Africa*, vol. i.

1st station —Ammonium. Identified with Siwah.

The first station is AMMONIUM, which can be almost unhesitatingly identified with the modern Siwah. This is an oasis about 10 miles long and 3 broad. The ruins of the ancient temple of Ammon have been discovered here by Mr. Browne, whose accounts have been extended and confirmed by Hornemann and Hoskins. It includes a pronaos and a naos. The whole form and construction of the building agrees with the ancient Aegyptian, and traces of the worship of the ram-headed god are to be seen in every part of the sculptures. A quarter of an hour's walk from the south of the temple brings the traveller to the fountain of the Sun. This is a small pool, about 30 paces long, 20 wide, and 6 fathoms deep; but it is so clear that the bottom is seen, from whence bubbles continually arise, like those from a boiling caldron. The temperature of the water varies, being warmer at night than in the day, and at day-break it generally smokes. It is probably a hot spring, the warmth of its waters not being observed during the heat of the day. The oasis produces dates, pomegranates, and other fruits in rich abundance. Near it is a large natural magazine of salt, which rises in masses above the ground, and some of these salt patches are above a mile long. One difficulty in the identification still remains. Herodotus says that the distance between Thebes and Ammonium is a ten days' journey, whereas the distance between Thebes and Siwah is 400 geographical miles, or almost exactly twenty days' journey. Heeren therefore conjectures that one station has been omitted; and it is certain that Herodotus mentions in another place a city named Oasis, in a country called the Island of the Blessed, which he says was situated seven days' journey from Thebes, across the sands.[1] This Island of the Blessed may be identified with the Great Oasis, or El Wah, and the road from Thebes to Siwah must necessarily lead directly through it. El Wah is really formed of two oases; the eastern one, which

Twenty days' journey from Thebes.

Intermediate station at El Wah, supposed to be omitted by Herodotus.

[1] iii. 26.

is more properly the Great Oasis, is called El Kargeh; the western one is called El Dakel.[1] The two are separated by a sandy tract of thirty hours' journey, but were supposed by the ancients to form one oasis. El Kargeh is about seven days' journey from Thebes, and undoubtedly contained the city Oasis, which is mentioned by Herodotus. Either here therefore, or else in El Dakel, must have been the station omitted by Herodotus.

2nd station —Augila. The great mart for dates.

The second station is AUGILA, a well-known name both in ancient and modern geography; and it is exactly a ten days' journey from the palms of Siwah, over the arid plains and parched barren hills of the desert of Barca to the date groves of Augila. In the present day Augila lies in the great thoroughfare for caravans from Western Africa to Cairo, and is a principal mart for dates; and Herodotus expressly mentions that the Nasamones from the Syrtis journeyed to Augila every year to obtain this fruit.[2]

3rd station —Garamantes. Identified with Fezzan.

The third station is in the country of the GARAMANTES. Herodotus tells us that these were a powerful people, dwelling to the south of the Psylli, and thirty days' journey from the Lotophagi. The Psylli dwelt in the centre of the Syrtis territory, between the Lotophagi and the Nasamones. We are therefore directed to the present Fezzan, the first inhabited country southwards of the Lotophagi. Fezzan is 400 miles long from north to south, and perhaps 250 miles broad from east to west. The city and territory of Zuila, near the centre of the country, and about two days' journey from Mourzuk, the present capital, is still the station for caravans between Aegypt and Soudan, and would be about a thirty days' journey from the Lotophagi. Here however there is just the same difficulty as in the case of Siwah; for Zuila in Fezzan is twenty days' journey from Augila, and not ten days', as

Station at Zuila twenty days' journey from Augila.

[1] El Kargeh and El Dakel are each so called after their principal cities.

[2] iv. 182.

specified by Herodotus as the distance between Augila and the Garamantes. Heeren again suggests an omission, and finds that the small valley of Zala is a caravan station exactly midway between Augila and Zuila, and consequently ten days' journey from each. The Garamantes, according to Herodotus, cultivated their territory by placing salt upon the soil; they possessed kine with horns bending forwards, and having thick hides; and they hunted the Aethiopian Troglodytae in four-horse chariots.[1] Respecting the placing salt upon the soil, we are told by modern travellers that produce can only be raised from the barren soil of Fezzan by means of manure; and we may presume that salt was employed for this purpose in the time of Herodotus.[2] We are also told that Fezzan abounds in some parts in white clay, which is mixed with sand to render it more productive. If therefore we reject the theory that salt may have been used to stimulate the soil, we may admit, that from ignorance or carelessness, that mineral might have been confounded with white clay. As regards the kine with horns bending forward, no such species have been described by naturalists. Fezzan contains three species of buffalo, and the extraordinary thickness and hardness of their hides is noticed by modern travellers; and as the neatherds of Africa frequently amuse themselves by giving an artificial form to the horns of their cattle by continually bending them, we may follow Heeren in presuming that the Garamantes did the same. The hunting of Troglodyte black men scarcely requires an explanation. They were a wild negro race, dwelling in the caves of the neighbouring mountains, who were kidnapped by the

Intermediate station at Zala, supposed to be omitted by Herodotus.

Explanation of the people's placing salt upon the soil.

Horns of kine perhaps bent forwards by artificial means.

Hunting of the Troglodyte black men in the mountains of Tibesti

[1] iv. 183.

[2] Fezzan is by no means one large oasis. It is in fact a portion of the Sahara, in which fertile valleys occur a little more frequently than in the other portions, but are still separated by deserts, sometimes perfectly, and at others slightly, sprinkled with herbage. Mr. Richardson believed that the entire population did not exceed twenty-six thousand. *Mission to Central Africa*, vol. i.

Garamantes, and sold for slaves. The rock Tibboos, as they are called, still dwell in the mountains of the Tibesti range, which are situated in the deserts of Borgoo, some days' journey to the south of Fezzan. Richardson describes them as living either in huts, or in caverns scooped out of the sides of hills.[1] The old inhabitants however were undoubtedly negroes, among whom the Tibboos have settled themselves by force. This hunting of the human race is still carried on with a barbarity and cruelty, which is incomprehensible to Europeans, and loudly calls for the interference of the civilized powers. Every year there is a razzia; an army of cavalry and infantry is sent out upon these bloody expeditions, and brings away thousands of men, women, and children, into hopeless slavery. In 1851, whilst Mr. Richardson was at Zinder, he saw a string of captives, the fruits of one of these frightful razzias, brought into the town. Little boys running alone, mothers with babes at their breasts, girls of various ages, old men bent double, aged women tottering, and then, last of all, the stout young men ironed neck to neck.[2] Such are the horrors that still prevail in Central Africa.. The language of the Troglodytae resembled, according to Herodotus, the shrieking of bats, and the Augilians still say that the language of these tribes is like the whistling of birds. One other circumstance mentioned by Herodotus must also be noticed. In his description of the Libyan nomades he again mentions the Garamantes, but here he speaks of them as a people who shun all society and intercourse with mankind, and who neither possess weapons, nor know how to defend themselves. This is a very different character to that which he assigns to the Garamantes of the salt hill. We must therefore understand it to apply merely to a single tribe, who dwelt in some out of the way corner of the desert, at a distance from the caravan route. The poor inhabitants of the village of Terboo, in

fully explained by the modern razzias, for the kidnapping of the villagers into slavery.

Timid race of Garamantes, perhaps identical with the inhabitants of Terboo.

[1] *Mission to Central Africa*, vol. i.

[2] *Mission*, vol. i.

Fezzan, almost answer to the account given by our author. The thirty days' journey from the Garamantes of Fezzan to the Lotophagi, who were situated in the neighbourhood of the present Tripoli, would lead exactly along the same line of road by which the caravans now go from Fezzan to Tripoli, and which forms as nearly as possible a journey of thirty days. This route through the Lotophagi, also, doubtless led to Carthage.

4th station —Atarantes. Route probably took a southerly direction towards Soudan and Nigritia.

The fourth station is the country of the ATARANTES, The course is now uncertain. We have seen that the route from Thebes and that from Carthage both met in Fezzan, the country of the Garamantes; and, though Herodotus plainly gives the chain of salt hills a westerly direction, yet we have no hesitation in so far following Heeren as to presume that it really took a southerly direction, like the modern caravan route through Bornou to Soudan and Nigritia, countries which have been celebrated in all ages for the export of gold and slaves. On the west the desert was impenetrable, as Herodotus himself admits, and there could not be the slightest inducement beyond that of mere adventure, like that which actuated the Nasamonian youths, for any caravan to attempt to penetrate the Sahara from its eastern side. We shall therefore follow Heeren in this southern track, and adopt his identification of the present station with Tegerry, the southern frontier town of Fezzan, towards Bornou, and almost eight days' journey from Zuila. Herodotus tells us that the Atarantes had no proper names, and were accustomed to curse the sun; and Leo informs us, that the people of Bornou were called after their height, thickness, or some other accidental quality, and therefore bore only nicknames. Mr. Blakesley, however, justly remarks that Herodotus really meant that the Atarantes had no names at all, and were a mere herd of men. Leo also adds, that they invoked the rising sun with great vehemence; but their present religion, as we need scarcely say, is the Mohammedan.

Station perhaps to be identified with that at Tegerry.

5th station

The fifth and last station mentioned by Herodotus

—Atlantes. Position unknown.

is that of the ATLANTES. It may be placed almost wherever the reader pleases on the great commercial route leading to Bornou. The Mount Atlas in its vicinity certainly cannot be identified, unless the reader chooses to consider it as represented by the mountains of Mandara, to the south of Bornou. Herodotus is evidently trusting to mere caravan gossip, and is also misled by his own conjectures. He supposed that the sandy ridge which includes the salt hills, terminated at the Pillars of Heracles, because he thought it was parallel with the Wild Beast tract and the Inhabited Country. Consequently, whilst he is evidently alluding to the caravan route through Fezzan towards Bornou and Soudan, he has got some confused notion of the snow-capped summits of the Atlas range, far away in Morocco, towards the western coast of Africa; and the western extremity of this chain had probably been frequently seen by Carthaginian merchants, on their way to the gold countries of the Senegal, and from them he apparently received much of his information.

Sources of Herodotus's information mere caravan gossip.

Confusion respecting Mount Atlas.

The salt mine described by Herodotus is supposed by Heeren to be identical with the large salt mines of Tegazah, described by Leo Africanus as situated about twenty days' journey from Timbuctoo. Ibn Batuta says, that the houses of the people are built of rock salt, and covered with the hides of camels.

Salt mine identified with the mines of Tegazah.

Southward of the sandy ridge the country became entirely desert, "without animals, without wood, and without springs, rain, or any kind of moisture."[1] A gleam of light was however thrown upon this distant region by an exploring expedition from the country of the Nasamones; and the results obtained by this first recorded attempt to penetrate the dark interior of the African continent, reached the ears of the great father of history. It seems that the Greeks, to whom Herodotus was indebted for his information, were inhabitants of Cyrene, in the promontory of northern Tripoli, now called the Green Mountain. These Cyrenaeans had penetrated as far as the oasis

Desert country southward of the chain of salt hills.

Story told by Herodotus of an expedition of five Nasamones through the desert, to a large river flowing from west to east, and containing crocodiles, and to a city inhabited by short black men.

[1] iv. 185.

of Ammon, or Siwah, to consult the oracle. Here they had an audience with Etearchus, the king of the Ammonians; and after a conversation upon a variety of subjects, they chanced to talk about the river Nile, and the circumstance that no one was acquainted with its fountain-heads. Etearchus then remarked, that at one time certain Nasamones, a powerful but sensual tribe of nomades, occupying the region of the Syrtis,[1] once came to the oasis to consult the oracle, and were asked if they could supply any information concerning the deserts of Libya. They replied that there were some daring youths amongst them, sons of the most powerful men, who having reached man's estate formed many extravagant plans, and amongst others chose five of their number by lot, and deputed them to explore the deserts of Libya, and see if they could make any additions to the then existing state of geographical discovery. The five young men set out on their expedition well supplied with water and provisions. They first passed through the Inhabited country, then the Wild Beast country, and after this they crossed the desert and made their way towards the west. After a journey of many days, during which they traversed much sandy ground, they at length saw some trees growing in a plain. Accordingly they approached and began to gather the fruit, upon which some small men, who were shorter than men of middle stature, came up and seized them and carried them away. These natives were totally ignorant of the language of the Nasamones, nor could the latter understand the speech of the natives. However the natives conducted their prisoners through vast morasses, until they reached a city where all the natives were as short and black as themselves. By the city flowed a great river running from the west to the east, and containing crocodiles.[2] Such was the account given by Etearchus, king of the Ammonians, to the Cyrenaeans who reported it to Herodotus, and the Cyrenaeans added that the king

[1] See p. 546.

[2] ii. 32.

assured them that the Nasamones returned home in safety, and that the short black men whom they had seen were all necromancers. Etearchus considered that the river flowing past the city of black men from west to east was the Nile, and Herodotus thinks there is reason for this theory, for the Nile flows from Libya and intersects it in the middle; and he conjectures, inferring things known from things unknown, that the Nile sets out from a point corresponding with the Ister.[1]

General credibility of the story. Identification of the river with the Niger, and of the city with old Timbuctoo.

The river seen by the Nasamones has been supposed to refer to the Yeou, or river of Bornou, and the vast morasses to Lake Tchad; we however strongly incline to the older opinion expressed by Rennell, that the river alluded to was the Niger, and the city of short black men was Timbuctoo. The westerly course of the Nasamones commenced long after they had entered the desert, and they crossed none of the salt hills, nor indeed passed along the beaten caravan track which would alone have led them to the Lake Tchad, as it led Denham and Clapperton. Herodotus supposed that the route of the Nasamones led to the south of the salt hills, whereas it led to the west. The recent origin of Timbuctoo is no objection to this view, any more than the small stature of the natives; and if we may regard the Nasamones as represented by the modern Tuarics, they are the very men to have performed a similar exploit to that described by our author. Every traveller describes the Tuarics as the finest race ever seen; tall, straight, and handsome, with a certain air of independence and pride, which is very imposing. Three Tuarics once told Richardson that they had eaten nothing for fifteen days, and that lamented traveller adds that there can be no doubt of the fact, as both the Tibboos and the Tuarics can at a pinch remain without food for ten or twelve days together. We therefore see every reason to believe in the thorough authenticity of the story of the expedition of the Nasamones, and that these first labour-

[1] ii. 33.

ers in the field of African discovery, actually reached the banks of the Niger, and penetrated the old city where now stands the still mysterious Timbuctoo.

Conclusion.

Here then, on the very verge of ancient and modern knowledge, we take our farewell of the father of history. The spirit of the old Halicarnassian, bearing his tablets on his breast, has led us a long and pleasant pilgrimage through the ancient world; and ever and anon have we halted on our way to refresh our memories and spirits with the contents of his immortal page, whilst modern discovery, pointing out the various scenes which met the good old father during his early travel, has vouched for the credibility of those everlasting writings, to which nature herself is the best and eternal witness.

APPENDIX I.

TRAVELS OF HERODOTUS.

For the sake of reference, and as an illustration of the geography of Herodotus, it has been thought advisable to bring together in the present shape, by the assistance of Dahlmann, Ukert, and others, such allusions and notices throughout our author's history, as seem to indicate a personal visit to any locality, and at the same time to sketch out such a range of travel as he may be supposed to have undertaken, if we may place any reliance upon the evidence thus supplied.

In Asiatic Greece Herodotus was, of course, personally acquainted with the several districts of his native land, Doris, Ionia, and Æolis;[1] but in European Greece there was no province, and probably no place of consequence, which he did not examine with his own eyes.[2] He seems to have consulted the oracle in the oak forests of Dodona,[3] inspected the treasures at Delphi,[4] and traced out similarly consecrated gifts at Thebes.[5] At Athens, which he compared with Ecbatana,[6] he doubtless remained a considerable time. He also travelled in the Peloponnesus, and perhaps visited Corinth;[7] and likewise entered Lacedaemon, where he probably obtained a list of the glorious 300 Spartans who fell at Thermopylae;[8] and from thence he might have journeyed to the peaceful neighbourhood of Olympia, on the western coast, and seen the six ruined cities of Triphylia built by the ancient Minyae.[9] That he also bent his steps to Northern Greece, is almost proved by his graphic descriptions of the battle-fields of Thermopylae and Plataea, and by his account of the gorge, or defile, through which the

[1] i. 142; ii. 10. [2] For further references see Ukert, vol. i.
[3] ii. 55. [4] i. 14, 20. [5] ii. 52. [6] i. 98; v. 89.
[7] i. 24. [8] vii. 224. [9] iv. 148.

Peneus flows between Ossa and Pelion.[1] He was also in the peninsula of Mount Athos, where he saw the city of Crestona inhabited by the Pelasgians;[2] and as he circumstantially describes the advance of Xerxes' army from place to place along the inner edge of Greece,[3] we cannot for a moment doubt his personal acquaintance with the whole extent of the coast of the Ægean Sea. He extended his travels to the islands also, and beside those in his immediate neighbourhood must have even been to Salamis. He knows how to speak of the mines of Thasos which he had himself inspected, and the most important of which, as well as the temple of Heracles, he attributes to the Phoenicians;[4] and on visiting the islands west of Greece, Zacynthus astonished him by the phenomenon of obtaining pitch by plunging myrtle branches into a lake.[5]

In tracing his supposed travels to other lands, we will take first in order those which related to Greece. He seems to have passed through the Hellespont and the Propontis, where he halted in the island of Proconnesus, and also visited Cyzicus on the Asiatic shore;[6] and having then probably sailed through the Bosphorus, he calculated all this extent of water on a rough average of length and breadth.[7] He next entered the Euxine Sea, and took the mean proportion of that vast body of water in both directions, reckoning the voyage by the number of days and nights,[8] but could hardly have sailed through the Lake Maeotis, or he would not have estimated it as only a little less than the Euxine.[9] Penetrating beyond the fair circle of Greek colonies, he inspected a portion of Thrace,[10] but did not upon that occasion[11] go beyond the Danube or Ister, yet at some other time[12] he must have passed the mouths of that river. He also made acquaintance with the Scythians when he visited the country that lies between the Bog or Hypanis and the Dnieper or Borysthenes, where the two rivers run towards the sea, and where he beheld the huge brazen vessel, capable of containing 600 amphorae, which was said to have been made of the polished arrow-heads of the Scythians.[13] In both these countries he thought he saw traces of the expedition of Sesostris,[14] as he did also in Colchis[15] and in Palaestine.[16]

Before, however, we trace our author to Palaestine, we must notice that he knew the interior of Asia Minor, including Lydia and its city of Sardis, by ocular demonstration.[17] He was also no

[1] vii. 129. [2] i. 57. [3] vii. 108—130; 196—201.
[4] ii. 44; vi. 47. [5] iv. 195 [6] iv. 14. [7] iv. 85.
[8] iv. 86. [9] Ibid. [10] ii. 103. [11] v. 9, 10. [12] iv. 47.
[13] iv. 81. Comp. 76. [14] ii. 103. [15] ii. 104, 106.
[16] ii. 106. Comp. iii. 3. [17] iii. 5.

less acquainted with the coast of Phoenicia; for that which is only a matter of conjecture at the beginning of his work,[1] is afterwards confirmed,[2] namely, his actual residence at Tyre, to which place he had sailed,[3] in order to solve the historical problem, "Whether the Heracles there worshipped was a god of very great antiquity, and a distinct personage from the Heracles who once lived among men, and was honoured as a deified hero in Greece." At that time he had already been in Aegypt, since it was there that the problem was presented to him; and it is very probable that, after having obtained sufficient acquaintance with the memorable events of his father-land, he embarked at one of the ports of Greece, perhaps Athens or Corinth, for Aegypt, from whence he afterwards sailed to Phoenicia.[4] What Herodotus has done for Aegypt has been already exhibited in the body of the present work; it is sufficient to mention here, that he made the long journey from Memphis to Thebes and Heliopolis, and that he stayed for some time in the south at Elephantine, and employed himself in diligent inquiries concerning the countries farther onward.[5] It may be clearly inferred that he did not himself visit the Aethiopians who dwelt directly south of Elephantine,[6] nor the inhabitants at a greater distance;[7] but he made himself acquainted with every important object and place within his reach, not only with pyramids, obelisks, and the amazing labyrinth, but also with cities whose splendour was of more recent date, such as Sais, where, since the time of Psammitichus, stood a noble royal castle.[8] He also explored the Delta in every direction, and he surveyed the battle-field near the Pelusiac mouth, where the Aegyptians surrendered their independence to the Persians; and the more recent one at Papremis, where the still fresh skulls of the slain bore witness to the second effort made by the nation to recover its ancient independence.[9] Beyond the boundaries of Aegypt he also made discoveries right and left. On the Arabian side he visited the city of Buto,[10] on the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile, and saw the floating island, which, however, at that time, declined either to float or move.[11] Having heard that there were winged serpents in the neighbourhood, he went to examine the phenomena, and was so far gratified as to see their bones and spines in vast heaps.[12] He probably penetrated no farther into the interior of Arabia, for he knew the length of the mountain chain only by hearsay.[13] On the west it is almost certain that he never visited Carthage, but he assuredly went to Cyrene,

[1] i. 1—5. [2] ii. 104. [3] ii. 44. [4] Dahlmann, iv. 3. [5] ii. 29.
[6] iii. 20, 23. [7] iv. 183. [8] ii. 130. [9] iii. 12. [10] ii. 75.
[11] ii. 156. [12] ii. 75. [13] ii. 8. Comp. iii. 107.

and probably by sea,[1] though we find no farther traces of his footsteps in Libya, excepting in the country immediately to the west of Lower Aegypt, which submitted to Cambyses.[2] We must now transport him from the Aegyptian Delta to Tyre, from whence he might also have travelled into Palaestine, as he considered that the inhabitants of the latter place had learnt the practice of circumcision from the Aegyptians, and found there some columns raised by Sesostris,[3] and also appears to have visited Cadytis, (or Gaza,) which many geographers erroneously identify with Jerusalem.[4] He certainly penetrated into the interior of Asia, but it is impossible to determine how he prosecuted his travels. He however was accurately acquainted with the royal high-road which led from Ephesus by Sardis to Susa.[5] He saw the Euphrates and the Tigris, and visited Babylon in its reduced splendour.[6] He likewise compared the city of Ecbatana with Athens;[7] but this he must have done from some caravanserai description, as it is almost impossible he should have visited the city itself. That he visited Susa, the residence of the kings of Persia, may be taken for granted, as he says that the so-called Indian ants were preserved in the royal palace;[8] and it is clearly seen that he reached Arderica near Susa, where the captive Eretrians from Euboea had been settled by Darius Hystaspes.[9] In conclusion, it is hardly necessary to observe that Herodotus did not extend his travels into India, nor even into Aria, Bactria, or Gedrosia, or otherwise he would have done greater justice to the actual extent and size of Asia, and have spoken less vaguely of the Persian Gulf and the river Araxes.[10]

[1] iv. 181. Comp. ii. 96. [2] iii. 13, 15. [3] ii. 104; 102, 106.
[4] ii. 159. Comp. iii. 5. See also p. 249. [5] v. 52—54. [6] i. 178—193.
[7] i. 98. [8] iii. 102. [9] vi. 119. [10] Dahlmann, iv. 5.

APPENDIX II.

TABLE OF HERODOTEAN WEIGHTS, MONEY, DRY AND LIQUID MEASURES, AND MEASUREMENTS OF LENGTH.

Euboic or Attic Silver Weights and Money.

		WEIGHT (Avoirdupois.) lbs.	oz.	grs.	VALUE. £	s.	d.	farth.
1 Obol		—	—	11.08	—	—	1	2.5
6 Obols	1 Drachma	—	—	66.5	—	5	9	3
100 Drachmæ	1 Mina	—	15	33.75	1	1	3	
60 Minæ	1 Talent	56	$15\frac{1}{2}$	100.32	243	15	0	

Eginetan Silver Weights and Money.

		lbs.	oz.	grs.	£	s.	d.	farth.
1 Obol		—	—	16	—	—	2	1.166
6 Obols	1 Drachma	—	—	96	—	1	1	3
100 Drachmæ	1 Mina	1	$5\frac{3}{4}$	78.96				
60 Minæ	1 Talent	82	$3\frac{1}{4}$	30.46				

The gold Stater of Crœsus and the gold Daricus are each supposed to be worth about 20 Attic silver drachmæ, or 16*s.* 3*d.*

Herodotus makes the Babylonian Talent equal to 70 Euboic minæ, but Hussey calculates its weight at 71 *lbs.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *oz.* 69.45 *grs.* If however either of these are reckoned by comparison with our gold money, they would be worth much more.

Attic Dry Measures.

		gallons.	pints.
1 Chœnix		—	1.9822
48 Chœnices	1 Medimnus	11	7.1456
1 Medimnus and 3 Chœnices	1 Persian Artaba	12	5.092

Liquid Measures.

		gallons.	pints.
1 Chœnix		—	1.4867
48 Chœnices	1 Amphora	8	7.365

Hesychius considers the Aryster to be the same as the Cotyla, which Hussey calculates to hold .4955 of a pint.

Measures of Length.

		miles.	yards.	feet.	inches.
1 Digit (finger's breadth)		—	—	—	.7584
4 Digits	1 Palm (hand-breadth)	—	—	—	3.0336
3 Palms	1 Span	—	—	—	9.1008
4 Palms	1 Foot	—	—	1	0.135
2 Spans or 6 Palms	1 Cubit	—	—	1	6.2016
1 Cubit and 6 Digits	1 Royal Cubit	—	—	1	8.4768
4 Cubits	1 Fathom (Orgya)	—	—	6	0.81
100 Feet or $16\frac{2}{3}$ Orgyæ	1 Plethrum	—	33	2	1.5
6 Plethra	1 Stadium	—	202	0	9
30 Stadia	1 Persian Parasang	3	787	1	6
2 Parasangs	1 Schœnus	$6\frac{1}{2}$	494	3	0

The Egyptian Cubit contained nearly $17\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The Arura contained 21,904 square English feet.

APPENDIX III.

GENERAL JOCHMUS'S IDENTIFICATION OF THE ROUTE TAKEN BY DARIUS FROM THE BOSPHORUS TO THE DANUBE.

LIEUT.-GEN. JOCHMUS, in his notes on a journey to the Balkan from Constantinople, read before the Royal Geographical Society, Nov. 28th and Dec. 12th, 1853, has been able to identify many of the localities where Darius halted with his army.

At Bunarhissar, near the Little Balkan, the General unsuccessfully searched for the ancient inscription mentioned by Herodotus,[1] and which Abdallah Aga described to him as being "in ancient Syrian or Assyrian," and which he maintained having seen in the Tekeh every day during the eight years he passed there as dervish. The General, however, was more fortunate in finding the clear streams of the Tearus near Bunarhissar, and also identified the river Artiscus with that now named Teké, near the new Bulgarian colony of Dewlet Agateh, in the former territory of the Odryssae. The result of the General's investigations respecting the route taken by Darius may be summed up as follows. Darius crossed the Bosphorus on a bridge of boats, connecting the two continents, at the site of the present new castles of Asia and Europe, encamped successively at the sources of the Tearus, (Bunarhissar,) and on the banks of the Teké, or Artiscus, (at Dewlet Agateh,) and following the direction of Burgas and Achioly, and subjecting the sea-towns, he passed the Balkan by the defiles parallel to the sea-coast from Mesioria to Jowan Dervish, moving from south to north, by the same roads which were chosen by Generals Roth and Rudiger, and by Marshal Diebitsch, who proceeded from north to south in 1829. The Russians also in 1828, and Darius about 2300 years before them, passed the Danube at that part of the river where it begins to branch, that is, near the modern Issatscha.

[1] iv. 91.

APPENDIX IV.

THE VOYAGE OF HANNO,

COMMANDER OF THE CARTHAGINIANS, ROUND THE PARTS OF LIBYA WHICH LIE BEYOND THE PILLARS OF HERACLES, WHICH HE DEPOSITED IN THE TEMPLE OF CRONOS.[1]

It was decreed by the Carthaginians that Hanno should undertake a voyage beyond the Pillars of Heracles, and found Libyphœnician cities. He sailed accordingly with sixty ships of fifty oars each, and a body of men and women to the number of thirty thousand, and provisions and other necessaries.

When we had passed the Pillars on our voyage, and had sailed beyond them for two days, we founded the first city, which we named Thymiaterium, [and which was probably situated near Marmora, and between El Haratch and Marmora]. Below it lay an extensive plain. Proceeding thence towards the west, we came to Soloeis, [or Cape Cantin,] a promontory of Libya, a place thickly covered with trees, where we erected a temple to Poseidon; and again proceeded for the space of half a day towards the east, until we arrived at a lake lying not far from the sea, and filled with abundance of large reeds. Here elephants, and a great number of other wild beasts, were feeding.

Having passed the lake about a day's sail, we founded cities near the sea, called Caricontícos, and Gytte, and Acra, and Melitta,

[1] The accompanying translation of the Periplus of Hanno is by Mr. Falconer of C. C. Coll. Oxford. An edition of the Greek text, together with the English translation, were published by Falconer in 1797 as a separate work, and two dissertations were added; the first being explanatory of its contents, whilst the second was a repetition of Dodwell's reflections on its authenticity. It is inserted here merely as an illustration of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phoenicians described in Africa, chap. 1. Herodotus was evidently unacquainted with this document, and it is therefore considered better to make no comments beyond the insertion of a few modern names as a guide to the general reader. In these identifications Rennell has been generally followed. Gosselin, in his *Recherches sur la Geographie des Anciens*, so shortens the voyage as to make Cape Nun, in 28° N. lat., the boundary of the more distant navigation, but, for reasons which need not be explained, we cannot adopt his views.

and Arambys. Thence we came to the great river Lixus, [or Morocco,] which flows from Libya. On its banks the Lixitæ, a shepherd tribe, were feeding flocks, amongst whom we continued some time on friendly terms. Beyond the Lixitae dwelt the inhospitable Aethiopians, who pasture a wild country intersected by large mountains, from which they say the river Lixus flows. In the neighbourhood of the mountains lived the Troglodytae, men of various appearances, whom the Lixitae described as swifter in running than horses.

Having procured interpreters from them we coasted along a desert country towards the south two days. Thence we proceeded towards the east the course of a day. Here we found in a recess of a certain bay a small island, containing a circle of five stadia, where we settled a colony, and called it Cerne, [probably at the spot now called Arguin or Ghir]. We judged from our voyage that this place lay in a direct line with Carthage; for the length of our voyage from Carthage to the Pillars was equal to that from the Pillars to Cerne.

We then came to a lake which we reached by sailing up a large river called Chretes, [which appears to have been the river of St. John, about sixty miles to the south of Arguin]. This lake had three islands, larger than Cerne; from which proceeding a day's sail, we came to the extremity of the lake, that was overhung by large mountains, inhabited by savage men, clothed in skins of wild beasts, who drove us away by throwing stones, and hindered us from landing. Sailing thence we came to another river, [the Senegal,] that was large and broad, and full of crocodiles and river-horses; whence returning back we came again to Cerne.

Thence we sailed towards the south twelve days, coasting the shore, the whole of which is inhabited by Aethiopians, who would not wait our approach, but fled from us. Their language was not intelligible even to the Lixitae, who were with us. Towards the last day we approached some large mountains covered with trees, the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated. Having sailed by these mountains for two days, we came to an immense opening of the sea, [probably the mouth of the Gambia]; on each side of which, towards the continent, was a plain; from which we saw by night fire arising at intervals in all directions, either more or less.

Having taken in water there, we sailed forwards five days near the land, until we came to a large bay, which our interpreters informed us was called the Western Horn, [now called the Gulf of Bissago]. In this was a large island, and in the island a salt-water lake, and in this another island, where, when we had landed,

we could discover nothing in the day-time except trees; but in the night we saw many fires burning, and heard the sound of pipes, cymbals, drums, and confused shouts. We were then afraid, and our diviners ordered us to abandon the island. Sailing quickly away thence, we passed a country burning with fires and perfumes; and streams of fire supplied from it fell into the sea. The country was impassable on account of the heat. We sailed quickly thence, being much terrified; and passing on for four days, we discovered at night a country full of fire. In the middle was a lofty fire larger than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars. When day came we discovered it to be a large hill called the Chariot of the Gods, [either Mount Sagres, or the Mountain of Lions which overhangs Sierra Leone]. On the third day after our departure thence, having sailed by those streams of fire, we arrived at a bay called the Southern Horn, [or Sherbro' Sound]; at the bottom of which lay an island like the former, having a lake, and in this lake another island, full of savage people, the greater part of whom were women, whose bodies were hairy, and whom our interpreters called Gorillæ. Though we pursued the men we could not seize any of them; but all fled from us, escaping over the precipices, and defending themselves with stones. Three women were however taken; but they attacked their conductors with their teeth and hands, and could not be prevailed upon to accompany us. Having killed them, we flayed them, and brought their skins with us to Carthage. We did not sail farther on, our provisions failing us.

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